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HISTORY OF
....

WISCONSIN

FROM
PREHISTORIC TO PRESENT PERIODS

BY CLARK S. MATTESON

THE STORY OF THE STATE INTERSPERSED WITH REALISTIC
AND ROMANTIC EVENTS

MILWAUKEE
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1893

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PREFACE.

THE great necessity for a complete history of the state is so apparent, that no apology is essential for the publication of such a work as the author anticipates this will prove to be.

WISCONSIN is entitled not alone to a prominent place in the history of the United States, but to a prominent place in the history of the world, both on account of her pre-territorial history, and on account of her great men who have reflected honor and credit upon the greatest government the world was ever blessed with.

Wisconsin has taken her place in the long line of states as proudly and prominently as any in the union, and will continue to hold it with honor to herself, and credit to the general government.

CLARK S. MATTESON.

FOND DU LAC, WISCONSIN,

September 1, 1892.



SUBMARINE VULCANOES.

Historical Geology of Wisconsin.

PRE-LAURENTIAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNING.

THEORETICAL CONDITION OF THE EARTH MATTER.—It is conjectured that the earth, the solar system, and possibly the known material universe, were originally in an elementary gaseous condition.* Prof. Lockyer, and other scientists, have assigned reasons for believing the so-called elements are not atomic, in the ultimate sense, but are compounds of matter still more elementary.† Scientific speculation thus leads us back into unavoidable chaos.

ORIGIN OF PLANETS.—The nebular hypothesis maintains that when the increase in rate of rotation reached a certain stage, the force receding from the center to the equatorial position, would become so much greater than the force of gravitation, that it would then separate from the rotating mass. The separated portion is condensed like the original body, and becomes a rotating planet. The original mass, meanwhile, continues to contract, and, at intervals, discharge other masses from its exterior, which in time become condensed into planets. Some of these planets, for the same reason, throw off masses which become their satellites. "The residual portion of the original whole is supposed to be found in our sun, still hot and condensing." The meteorites and the comets of the solar system are considered miniature planets, or portions separated from the original mass and not yet gathered so as to solidify.

Whether the process was a condensation from a gaseous condition, or a growth of meteoric matter, the newly-formed earth must have been extremely hot. It is generally believed to have been at first a glowing sun with an intensely-heated core, surrounded by incandescent atmosphere. As the cooling and condensation process continued, the core increased and the atmosphere diminished, until there developed from the molten mass an earth and an atmosphere analogous to the planet we inhabit.

TESTIMONY OF HEAVENLY BODIES.—The light furnished by the sun, moon and stars is sufficient for us to read correctly the origin, matter,

*T. C. Chamberlain's *Wis. Geol.*, 47.

†Compte's *Rendus.*, Dec. 1, 1873. *American Journal Science*, Feb. '82, 123.

and motion of our planet. The heavenly bodies differ in color and character of radiance. The whitest being the hottest, while the less brilliant are the coolest. Our sun may be considered as an example of a great mass of matter concentrated and surrounded by a vast glowing atmosphere. The heavens present bodies in all stages of world-making development, from solid spheres to vast irregular masses of gas. The earth and Mars are cool, solid globes, surrounded by cold and gaseous atmospheres, while the moon is in a more-extensive stage of condensation, and, as far as visible, is a solid mass with an absorbed atmosphere.

From meteoric dust which is constantly falling, together with the occasional large masses which fall bodily to the earth, we are informed of the general character of the heavenly bodies. Among all of these elements which have been examined, none has been found which does not exist in the earth.

LAWS OF ROTATION.—Laplace, the celebrated mathematician who originated the nebular hypothesis, accounted for the rotation of the planets in this wise: If a perfect sphere, absolutely uniform in structure and density throughout, were stationary, the radiation of heat would cause the body to contract; then, unless shrinkage were uniform, which is highly improbable, the mass would, with the slightest inequality, cause a rotation in some direction. Rotation once started, further contraction would, according to well-established physical principles, cause the rotating to become more and more rapid, as the cooling and shrinking progressed. Again, if the sphere were a perfect equilibrium, the attractive forces would collect masses, which would disturb its equilibrium, and rotation thus become inaugurated. In other words, rotation is the necessary result of concentration of matter under the varied conditions that characterize the first stages of our universe.

LIQUID STAGE.—We are not surrounded by obscure mists of uncertainty, when we picture the earth as a molten mass, surrounded by an intensely-heated atmosphere. These great problems,* which for centuries were unsolved, are now axioms.

Formerly, it was generally believed that the cooling process formed a crust over the entire globe, and that the crust thickened, as solidification progressed, leaving a molten interior, which was the great volcanic reservoir. This plausible and generally-accepted theory has been weakened by scientists, who maintain that the earth, owing to the intense pressure to which the interior was subjected, must have been reduced to a solid condition, notwithstanding its high pressure.

Geologists, by critical examinations of volcanic matter, have concluded that the interior of the earth is not in a liquid condition, but in a solid state. Critical examinations have revealed the fact that different volcanoes eject different substances at different times, and that, while

*Geol. Wis., Vol. I., 152.

one volcano may be ejecting water, mud, and other ingredients, an adjacent volcano may be ejecting molten lava. These, with other equally-sound reasons, are conclusive evidences that volcanoes do not have their origin in a common liquid reservoir.*

These great volcanic earth events, of which there are several hundred in an active state and thousands of extinct ones, many of which are in the bottom of the ocean,† give us but unsatisfactory evidence of their origin.

CAUSES OF IGNEOUS ERUPTIONS.—Although scientists have delved deeply into the causes of igneous eruptions, yet none of the theories advanced have been generally accepted. The following are the principal theories advanced:

1. That the source of the eruptions is superficial.
2. That the material erupted is not primordial liquid, either from a liquid interior, or molten lakes, but is formed from the melting of the earth's crust.
3. That such melted portions are local, and that neighboring vents connect with independent reservoirs.
4. That the melted rock was sometimes derived from primitive crust, but generally from melted sediments.
5. That the fusion is due to a certain combination of causes, the most essential of which is, or consists of, great pressure resulting in high temperature, followed by a reduction of pressure, and, consequently, a lowering of the fusion point, resulting in liquefaction before the temperature has been correspondingly reduced.
6. That the ejective force is the result of the combined action of pressure, weight of superincumbent rock, expansive force of vapors, and the effect of heat upon the specific gravity of the liquefied rock.‡
7. That the order of eruption is due to the order of liquefaction, modified by specific gravity and the eruptive force.§

DENSITY OF THE SPHERE.—By different processes, the earth has been weighed and found to be on an average five and a half times as heavy as water, while the surface rocks have an average weight of only two and a half times, or three times that of water. Therefore the exterior of the earth is only about one-half as heavy as the average to the whole. The increase of specific gravity in the interior is supposed to be partially due to the density produced by the enormous pressure occasioned by the weight of the overlying rocks, and partially to its supposed condensation from its nebulous and molten state. It is assumed that the heavier materials collected at the center, while the lighter were arranged in order of specific gravity around them.

*Geol. Wis., Vol. I., 53.

†Harper's Mag., June, 1888.

‡Geol. Wis., Vol. I., 104.

§Geol. of the High Plateaus of Utah.

FORMATION OF THE OCEAN.—When the earth was in a molten condition, or heated to a temperature approaching it, all the water now constituting the ocean, together with the water held in the pores and fissures of the earth, must have existed in a vaporous state. The atmospheric ingredients, to an extent, have combined with the earth material. This atmosphere embraces large quantities of oxygen, some nitrogen, and enormous quantities of carbonic acid, that is now contained in lime and magnesia, in the limestone strata, together with that represented by the coals, oils and disseminated carbonaceous material of the sedimentary rocks. According to Dr. Hunt, the carbonic acid of the limestones would give a volume of gas, the pressure of which would equal two hundred atmospheres.* When the earth commenced to cool it commenced to solidify, and finally reached a temperature which permitted vaporous atmospheric elements to condense. It was not necessary for the temperature to sink 212° Fahrenheit before the water would begin to be deposited, as the enormous atmospheric pressure would permit its condensation at a higher temperature. It is reasonable to suppose that the shrinkage of the earth at this period was sufficient to cause inequalities on its surface. If this were true, the waters first settling upon the earth gathered in depressions, thereby forming local lakes. As condensation of the vapors increased, the lakes grew into oceans, and soon became a shoreless sea.

As the cooling process continued, the earth shrunk, which caused great inequalities in its surface, while other portions of the earth depressed, thereby drawing the waters into the basins.†

The early ocean was both hot and acidulous, as the condensed vapors absorbed acid ingredients from the atmosphere, thus arming itself to combat the solid materials of the earth's crust.

Then commenced the long battle between the sea, armed with its acidulous weapons, and the land, with its crusted armor. Copious rains descended over the whole surface of the earth, thence flowing into the sea, carrying down silt and soluble material. Thus the shores were being continually eaten away by the sea, and the land cut down by the rains, which sediments filled up the ocean beds.

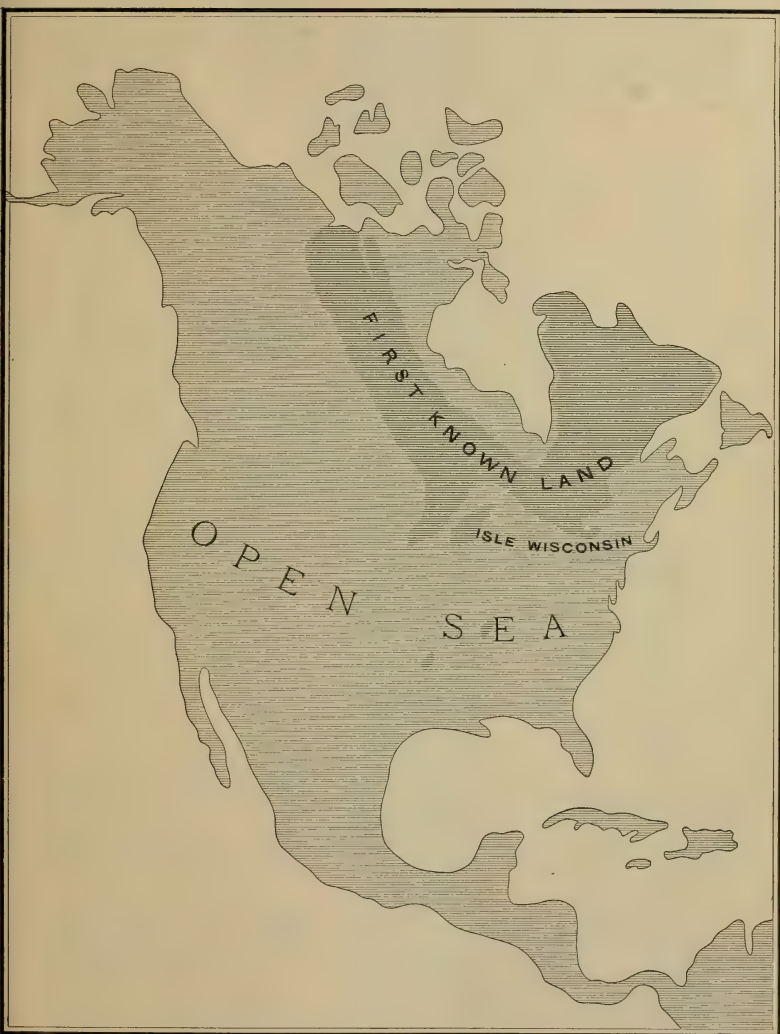
EARLIEST KNOWN LAND.—The earliest known land, in this part of the globe, is in the form of the letter "v", and embraces within its limits Hudson's Bay, and extends northeasterly to the coast of Labrador, and south to the great lakes, and northwesterly to the Arctic ocean.‡

South of Lake Superior arose an island which formed the nucleus of the state of Wisconsin and the northern part of Michigan.

*The Am. Jour. Sci., Feb., 1882, 133.

†Mallet has estimated the earth's diametrical contractions to have been miles, "so that the primitive surface may be conceived as passing miles over our heads." Chamberlain's Wis. Geol., 61.

‡Page 2 of Chamberlain says that the present date makes this a Laurentian island, which was probably connected with the mainland.



EARLIEST KNOWN LAND.

The state of Illinois and a large area south of Illinois was a boundless sea for centuries after Wisconsin was land. The sedimentary washings of the whole country lying north of Illinois helped fill up that great basin and form its substructure. It is conjectured that all of the land south of the early "v"-shaped land, originated from the sediments of these early or more primitive lands.

CHAPTER II.

LAURENTIAN AGE.

WHEN nature, that grand architect of innumerable worlds, builded Wisconsin upon a granite foundation, she recorded the history of thousands of centuries in her series of rock structure.

Geologists have divided the respective ages, from the period called Pre-Laurentian to the present time, in the following order:

Laurentian—Age of Zoöphites, followed by an interval.

Huronian—Age of early Interbrates and Plants, followed by an interval.

Cambrian—Age of Trilobites, followed by an interval.

Lower Silurian—Age of Mollusks.

Upper Silurian—Age of Mollusks.

Devonian—Age of Fishes.

Carboniferous—Age of Coal and Plants.

Reptilian Age.

Tertiary—Age of Mammals.

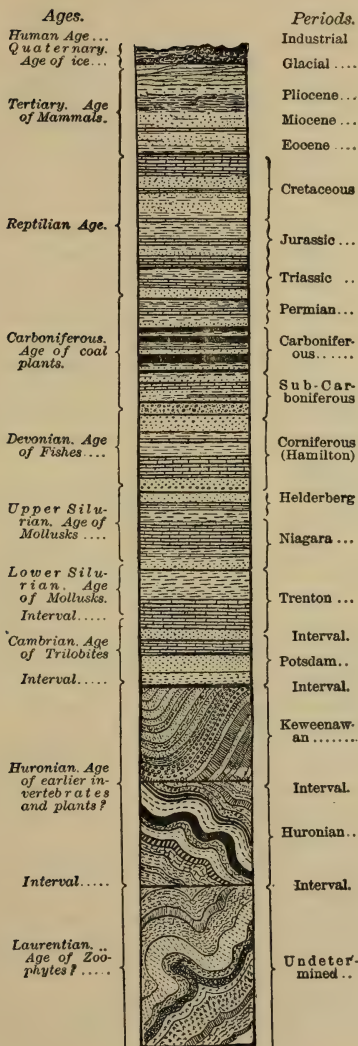
Quaternary—Age of Ice.

Human Age.

DEFINITION. FORMATION.—The name Laurentian is derived from the Laurentide Hills of Canada. The rocks of this formation are of the metamorphic class, principally gneisses, and generally termed granitic. The strata are folded and contorted, and occupy a large area in Wisconsin and northern Michigan.

ORIGIN.—The Laurentian formation originated from sediments, but whether from the original crust will ever remain a debatable question. The sedimentary materials which composed this formation were principally clays and sand, intermixed with silicia, alumina, lime, magnesia and potash.* The waves, after successfully battling with the earth, assorted and piled away the sediments for future rock strata. The wind, waves and tide piled up and arranged these sediments into layers,

*Hunt's Chemical and Geological Essays, pp. 22-95.



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whose attitude changed according to the action of the elements, which caused the oblique and discordant stratification.

THICKNESS.—The thickness of these sedimentary formations was enormous. According to the original Canadian measurements, it was estimated at 30,000 feet, but, as yet, the base has not been exposed, and its depth is unknown.* It is hard to account for so enormous an amount of material required for such a rock series. It is estimated that if the Appalachian mountain range were reduced to sediments, and strewn over an equal area of the Atlantic bed, it would make but a diminutive formation.

According to standard estimates, if the entire continent of North America were worn down to the sea level, it would not give more than twice the material of the paleozoic sediments of the Appalachian region.†

PERIOD OF UPHEAVAL.—After the long period of sedimentation, an extraordinary transformation took place. Originally, the sands and clays were in horizontal beds, but now we find them folded and contorted in the most intricate manner. It has been observed that the force did not come directly from underneath the strata, as the folds indicate that the sides have been forcibly pressed against each other and pushed over to one side, so as to leave an angle.

It is conclusive that the strata received an immense but slow side force, the resisting of which caused compacting and wrinkling in the manner described.

WAS THERE LIFE?—As yet the existence of either vegetable or animal life during this period has not been established. No fossil remains have been found in Wisconsin, and no organic rock, such as limestone and graphite, which indicate the presence of life. It has been suggested by geologists, however, that the large ingredients of potash found in the Laurentian rocks are an indication of an important era of vegetable life which preceded all animal life.

INTERVAL BETWEEN LAURENTIAN AND HURONIAN PERIODS.—Laurentian sedimentation only drew to a close by the elevating forces which heaved the beds up from the bottom of the ocean. No sooner had these beds been raised from the depths of the sea, than the atmospheric elements and the adjacent sea commenced their work of cutting down and returning the sedimentary elements to the sea, to help form new beds which, in time, became the Huronian formation. This long period of wash and wear slowly cut down the mountainous land, and was the interval between the Laurentian and Huronian ages.

*This estimate includes beds now known as the Huronian series.

†Geol. of Wis., Vol. I., 70.

CHAPTER III.

HURONIAN AGE.

SCIENTISTS have, by the light of knowledge, dispelled the darkness which separated the mysterious past from the present, and by untiring researches have transformed chaos into order.

DEFINITION. DESCRIPTIVE.—The name Huronian is derived from Lake Huron, upon the north side of which the formation is well developed. This formation is pronouncedly known in Wisconsin and adjacent Michigan as the great iron-bearing formation. It is believed to embrace all of the great iron deposit of Missouri, New York and Canada.

FORMATION.—The Huronian formation consists of metamorphosed sediments, including quartzites, limestones, clayslates, micaceous, hornblendic, carbonaceous and magnetic schists, diorettes, and porphyries of questionable origin.

The strata are arched, folded and contorted, like the Laurentian, and the diameter is estimated at 13,000 feet. They constitute the Penoka, Menominee and Black river iron ranges, the quartzites of central Wisconsin, together with the quartzite of Barron and Chippewa counties.

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.—The sea advanced upon the Laurentian lands and separated therefrom a large island within the northern boundaries of the present state of Wisconsin, and two or three smaller ones in adjacent Michigan. Geologists have called the larger of these islands Isle Wisconsin, and the smaller ones Michigan islands. The nucleus of both Wisconsin and northern Michigan was these islands, the growth of which was occasioned by sedimentary accumulations. The waters flowed southward, containing large quantities of sediments, which were impeded by these islands, so that, after unknown centuries had passed, these sediments became the land that is now the fertile and picturesque northwest.

UPHEAVAL.—After the period of Huronian sedimentation, there was an era of upheaval and metamorphism, similar to the upheaval that occurred at the close of the Laurentian period, but considerably less extreme in its effects. None of the original deposits now remain in their primitive condition. The great sand deposits were transformed into quartzite, while the iron ores, associated with schists, are now in the form of magnetite or its derivations. The finer silts, clays and mixed sediments were changed to slates and schists. The whole series was in fact, to some extent, chemically transformed and crystallized.

IRON ORE ORIGIN.—The iron ore of this period occurs in thin layers, or frequently, in lenticular masses, a few inches in thickness, inserted irregularly among laminations of schists and in scattered particles dis-

seminated through the rocks. It is largely magnetic ore in the present form, although the specular variety is present.

The most plausible theory of the origin of the massive iron ore beds in general is, that the meteoric water, charged with organic matter, filtering through the soil and surface rocks, changed its iron ingredients from the insoluble to the soluble, until it was finally borne into some adjacent body of water. Here the drainage reoxidized by contact with the atmosphere and thus accumulated into beds.*

BOG ORE is now accumulated in this manner, and the ores of the Clinton and the coal periods are attributed to similar action. The ingredients of low lands or marsh vegetation, it is thought, would produce the same conditions.

LIFE.—No direct evidence of vegetable or animal life as yet has been discovered, although some obscure organic remains in the region of Michigan† have been discovered, which, together with the existence of large deposits of limestone, carbonaceous material, and iron ore, create the strongest presumption that there was life.

INTERVAL.—The interval between the Huronian sedimentation and the Keweenawan eruption appears to be indicated by the beds of the latter which repose unconformably upon the former.‡ It is believed that sedimentary deposits must have been in progress during the slow upheaval.

*Geol. Mich., Vol. II., 5.

†Geol. Wis., Vol. I., 89.

‡Prof. Selwin, director of the Canadian Geol. survey, does not recognize any interval between the Huronian and the Keweenawan series.

It is suggested by Prof. Chamberlain that what appears to be a moderate interval in the Wisconsin series, is bridged by the Continental series in the eastern region.



CHAPTER IV.

KEWEENAWAN PERIOD.

NAME. FORMATION.—The name of this period was derived from Keweenaw Point. The formation is also called the copper-bearing or cupriferous series, and consists of unstratified, igneous, and sedimentary beds, the former principally diabases while the latter are conglomerates, sandstones and shales, derived from igneous rocks. The beds are tilted, but are neither contorted nor metamorphosed.

THE GREAT PERIOD OF ERUPTION.—The magnitude of the eruptions during this period in the Lake Superior region exceeded that of all other periods. The flow of melted rock, spread out in successive horizontal sheets, covered an area of 300 miles in length and 100 miles in width. The fiery flows of melted rocks followed in quick succession at first, and afterward at longer intervals, depositing layer after layer, until the thickness was enormous.

Vivid imagination, in order to satisfy sensational appetites, has pictured this as the period of the greatest of internal convulsions, and the most violent of upheavals, but the evidence will hardly bear such exaggerated coloring. The great movements of this period were of a quiet but gigantic character. The igneous eruptions were of a quiet nature and came welling up through the great fissures in the earth's crust, then flowed in broad fiery sheets over a large expanse of territory. These fiery flows, upon reaching the waters of the Lake Superior basin, caused magnificent vaporous displays of great magnitude. The opening of the fissures through which the molten sheets flowed was undoubtedly attended by earthquake tremors, which were only locally violent.

THICKNESS.—The greatest thickness of these deposits is estimated at 45,000 feet, of which 15,000 feet is said to be sedimentary, while the balance is igneous.

ORIGIN OF COPPER.—Scientific investigation has established the fact that the copper was not deposited in a molten state in the positions in which we now find it. Its association with calcite and other minerals, its scattered condition, the leaf-like form it assumes, and its existence in fissure veins, which were formed at a time later than the igneous period, are convincing evidences of its deposit being non-molten.

All doubts have been dispelled by the occurrence of native unalloyed copper and silver in the same lumps. The generally-accepted theory is that copper and silver were originally constituents of the rocks, and that they were chemically extracted by percolating waters which concentrated the unknown ingredients in porous belts or fissures of the formation, thus giving rise to the rich deposits which are now so famous.

The concentration of copper is the slow result of chemical action, inaugurated when the rocks were first formed, and so continued throughout the countless centuries.

DEPOSITS.—The copper of this formation is found in the igneous and sedimentary rocks. In the sedimentary rock the metal is scattered through conglomerates, sandstone, and shales, in nuggets, flakes, leaves, and fine particles. In some instances little seams in the sandstone or shale have been filled with the metal, forming metallic vinelets.

Prof. Chamberlain, ex-chief geologist of Wisconsin, describes a rare specimen in his possession, which records three distinct periods in its history: (1) The rippling action of the waves; (2) the hardening and cracking process; and, (3) the filling of the minute crevices with metallic copper.*

CONGLOMERATE DEPOSITS.—The greatest copper mine in the world is the Calumet and Hecla mine, of northern Michigan. This mine is a sedimentary deposit of extraordinary richness, the copper being so abundant as to fantastically enwrap the whole mass, which lies between massive sheets of trap-rock.

AMYGDALOIDAL DEPOSIT.—In this deposit, the great mass of copper which has excited the wonder of the world is found in irregular cracks and crannies of the rock, in the form of sheets, leaves, and irregular masses of native copper.

In the deposit is, also, found vapor vesicles filled with native copper and occasionally a portion of lava rock completely shotted with the same metal.

VEIN DEPOSIT.—The igneous rocks having been deeply fractured by internal forces, the crevices were subsequently filled by minerals which formed in layers upon their walls. Among the minerals so deposited, native copper is found in quantities sufficiently large to be mined.

EXCEPTIONAL DEPOSITS.—Copper and silver lie in the detrital beds above the igneous sheets in this deposit. The silver-bearing horizon of the Ontonagon† region, which extends into Wisconsin, is a special illustration of such deposits. This metallic deposit lies in the dark shale immediately above the great conglomerate, and is only separated by a few hundred feet of igneous sheets. The copper is in the sulphate form.

INTERVAL.‡—The interval between the Keweenaw period and the Cambrian age is distinctly represented by the formation on the Atlantic border of New England and the provinces, and known as the Arcadian formation. It is suggested by Prof. Chamberlain that the Cambrian formations of Great Britain and Bohemia cover the entire period.

*Wis. Geol., Vol. I., 108.

†Iron River Region.

‡Wis. Geol., Vol. I., 16.

CHAPTER V.

CAMBRIAN AGE.

POTSDAM PERIOD.—The Potsdam period of Wisconsin embraces the following epochs: St. Peter's epoch (in part), Lower Magnesian epoch, Potsdam epoch.

POTSDAM EPOCH.

DEFINITION. FORMATION.—Cambrian takes its name from the Cambrian Series in North Wales. The name Potsdam is derived from Potsdam, N. Y. The formation is mostly light-colored sandstone in central and southern Wisconsin, and red sandstone in the Lake Superior region, but includes some beds of limestone and shale. The greatest known thickness of this formation is estimated at one thousand feet.

GEOGRAPHY.—At the commencement of the Potsdam formation, the whole or the greater part of Wisconsin was above the sea and attached to the Archean continent, and lay northward, forming one of its southern promontories. The sea lay to the south, and, during the period, it slowly advanced upon the land through the basin of the lower peninsula of Michigan, and the great basin between Iowa and Minnesota, thus partially surrounding the Archean heights of Wisconsin. This stage was reached about the middle of the period.*

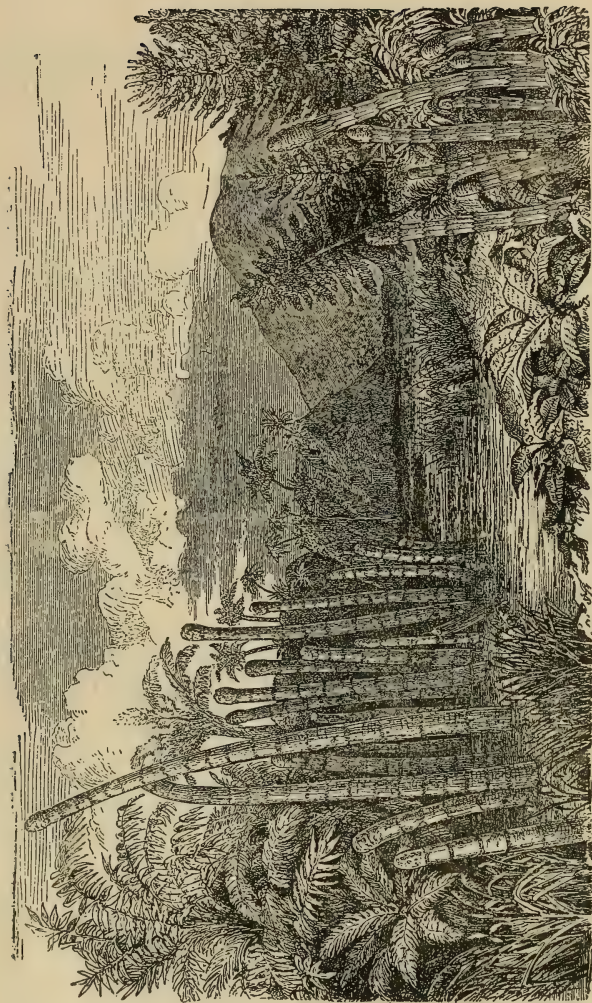
It is the opinion of some of our scientists, that at the close of the period, the peninsula was severed by the sea, thus reproducing the Island of Wisconsin.

FORMATION OF ISLANDS.—The irregular wear of the advancing sea created irregularities in the coast line, then formed islands, and, at last, reefs. The quartzite and quartz porphyries of central Wisconsin resisted the action of the waves to the close of the period, and stood as islands in the Potsdam sea. Among these islands are the quartzite domes of Baraboo and Portland regions, and Pine Bluff, in Green Lake county. The ancient sea beat against these islands with such violence that great cliffs were undermined and ground to boulders by the action of the waves, thus forming the coarse conglomerates that now encircle these islands.

ORIGIN OF LIFE.—The Potsdam period introduces to us the first life history of the interior basin, and almost the first life history of the globe.

TRILOBITES.—The most numerous as well as interesting life forms of this period were the Trilobites. A greater number of these fossils have been found in Wisconsin than in any other locality.

*Wis. Geol., Vol. I., 120.



MIocene PERIOD.

FOSSIL TRACKS.—Fossil tracks have been found impressed in the Potsdam sandstone, near New Lisbon. The width of some of the tracks is four and one-half inches, and of sufficient depth to indicate that the weight of the animal must have been considerable.*

DISTRIBUTION OF POTSDAM BEDS.—This formation skirts the south shore of Lake Superior to the straits, then disappears, but is found again below Lake Ontario, where it joins the Adirondacks with the Archean area of Canada. It occurs also in the Green Mountains of Vermont, and along the Appalachian range, from southern New York to Albany.

The Potsdam formation also appears in the Black Hills, where its fossils are similar to those discovered in Wisconsin.

LOWER MAGNESIAN EPOCH.

NAME. DESCRIPTIVE.—Prof. Owen named this formation "Magnesia," on account of its dolomitic composition. The word "Lower" distinguished it from the Galena and Niagara formations. The formation is from 65 to 250 feet thick, underlaid by Potsdam sandstone and overlaid by St. Peter's sandstone.

METALLIC CONTENTS.—During this epoch there were deposited in certain localities, metallic compounds, including copper, lead, and iron in small quantities.

LIFE.—Evidence of life in this epoch is limited to some sea-weeds, occasional Mollusks, fragments of Trilobites and a few fissure forms of fossils. In the northeastern part of the state the cast of an *Ophileta* and two obscure *Raphistomæ* fossils have been discovered. In the over-arching layers and in the lead regions *Euomphalus Strongi* are found.

AMERICAN DISTRIBUTION.—The surface area of this formation is found skirting the Potsdam strata. Its eastern formation extends through the upper peninsula of Michigan, as far as St. Marie Straits, in the Adirondacks, the St. Lawrence region and along the Appalachians. It disappears westward in Minnesota and occurs in southeastern Missouri.

FOREIGN DISTRIBUTION.—This series is well developed in North Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Scandinavia and Bohemia.

ST. PETER'S EPOCH (in part).—This portion of the St. Peter's epoch will be treated in general, in the Lower Silurian, Cambro-Silurian or Ordovician age.

*Through the kindness of the Rev. A. A. Young, of New Lisbon, a number of these specimens are now in the museum of Beloit College, and in the University of Wisconsin.

CHAPTER VI.

LOWER SILURIAN, CAMBRO-SILURIAN OR ORDOVICAN AGE.

EPOCH OF ST. PETER'S SANDSTONE.

DERIVATION. DESCRIPTION.—The name of this formation is derived from the St. Peter's river (now called Minnesota river), at the mouth of which the formation is pronounced. The rock is sandstone of a friable nature, underlaid by the Lower Magnesian limestone, and overlaid by Trenton limestone. The average thickness is between 80 and 100 feet, while the greatest known depth is 212 feet.

STRATIFICATION.—The stratification is oblique, discordant and bilowy, which is due to the shifting action of the waves during its deposit. At some points the stratification shows the ebb and flow of the sea, and in one locality ripple marks are found. The colors of the strata are principally white, yellow and gray, although brown, pink and green are not uncommon. The coloring is undoubtedly due to filtering solutions of iron and manganese compounds.

LIFE OF THE PERIOD.—Few fossil remains have been found, owing to the porous condition of the rock, which was unfavorable to the preservation. In southern Wisconsin, tubes of *Arenicolites* are found in the upper horizon, and in one instance in beds at the base of the formation. Prof. N. H. Winchell found a Linguloid shell in the upper layers of the Minnesota formation.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION.—The St. Peter's sandstone occupies a narrow area in Wisconsin. It stretches in an irregular course from the Lower Menominee river to the mouth of the Wisconsin. The formation dips gently to the east side of the state.

This formation occurs in northeastern Minnesota, but is unknown beyond. In Illinois it is found at Oregon, on the Rock river, and at La Salle, on the Illinois. It has not been recognized beyond the Mississippi region, but the Chazy limestone deposit of New York is regarded as its equivalent.*

TRENTON EPOCH.

NAME. EPOCH.—The name of the formation is derived from Trenton Falls, N. Y., where the display is pronounced. The deposit is limestone with magnesian tendencies. Its greatest thickness is 115 feet. The Trenton strata derived their material from three sources, viz.: (1) the stony parts of marine life; (2) the fine earthy sediments; and, (3) chemical contributions from the sea.

*Geol. Wis., Vol. I., 150

DIVISION OF STRATA. LOWER BUFF LIMESTONE.—By slow progress there was first formed upon the St. Peter's sandstone a stratum of coarse thick-bedded magnesia limestone, impure on account of its earthy substances and largely to the disintegration of life remains.* The color of the stratum is gray, and its thickness is estimated at 25 feet.

LOWER BLUE LIMESTONE.—The upper layers in the stratum are slightly worn and smoothed by the waves. The conditions for the burial and preservation of organic remains were so perfect that they are now disinterred in a wonderful state of preservation. The preserving quality of the strata in the lead region is emphatic.

This stratum is about the same thickness as the preceding one.

UPPER BUFF LIMESTONE.—Then followed another stratum occasioned by the same conditions that characterized the Lower Blue Limestone formation. The depth of this stratum is estimated at 15 feet.

METALLIC DEPOSITS.—During the growth of these sediments, important metallic deposits were being formed. In the southwestern portion of Wisconsin, rich and extensive copper and zinc mines are found. Copper ores also occupy this horizon in the same locality.

LIFE.—Evidence of both animal and vegetable life during this period in a variety of forms is numerous and extant. The same animals that graced the Potsdam period were prominent in the Trenton seas.

DISTRIBUTION.—The Trenton formation stretches from above the mouth of the Menominee river, southward through the Green Bay and Rock river valley, to the limits of the state. It is frequently exposed in the river valleys of the southwestern portion of Wisconsin. Eastward from Green Bay, the distribution curves through the upper peninsula of Michigan, where it crosses the straits and appears north of Lake Huron, and at the foot of Lake Ontario. It crosses into New York, swinging around the Adirondacks, thence down the St. Lawrence river. Westward from Wisconsin, an irregular belt is found in northeastern Iowa, which stretches north to the vicinity of St. Paul. It also appears in the Hudson Bay region.

GALENA EPOCH.

DEFINITION. FORMATION.—The name of this formation was derived from galena contained in lead ore, and from the immense quantities found or exposed at Galena, Illinois.

The Galena limestone formation consists of coarse-grained, thick-bedded dolomite, underlain by Trenton limestone, and overlain by Hudson shales. The thickness of this formation is about 250 feet, and contains flint in certain horizons.

*Wis. Geol., Vol. I., 162-163.

LIFE.—Few fossils are found in this formation, as from the nature of the deposit, few only were able to withstand the rough and exposed conditions occasioned by the swell of the ocean bed. The most noted and abundant fossil of the epoch is the "Sunflower" or "Lead Coral," the nature and organization of which is unknown.

DISTRIBUTION.—The Galena limestone, in its typical sense, is limited to a radius of little more than a hundred miles from the southwest corner of Wisconsin. The distribution from that point grades into a shaly deposit. The distribution is traceable into the peninsula of Michigan, and onward into Canada.

HUDSON RIVER EPOCH.

NAME. FORMATION.—The name is derived from the picturesque Hudson river, and consists of shales of diverse hues, principally blue and gray.

The deposit, with the intervening limestone, reaches a thickness of 200 feet.

CHARACTER OF DEPOSIT.—After the slow growth of the Galena limestone, the conditions of the ocean were so changed that the waters were turbulent and muddy, which undoubtedly drove away or destroyed the marine animals which live in clear waters. The turbulent and changing waters of the sea accumulated new rock material which produced the shale sedimentation. At one point and at another, calcareous accumulations, and, as the result of these fluctuating conditions, a large deposit of unstratified shales and limestone were deposited.

RIPPLE MARKS.—The condition of the deposit is indicated by ripple marks of unusual size, and mud-cracked surfaces representing octagonal brick have been observed. The former represent the shallow sea, while the latter the exposure of the submergence.

CHANGING CONDITIONS.—The changes which brought about this era of sedimentation and coast movements were inaugurated in the preceding epoch. The central area of the state was, during that period, gently raised upward, bending the strata, thus causing eastward and westward depressions, which shallowed the sea on the slopes.

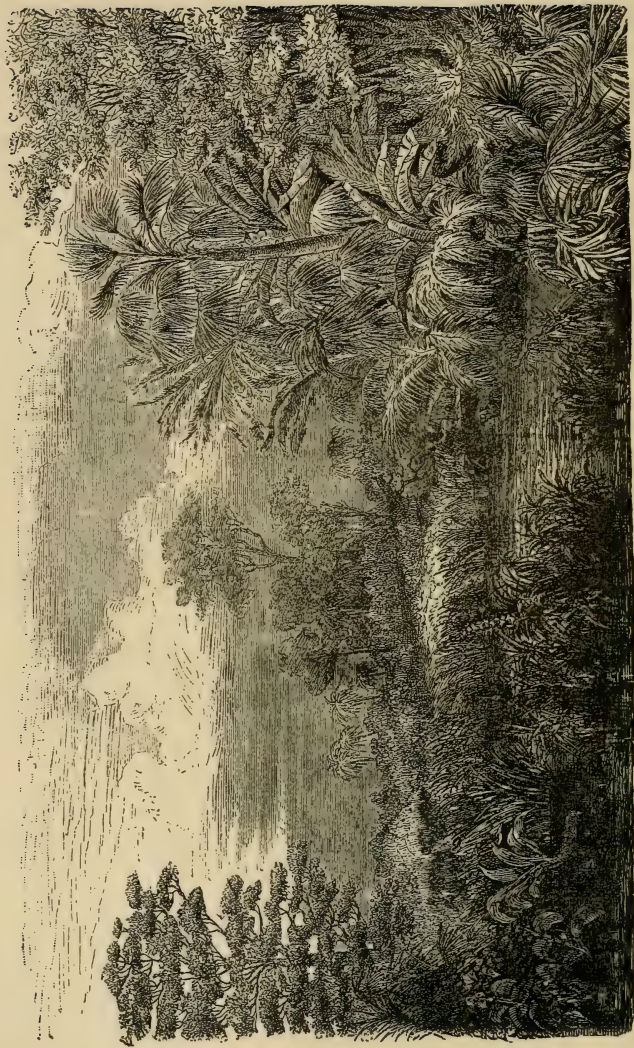
LIFE.—Those forms of life, not adapted to the shallow, silted, and changed conditions of the sea, like Polyp Corals, Lamellibranchs, Gastropods, Cephalopods, Crinoids, Trilobites and Cleidophorus Neglectus, almost wholly disappeared from our shores. The new conditions, however, were congenial to the Bryozoans, Chaetetoid Corals and Branchiopods, which flourished in extraordinary abundance.

LAND PLANTS.—Over the land created by the retiring sea more or less vegetation sprang up. The first, perhaps, belonged to the mysterious plant life in the Coral period.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION.—The Hudson river shales skirt the Green Bay and Rock river valley. In the southwestern part of the state, the formation underlies the mounds and is found in a few other areas of the state. Eastward the strata sweep around Lakes Michigan and Huron, appearing on Manitoulin Islands, and the west shore of Georgian Bay. They appear in New York, sweeping round the Adirondacks and following the St. Lawrence valley to its terminus. The formation also appears in Ohio, Tennessee, Iowa and Minnesota.

FOREIGN EQUIVALENTS.—The English Lower Silurian embraces the Arenig, the Llandeilo, and the Caradoc beds. It also appears in Scotland, Ireland, Scandinavia, and in the Baltic provinces of Russia, in Bohemia, Bavaria, and in Spain. The best development, however, is in Wales, in the land of the ancient Silures, whence the name is derived.

CLOSE OF LOWER SILURIAN AGE.—Wisconsin rock series, of the Lower Silurian age, is closed with the Hudson river shales. The rock-written record of this epoch is so clear and legible, that from its pages we read that, after the long period of submergence, the entire area of the state then became dry land.



Eocene Period.

CHAPTER VII.

UPPER SILURIAN AGE.

SUBDIVISIONS.—The Upper Silurian age embraces two periods: the Niagara and the Helderburg,* The epochs of the Niagara period are: (1) the advancing sea; (2), the epoch of transition, characterized by Clinton shales and ore beds; (3), the advancing sea, which occasioned the Niagara limestone; and, (4) the shallow and retiring sea, which includes the Salina deposits.

The Helderburg period embraces three epochs: (1) the advancing and deepening sea, including the Salina group; (2), the advancing sea and its limestone deposits; and, (3) the retiring sea.

CLINTON EPOCH.

This formation consists of shales, limestone, and iron ore. The greatest thickness of the iron ore in the state is 25 feet.

CLINTON IRON ORE.—The iron deposit of this epoch is local and principally characterized at Iron Ridge, in Dodge county, where its maximum thickness is 25 feet. From this point it spreads out and immediately disappears. A small deposit occurs under the village of Hartford, while at Cascade Falls, east of De Pere, the formation again occurs, but it is only about five feet in depth. At other points it is only marked by iron staining. The iron ore deposit is commonly known as "shot ore," or "mustard-seed ore," and is of a reddish-brown color. The ore, upon being reduced, produces about 45 per cent. of metal.

DISTRIBUTION.—Similar deposits are found in the same geological horizon, at different points from Ohio eastward, and from Alabama northward to Nova Scotia.

METHOD OF FORMATION.—Similar ore is now being deposited in some of the Swedish lakes, through drainage from ferruginous districts, and, as no marine fossils are found in the strata, it is probable that the same system of lake, lagoon and estuary accumulations have here produced the same results.

FOSSILS.—In the Wisconsin beds no fossils belonging to this deposit have been found.

NIAGARA PERIOD.

FORMATION. DERIVATION.—This period is a limestone formation and consists of dolomites of various textures throughout the entire deposit. Its thickness in the southern part of the state is 450 feet; at

* Geologists have divided these two ages into seven epochs. See Wis. Geol., Vol. I., 178.

Sheboygan about 800 feet. The name is derived from Niagara Falls, and the period is prominent for its coral reefs.

SUBMERGENCE.—At the close of the previous iron-bearing epoch, the sea advanced upon the land and buried all the eastern, southern and western portions of the state. This advancing sea brought sedimentary elements, which were favorable to the limestone formation which produced the Niagara period.

CORAL REEFS.—The most ancient coral reefs yet identified undoubtedly had their seat under the Mayville beds, whose texture shows shallow water formation. Along the eastern portion of the state, for a distance of sixty miles or more, and extending into Illinois, there lay a chain of barren rocks. These reefs were the home of corals of different species, and were adorned by Crinoids, Bryozoans, Trilobites, Mollusks and the gigantic Zephalopods. One of these reefs, which is partially exposed near Saukville, is a mass of coral remains embedded in calcareous sand. These reefs have been traced as far north as Washington and Ozaukee counties.

CORAL BEDS.—In the town of Byron, Fond du Lac county, the magnesian limestone reaches a maximum thickness of 110 feet. The color is light gray and cream tints, and at some points handsomely mottled with pink. Some portion of the Byron deposit will take a fair polish, resembling marble. The Byron deposit constitutes the lower coral beds, and is characterized by its abundance of favositoioid corals and varieties of *Pentamerus Oblongus*. The upper coal beds in this deposit are prolific with corals which are associated with other species.*

LIFE.—The general character of both animal and plant life during this period and the attending circumstances are finely portrayed and illustrated in Vol. I., Wis. Geol., pp. 188–196.

COLONIZING TENDENCIES.—The distribution of life during this period had a tendency to colonize at different points, as follows:

Crinoids at Wauwatosa.

Trilobites at Waukesha.

Pentamerus Oblongus at Pewaukee.

Pentamirus Ventricosus at Kewaunee.

Corals at Saukville, Green Bay, Byron and Mayville.

DISTRIBUTION.—The Niagara limestone occupies nearly all of the belt between Green Bay, Rock river valley and Lake Michigan. The formation also appears in the southwestern part of the state, and, undoubtedly, at one time covered the whole southern portion of the state. Eastward the formation passes around the basins of Lake Michigan and Huron. From Lake Huron it passes southeast to Niagara Falls, thence eastward beyond the center of New York, where it thins

* Geol. Wis., Vol. I., 189.

out towards the Hudson river. It occurs in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Tennessee. The formation also extends from Eastern Wisconsin across Northern Illinois, and northwesterly through Iowa and Minnesota, and again appears in the British possessions.

LOWER HELDERBURG EPOCH.

DERIVATION. FORMATION.—The formation derived its name from the Helderburg mountains of New York. The formation in Wisconsin is limited to Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties. The formation in Milwaukee county is a brittle magnesian limestone deposit. It is thin bedded and readily splits into flags. At Ozaukee county the rock is closely associated with the Niagara limestone and is covered by the drift.

THE SALINA EPOCH.

At the close of the Guelph limestone deposit the sea withdrew for a period, depositing the Onondaga salt beds, which were cut off from the receding sea.

After the salt-forming epoch the sea advanced and encroached upon the eastern border of Wisconsin, then after a time withdrew, leaving the state entirely land for another period.

CLOSE OF SILURIAN AGE.—Thus closed the Silurian age, which was remarkable for its quiet conservative progress. Slight oscillations of the surface during the age are noticeable, but no profound volcanic disturbance occurred.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEVONIAN AGE, OR AGE OF FISHES.

DURING the thousands of centuries that had rolled slowly on, the land had been covered with water at periods which varied from centuries to extended eras, as the records of the rocks bear written and positive evidence.

NAME. FORMATION.—The name was proposed by Murchison and Ledwick, to replace the older term red sandstone in the Devonshire strata.*

The Devonian formations embrace: (1), a basal sandstone series; (2), a central limestone group; and, (3) an overlying shale and sandstone series.

The age is divided into the following epochs:

Devonian age:—Closing detrital epochs; central limestone epochs; opening detrital epochs.

It was in the middle of the Devonian age that the sea reached our territory, so that the Hamilton epoch, which is one of the three subdivided epochs of the central limestone epoch, is the only formation in the state of these classes.

HAMILTON EPOCH.

NAME. FORMATION.—The name is derived from Hamilton, N. Y., where the formation is pronounced. The formation is impure limestone, and characterized in certain localities on account of its cement properties.

SUBDIVISION OF THE PERIOD.—The epoch may be said to contain three distinct periods; (1), that of advancing waters and coarse deposits; (2), deep water and limestone; and, (3) the retiring waters and shaly deposits.

STATE DISTRIBUTION.—The deposit occurs in the eastern margin of the state, in the form of magnesian limestone, mingled with salicious and illuminous material, and known as the Milwaukee cement rock. The deposit is local, and limited to a few miles immediately north of Milwaukee. The cement rock is found on the Milwaukee river above the city. It is soft, thick bedded, and of a bluish-gray color.

LIFE.—At the dawn of this era, the life history of Wisconsin was characterized by higher types of both animal and vegetable life, although the former was in the form of fishes. At this time the Ohio

*International Cyclopedia.

waters were swarming with monster fishes, while in the far-distant European seas they flourished at the close of the Upper Silurian Age.

INSECTS.—The first known insects appeared in this epoch, although none have been found in this state.

LAND PLANTS.—Although no land plants have been found in the state, they appear elsewhere in the formation. It is believed that the land was widely covered with both plants and verdure during this epoch. The days of flowering plants had not yet arrived.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION.—The Hamilton formation skirts the coal basin of the lower peninsula of Michigan, and forms limited areas in Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri.

It also extends from Canada to New York, and southward into Pennsylvania and Virginia. In Illinois, it emerges from beneath the coal measures at Rock Island, and stretches northwesterly through Iowa, Minnesota, and the British possessions to the Arctic region. On the eastern Atlantic coast, it is found in Maine, New Brunswick, and at Gaspe.

THE OCEAN'S LAST KNOWN VISIT.—The close of the Hamilton period witnessed the ocean's last known visit to our territories. If it ever afterwards encroached, the rocks did not record the fact.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CARBONIFEROUS AGE.

NAME. FORMATION.—The name, Carboniferous, was given the age because of the carbon contained in the series. This is the most valuable of the rock series, on account of its great storehouse from which is obtained the supply of coal, iron, and lime. The age embraces: (1), a period marked by detrital beds at the base, lime in the center, and detrital beds again at the summit; (2), a prominent period of oscillation near the sea; and, (3) a period of mountain elevation in the western region.

None of the above formations are found in Wisconsin. It approaches within about 100 miles east, south and west. In those days, Wisconsin was a peninsula, projecting southward in the region of the carboniferous deposits, and was dry land amidst the marshes and shallow seas.

FOSSIL FORESTS. COAL ORIGIN.—The great coal measures have generally been formed from the vegetation of the locality. It is assumed, from the evidence extant, that the foundations of the great coal deposits were originally great forests.

At Parkfield colliery, near Wolverhampton, in 1844, in the space of about one-fourth of an acre, the stumps of seventy-three trees, with roots attached, were found. The trees were all broken off close to the roots, and from measurements, must have been from one to eight feet in circumference, and from eight to thirty feet in length. The trees were all converted into coal, and were flattened to the thickness of one or two inches. Similiar fossil forests have been found in the coal fields of Nova Scotia.

ANCIENT FORESTS. PEAT DEPOSITS.—Ancient forests belonging to a later period have been found in beds of peat. From numerous evidences, it is established that some kinds of peat have their origin in the destruction of forests. At Blair-Drummond, the peat stratum is from eight to ten feet in depth, and in some places even twenty feet. Many of these trees were felled by the ax of the Romans, when they were in possession of the country, which is proved by the "corduroy" roads which led from one camp to another, and the finding of the camp kettles at the bottom of the peat deposit.

LIFE.—The new relations between the sea and the land, occasioned by the non-trespassing of the former, produced during this age marked changes in the character of life. The atmosphere was both warm and damp, which conditions were favorable to the mammoth vegetable growth, as well as being favorable to a more pronounced animal life.

ORIGIN OF BITUMINOUS COAL.—While, during the great Coal Age, the land vegetation flourished in great and luxuriant abundance, Dame Nature was kindly storing it away for the use of future ages. Large portions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Kentucky, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas had not then emerged from the sea. The land oscillated near the sea level, sometimes being above and sometimes below, forming extensive marshes and lagoons. At the stages when the surface stood just above the level of the sea, the vegetation of the period grew in unparalleled luxuriance. Floating vegetation also formed on the lagoons and lakelets, and contributed to the plant deposit.

The vegetable matter was thus prevented from decay by the preserving qualities of the water, and in this manner there gathered during the lapse of time, beds of great thickness. At length, through changes of the earth, the sea returned, bringing with it detrital material, and spreading it over these great vegetable beds. Repeated growths, attended by repeated oscillation, covered the vegetable deposits and multiplied the coal seams, thus giving rise to the great coal measures.

ASSOCIATE IRON STRATA.—Associated with the coal series we find interstratified beds of iron ore, the origin of which is the indirect result of the marsh vegetation of the period.

AREA OF IRON DEPOSIT.—The larger portion of the coal fields of the world belong to this system of formation. It is estimated that 40,000 square miles of the earth's surface are now covered by productive coal fields.

RIVERS.—According to the Devonian system, the Alleghany mountains were islands and coral reefs during the Devonian period.

There were no large rivers at this time. The valleys of the Hudson, the Connecticut, the Mississippi, and the St. Lawrence were merely outlined. The interior Mediterranean opened south into the Gulf of Mexico, and north into the Arctic sea, covering a large portion of the present continent with shallow lagoons, separated by low, sandy areas.

UPHEAVALS.—During the Peruvian period* of this age, the pronounced settling of eastern portions of the United States was followed by epochs of great upheavals. The rock waves that formed the Appalachian mountains, with their thousands of feet of fractured rock, bear evidence of those great events.

*See Le Conte, Elements of Geol., p. 400.



REPTILES OF THE MESOZOIC ERA.

CHAPTER X.

THE AGE OF REPTILES.

EUROPEAN geologists have divided this age into three groups, viz : (1), the Triassic, because in Germany there are three distinct subdivisions; (2), the Jurassic, on account of its remarkable display in the Jura mountains; and, (3) the Cretaceous, on account of its English and French-chalk deposits.

The American Mesozoic era is divided into: (1), the Jura-Trias, and, (2) the Cretaceous.

AMERICAN DISTRIBUTION.—The Triassic series is overlapped upon the Atlantic and Gulf borders, and in the western plains and mountains, but does not closely approach Wisconsin. The Jurassic series occurs in the same region, but in the Missouri and Mississippi valleys it extends east, covering the portions of Iowa and Minnesota bordering upon our state. The Wisconsin deposit is supposed to be Cretaceous drift from Minnesota, as it only appears upon the northwestern edge of our state.

EFFECTS OF UPHEAVAL.—The Appalachian revolution caused marked changes in the geography of the country, as well as in the climate. The ocean contracted, and mountain ranges appeared from the depth of the sea, causing diverse atmospheric currents, thus inaugurating new climate conditions.

TRANSFORMATION OF SPECIES.—The transformation of the geography of the country, together with the new climate conditions, produced an extraordinary and sudden change of living species, which has no fossiliferous parallel in life history.

REPTILES.—The new life era was characterized by the enormous development of the Reptilian species. They were not only monsters in size, but were monstrosities in form. In the waters were great swimming saurians, with the combined characteristics of both fish and lizard, while monsters of the combined character of the whale and crocodile were numerous.

The monstrous plesiosaurus had a turtle-like body, a snake-like head, and cetacean paddles.*

During this age the sea, the air, and the earth, were peopled and ruled by these monsters. Amphibians that are now represented by frogs, and such diminutive animals, were then represented by labyrinthodonts of an extraordinary size.

The sea saurians were from seventy to eighty feet in length, while the smaller species were from thirty to forty feet in length, but had

*Wis. Geol., Vol. 1, 226.

powerful bodies. The dinosaurs were of elephantine proportions and were thirty to forty feet in length, while the *Atlantus-aurus*, that lived in western regions, had a total length of 100 feet. Crocodilians were several times the length of the modern species, while the huge turtles were fifteen feet across, and were among the lesser attractions of this great menagerie of reptiles.

REPTILIAN BIRDS.—Solenhofen is the earliest known fossil bird. The celebrated solenhofen was possessed of full clothing of feathers, was armed with teeth, and had a long vertebrated tail, with the caudal feathers attached on both sides, two to a joint. At this early date, there was remarkable diversity between these birds, notwithstanding their reptilian affinities.*

MAMMALS.—In the Triassic period, we find Marsupiatat† type of mammals,‡ which were the lowest of the class, and possessed reptilian features.

FISHES.—The fish type during this period also had reptilian features. This character lingered through the Mesozoic era, and only died away in the beginning of the Tertiary age, and was superseded by the Teliost type.

DIVERSITY OF VERDURE.—During the Carboniferous age the Acrogeus§ predominated, and in the Jura-Trias the Gymnosperms; during the Cretaceous epoch, the first known forms of Angiosperms, the Oak, the Poplar, the Maple, Beech, Hickory, Willow, Sycamore, Sassafras, and Tulip trees, as well as the Sequoia|| and Palms, adorned the earth.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE AGE.—During this period, there were detached basins along the Atlantic border, while an immense bay occupied the Lower Mississippi valley and extended north as far as Cairo, Ill. A large arm of the sea reached north from the Gulf through the region of the plains to the Arctic sea. Between the Paleozoic lands of the western mountain region were several interlocked seas or bays. The line of sea deposit nearly approached us on the west during the Cretaceous period.

*Prof. Marsh discovered a new type of tooth birds—the Odontornithes. They belong to two distinct orders: One corresponding to the Struthious birds of the present day, represented by the Ostrich species, with abortive wings and incapable of flight. This bird has an elongated bill set with sharp conical teeth, fixed in grooves, similar to the lower reptilian types. The other was similar to our ordinary bird, with extraordinary powers of flight, and armed with a long bill with conical teeth inserted in distinct sockets, similar to the higher reptilian types.

†Purse-bearing animals.

‡Prof. Owen divided these animals into five tribes. With the exception of one American and one Malayan genus, all known existing marsupials belong to Australia, Tasmania, and New Guinea.

§Tree Ferns.

||Coniferous trees of the Cypress family. The gigantic redwood trees of California are one species of this family.

At this time, the waters advanced nearly across Minnesota, filling up the inequalities of the earth, and eroding the surface with carbonaceous and calcareous sediment.

MOUNTAIN RAISING AND IGNEOUS EJECTIONS.—At the close of the Jura-Trias epoch, there appeared an epoch of mountain lifting. The great event of the epoch was the elevation of the Sierra Nevada mountain range. The igneous ejections which marked the period are found from Nova Scotia to North Carolina.

CHAPTER XI.

TERTIARY AGE.

NAME.—Tertiary is the term applied to all the strata of the earth's crust above the Cretaceous rocks, except the superficial beds recently raised to distinct groups. Tertiary is synonymous with Canozoic, and is divided into three divisions, viz. (1), the Pleisocene; (2), the Miocene and, (3) the Eocene Periods.

FORMATION OF LAKES.—The effect of the general elevation at the close of the preceding age caused the sea to return to the borders of the present continent. Great lakes formed in the interior of the continent, and carried on the work of sedimentation, in a manner comparable to that of the ocean.

It is suggested by Prof. Chamberlain that this period in the American continent might appropriately be designated as the Great Lake age. Innumerable groups of lakes marked the period of the age, and their deposits cover large areas of the Great Plains and Cordeleron region, embracing large portions of the Tertiary deposits.

LIFE OF THE AGE.—At the commencement of the Tertiary age, there dawned a new life era, which was occasioned by the favorable conditions which followed the retiring sea. The pure waters of the lakes, the shallow shores, bays and land-locked armlets, afforded both attraction and protection for all kinds of animals and birds. Tertiary forests and groves were in those days similar to those of our own warm temperate zone.

Animal life became transformed and modernized. The huge reptilian monsters and monstrosities no longer ruled the land and the sea.*

*It is suggested by Prof. Chamberlain that the cold produced by the Post-Cretaceous elevation brought about the transformation of the reptilian species.

The great reptilian Dinosauria* gave place to the still-greater mammalian Dinoscercus.† The whole reptilian class at the beginning of the Tertiary age gradually sank to subordinate places.

MOUNTAIN MAKING.—The quietude of the age was disturbed at the close of the Eocene period, which caused a moderate elevation along the Atlantic. The Coast range was formed at the close of the Miocene period, which involved the whole western area, while, at the close of the age, there was a general continental elevation which lifted the whole several hundred feet above the present altitude. The elevation at the north of the continent was more pronounced, and is estimated at from 1000 to 2000 feet above its present position.

IGNEOUS ERUPTIONS.—From the Miocene period to the Quaternary age the western mountain range was in moderate igneous activity. At the same time, South America, Europe, and Southern Asia experienced similar activities. The Tertiary age might well be called the age of eruptions.

*The wonderful order of extinct lizards found in the lower Cretaceous beds. They were gigantic reptiles, and stood upon four strong limbs.

†This was a gigantic animal of elephantine proportions, and armed with three pairs of short stout, horns, one on the nose, one on the cheeks, and one on the forehead. It resembled the Rhinoceros of the present day.



CHAPTER XII.

INTERVAL BETWEEN DEVONIAN AND GLACIAL PERIODS.

LEVELING OF HEIGHTS.—Isle Wisconsin from its very beginning was much exposed to the combined incessant atmospheric elements and the waging of the oceanic battles, which agencies decomposed the exposed portions and washed the sediments into the sea, and became the foundation of the adjacent lands. During this interval the mountainous Archean portion of the state was cut down from its lofty heights essentially to its present altitude. The thousands of feet which the northern portion of the state once attained are now nowhere more than 2000 feet above the sea.

CARVING OF THE PLAINS.—When the southern portion of the state emerged from the ancient sea it presented an exceedingly plain, smooth surface. During the wear of the ages, the plains were channeled and carved into hills and valleys, by running streams.* In the ancient Laurentian period, the upheavals predetermined the great drainage system. After the Laurentian period, as from an elevated center, the waters have through all subsequent ages been shed towards all points of the compass, upon the surrounding lower lands.

DEPTH OF ANCIENT CHANNELS.—The Mississippi river channel is now at least 100 feet above the ancient bed. Loose material was found at a depth of 170 feet, while sinking a well at La Crosse, and at Prairie du Chien, at a depth of 147 feet. The Rock river, at Janesville, is estimated at 250 feet above the ancient bed, which fact strengthens the belief that the ancient depth of the Mississippi was greater than that indicated. According to the observation of Mr. Strong, the valley was filled during the drift period to a height varying from fifty to seventy-five feet above its present surface.†

THE BASIN OF LAKE MICHIGAN.—It is maintained by certain geologists that the great basin now occupied by Lake Michigan was caused by glacial excavations during the era next under consideration. Others, on the contrary, maintain that the great basin is only a slightly modified river valley, whose outlet was blocked up by glacial debris, and not in any manner due to glacial action. According to Dr. New-

*A large area in the southern portion of the state was not subjected to the Glacial periods.

†Maj. Warren, in the *Am. Jour. of Sci.*, of Dec., 1878, maintained that the whole Mississippi valley was excavated since the Glacial period. The evidence, however, is overwhelmingly against such a view.

berry, the bed of Lake Michigan is a "broad, boat-shaped depression, sixty to eighty miles wide, descending more than 300 feet below the ancient bed of the Mississippi."

LAKE MICHIGAN'S DEPTH.—The present mud-bed of Lake Michigan is estimated at 300 feet below tide water, while from 100 to 200 feet is allowed for sedimentary accumulations on the bottom of the lake, as not only a sheet of glacial drift lies there, but the sediments of all ages. Geologists estimate that the rock bottom is at least from 400 to 500 feet below tide-water.

LAKE SUPERIOR'S BASIN.—Glancing at the greatest of the lakes, we find an irregular contour of margin and bottom, with a depth of more than 400 feet below ocean level. This great trough, or basin, was formed in ancient Keweenawan times, and was filled during the Cambrian and Lower Silurian ages. This great basin was filled hundreds of feet above the present lake level, with sedimentary accumulations. Prof. Chamberlain concluded that this great basin was due: (1), to the combined drainage system, which carved the basin deeply; and, (2) to great glacial movements.*

*Wis. Geol., Vol. I., 258.



CHAPTER XIII.

QUATERNARY, OR ICE AGE.

THE most remarkable of all the chapters in the earth's history is the Glacial period, whose history is legibly written in the great lake basins, the river beds and valleys, and engraved upon the rocks throughout the great northwest.

FIRST GLACIAL PERIOD.

ICE ACCUMULATIONS.—In the Tertiary age which preceded this epoch, the climate was warm, not only on the continent, but in the Arctic regions. The character of the inhabitants of the continent, as well as the existence of fauna and flora found in the Arctic regions, established the fact that the climate was principally warm.

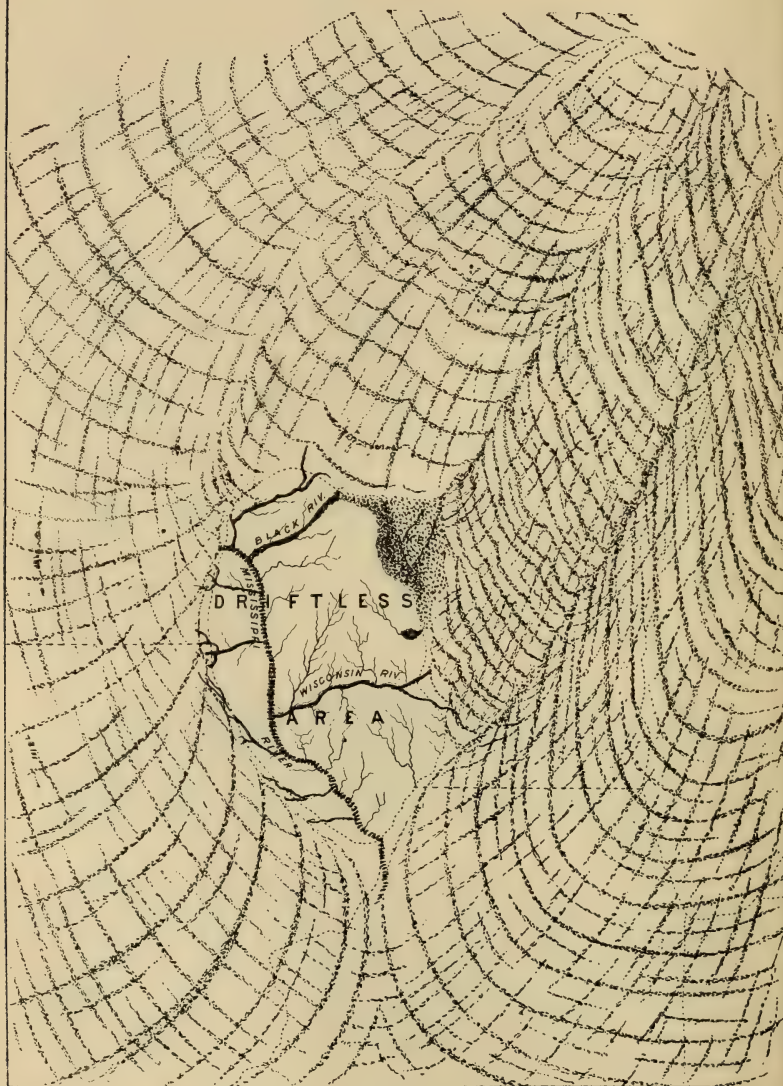
The Quaternary age was ushered into existence and baptized in snow, followed by an exceptionally cold period. The climate was so rigorous that the snow-fall during the winter failed to disappear during the summer, thus the residue of snow was left over to form a foundation for the next snow-fall. Through these continued natural agencies, which may have lasted centuries, there accumulated an immense depth of snow upon the whole northern regions. According to established principles, well illustrated in the perpetual snow of the Arctic and Alpine regions, the accumulated mass solidified, by the pressure and natural tendency to cohere, aided by the penetrating waters above, which congealed below. Thus the immense snow-field became a great ice-sheet.

GLACIAL FLOWS.—The laws governing the flow of ice masses have repeatedly been demonstrated by such learned and able scientists as Agassiz, Forbes, Tyndall, and others. According to these authorities, the ice in large bodies is essentially similar to thick, heavy fluids, flowing faster over steep slopes and slower over lesser ones, frequently retarded by friction along the sides and bottom, while the flow is faster at the top and in the center.

ORIGIN OF GLACIAL CLIMATE.—While the agencies which produced the great glacial epochs are still subjects of inquiry and debate, the main authorities agree upon two classes of originating influences, viz.: (1), geographical changes emphasized by a northern elevation and extension of land, producing modifications of oceanic currents; and, (2) astronomical causes producing long, cold winters and short, hot summers, and the reverse. Perhaps a combination of the two causes created the glacial climate.*

*Wis. Geol., Vol. I. 287.

FIRST GLACIAL PERIOD



FIRST GLACIAL PERIOD.—HYPOTHETICAL.

GLACIAL COURSE.—The great ice-sheet flowed slowly down from the north and northeast, then led away to the southwest by the Superior valley, and southward through the Mississippi valley. These great glacial streams in passing down the valleys excavated them more deeply. The northern portion of Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, and Lake Huron, where the glacier first invaded, is more deeply excavated than elsewhere. This is accounted for by the natural tendency of the ice to melt as it flowed southward.

DRIFTLESS AREA.—The Driftless area, in the southern portion of the state, shows that the great valleys east and west, aided by northern highlands, led away the advancing ice, thus protecting this portion of our state from the great ice drift. The Driftless area occupies a large area in central, southern and western Wisconsin, and includes a narrow strip of land west of the Mississippi, in Iowa and Minnesota, and a small portion in northwestern Illinois. The glacial stream was so gigantically immense that a portion of it passed over the highlands and descended its southern slope, penetrating to the central portion of the state, a distance of more than 100 miles.*

PERIOD OF ICE FLOW.—The duration of the first glacial epoch is unknown, but from the unmistakable evidence the period was of short duration. After the ice flow reached a certain stage, it melted back faster than it advanced, until it finally withdrew from our territory as well as from the Canadian highlands.

INTERVAL BETWEEN GLACIAL EPOCHS.—Recent investigations of the great moraine† of the second glacial epoch, and comparisons between the first and second drifts, appear to have developed a pronounced harmony between drift phenomena and a modification of Croll's astronomical hypothesis. "Two periods of great eccentricity occurred about 200,000 and 100,000 years ago, respectively, with a period of low eccentricity between, and once since, in the midst of which we now are."‡ These two great stages of eccentricity are supposed to have furnished conditions favorable to the glacial epochs.

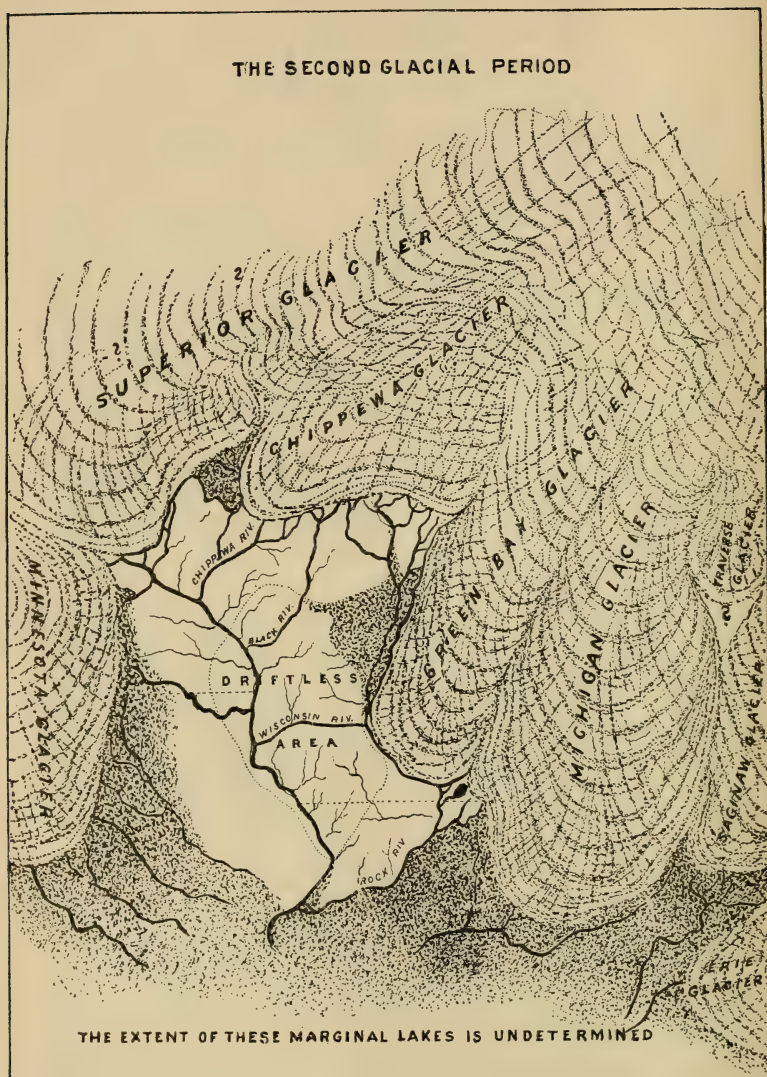
SECOND GLACIAL EPOCH.

Nature, during the interval, again accumulated in her great northern abode immense ice fields which, for the second time, moved grandly and majestically southward. This great ice tour was comparatively unimpeded, as it followed in the well-worn path of its predecessor. The great glacial movements which affected Wisconsin and the adjacent territory are designated as follows:

*Wis. Geol., Vol. 1., 270. Annual report of Wis. Geol. Survey, 32. Winchell's Annual Report, Nat. Hist. Survey of Minn., 35. Am. Jour. of Sci., Dana's, 1878, 250.

†Debris left in the track of glaciers.

‡Wis. Geol., Vol. I., 287.



SECOND GLACIAL PERIOD.—HYPOTHETICAL.

LAKE MICHIGAN GLACIER.—A great tongue of ice similar in form to the lake basin, but extending many miles farther east and west, took its mighty course southward and extended some distance into Indiana and Illinois. In Wisconsin, this glacier extended from Kewaunee county southward and parallel with the lake, through Manitowoc, Sheboygan, Fond du Lac, Washington, Waukesha, Jefferson, Walworth, Racine, and Kenosha counties.

GREEN BAY GLACIER.—Another ice tongue moved southward down the Green Bay and Rock river valley, spreading out and joining the Michigan glacier on the east. This glacier moved northwestward through Walworth county, then curved westward across the corner of Green county, then northward through Dane, Sauk, Adams, Waukesha, Portage, Waupaca, and Shawano counties, into Lincoln, where it joined the Keweenawau, in Chippewa valley glacier.

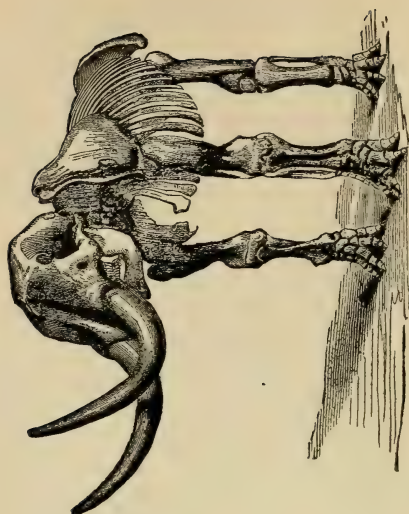
CHIPPEWA VALLEY GLACIER.—Then, from over the highlands from Keweenawau Bay, came another glacier and descended the Chippewa river. It formed a junction with the Green Bay glacier in Lincoln county, then ran southwesterly through Taylor and Chippewa counties, crossing the Chippewa river, thence it curved northward between Chippewa and Barron counties, then followed the watershed between the Chippewa and Numakagon rivers, nearly to Lake Superior.

LAKE SUPERIOR GLACIER.—The greatest glacier of them all was the Lake Superior glacier, which passed southwesterly through Lake Superior into Minnesota, and lightly touched the northwestern portion of our state. This glacier swept across the Mississippi river, south of St. Paul, and across the Minnesota river, thence northwest to an unknown distance.

TRACING ICE MOVEMENTS.—The great ice movements are determined: (1), by the wear of the rocks; (2), by the abrasion which prominences have suffered; (3), by the direction in which the material is deposited; (4), by the trend of elongated domes of polished rock; and, (5) by arrangement of deposited material.

ORIGIN OF HILLS, KETTLES, AND RANGES.—The areas of hills, kettles, and ridges in the state correspond to the general direction of ice movements during the two epochs. During the great ice drift, an immense amount of drift accumulated at the foot of the melting mass, which was plowed up into massive ridges. Repeated oscillation gave rise to parallel ridges, and explains the complexity of the ranges. Whenever a great tongue of ice was thrust into the accumulated mass, jagged and broken lines were formed. It has been suggested by Mr. Charles Whittelsey, that the ice masses became incorporated in the drift, and, upon melting, caused deep depressions which was the origin of Kettles.* A large portion of them were undoubtedly caused by

*Wis. Geol., Vol. I., 281.



AMERICAN MASTODONS—RESTORED BY OWEN.

irregularities of the drift material, and the action of the ice upon the drift.

DEPOSIT OF DEBRIS.—We are indebted to the glaciers for the large amount of different kinds of rock promiscuously deposited over northern and eastern Wisconsin. The range sediment, as well as the scattered debris, was in part derived from adjacent formations, while some were brought from hundreds of miles northward.

OUTLET OF THE GREAT LAKES.—During the Quaternary age, Lake Michigan's waters were discharged southwesterly into the Mississippi, through the Illinois valley, while Lake Erie poured its waters into the Mississippi, through the Maumee-Wabash valley. Later on, through agencies now unknown, the great lakes poured their waters into the northern Atlantic.

LIFE HISTORY.—The formation of peat deposits and other indications of verdure during this inter-glacial period is well established. The great lakes and rivers which formed at the time of the glacial retreat, are supposed to have buried these vegetable deposits.* Upon the close of the second Glacial period, elephants and gigantic mastodons,† roamed over the whole territory, from Canada to Texas. The relics of these great mammals have been exhumed from our swamps, and from the crevices in the lead region.

MAN.—In the Post-Glacial period, we find the first remains of man—the great king of mammals. In the mussel-beds at Cagliari, in Sardinia, which must have emerged from the ocean 20,000 years ago, was found a flat ball of baked earthenware, with a hole through its axis. Count De La Marmora conjectures that it was used for weighting a fishing net. The celebrated Agassiz estimated that it took the coral reefs of the southern half of peninsular Florida 135,000 years to form. In one of these coral banks, human jaws, teeth, and bones of the feet were found, which, according to estimates of that noted authority, must have been 10,000 years old.

*Upon the borders of Green Lake, petrified corn-cobs have been exhumed, from beneath six feet of glacial debris.

†The most complete skeleton ever found in America was discovered, in 1845, at Newburg, Orange County, N. Y., in a swamp usually covered with water. This skeleton is now mounted, and is in Boston. The skeleton stands eleven feet in height, and is seventeen feet long. The circumference around the ribs is sixteen feet five inches, and the tusks are eleven feet long. Similar species belong to the European extinct type.

AREA AND POPULATION OF WISCONSIN COUNTIES.

ELEVENTH CENSUS.

	AREA IN SQUARE MILES.	CENSUS, 1890, POPULATION.	EST. POPULATION, SEPT. 1892.
Adams.....	690.....	6,889.....	7,333
Ashland	1,648.....	20,063.....	21,066
Barron	900	15,416.....	16,187
Bayfield	1,406	7,390.....	8,129
Brown.....	530.....	39,164	41,122
Buffalo	657.....	15,997.....	17,597
Burnett.....	891.....	4,393.....	4,613
Calumet	340.....	16,639.....	17,471
Chippewa.....	1,980.....	25,143.....	26,400
Clark	1,224.....	17,708.....	18,593
Columbia	780.....	28,350.....	29,767
Crawford	535.....	15,987.....	16,786
Dane.....	1,200.....	59,578.....	62,557
Dodge.....	900.....	44,984.....	47,233
Door.....	450.....	15,682.....	16,466
Douglas	1,336.....	13,468.....	14,141
Dunn.....	860.....	22,664.....	23,797
Eau Claire.....	648.....	30,673.....	32,522
Florence.....	498.....	2,604.....	2,784
Fond du Lac.....	720.....	44,088.....	46,292
Forest.....	1,276	1,012.....	1,113
Grant.....	1,130.....	36,651.....	38,484
Green	576.....	22,732.....	23,869
Green Lake.....	360.....	15,163.....	15,921
Iowa	740.....	22,117.....	23,223
Jackson.....	992.....	15,797.....	16,587
Jefferson.....	570.....	33,530.....	35,207
Juneau	800.....	17,121.....	17,977
Kenosha.....	280.....	15,581.....	16,360
Kewaunee	336.....	16,153.....	16,961
Lafayette.....	630.....	20,265.....	21,278
Langlade.....	876.....	9,465.....	10,412
Lincoln.....	700.....	12,008	13,209
Manitowoc.....	587.....	37,831.....	39,723
Marathon	1,584.....	30,693.....	32,228
Marinette	1,118.....	20,304.....	21,319
Marquette	481.....	9,676.....	10,160
Milwaukee	232.....	236,101.....	259,711

LIST OF ELEVATIONS.

43

	AREA IN SQUARE MILES.	CENSUS, 1890, POPULATION.	EST. POPULATION, SEPT. 1892.
Monroe.....	900.....	23,211.....	24,372
Oconto.....	1,127.....	15,009.....	15,795
Oneida.....	2,036.....	5,010.....	5,611
Outagamie.....	640.....	38,690.....	40,625
Ozaukee.....	232.....	14,943.....	15,690
Pepin.....	244.....	6,932.....	7,625
Pierce.....	570.....	20,385.....	21,404
Polk.....	955.....	12,968.....	13,616
Portage.....	792.....	24,798.....	26,038
Price.....	1,160.....	5,258.....	5,521
Racine.....	340.....	36,268.....	38,099
Richland.....	570.....	19,121.....	20,077
Rock.....	720.....	43,220.....	45,381
St. Croix.....	730.....	23,139.....	24,296
Sauk.....	837.....	30,575.....	32,104
Sawyer.....	1,368.....	1,977.....	2,076
Shawano.....	1,152.....	19,236.....	20,198
Sheboygan.....	515.....	42,489.....	46,738
Taylor.....	990.....	6,731.....	7,068
Trempealeau.....	732.....	18,920.....	20,812
Vernon.....	800.....	25,111.....	26,367
Walworth.....	570.....	27,860.....	29,253
Washburn.....	864.....	2,926.....	3,219
Washington.....	432.....	22,751.....	23,889
Waukesha.....	576.....	33,270.....	34,934
Waupaca.....	757.....	26,794.....	28,134
Waushara.....	645.....	13,507.....	14,182
Winnebago.....	460.....	50,097.....	52,602
Wood.....	828.....	18,127.....	19,033
Total.....	54,450	1,686,880	

LIST OF ELEVATIONS.

	ABOVE LAKE MICHIGAN. Feet.	HIGHEST POINT ABOVE OCEAN. Feet.		ABOVE LAKE MICHIGAN. Feet.	HIGHEST POINT ABOVE OCEAN. Feet.
Ashford.....	516.....	1,094	Cedarburg.....	352.....	930
Auburn.....	490.....	1,068	Center.....	400.....	978
Azleton.....	297.....	875	Chilton.....	669.....	1,247
Beaver Dam....	340.....	918	Clinton.....	373.....	951
Beloit.....	314.....	892	Delavan.....	571.....	1,149
Black Earth....	232.....	810	De Pere.....	245.....	823
Burnett.....	299.....	877	Eagle.....	370.....	948
Calumet.....	410.....	988	Eden.....	515.....	1,093

HISTORY OF WISCONSIN.

	ABOVE LAKE MICHIGAN.		HIGHEST POINT ABOVE OCEAN.	
	Feet.		Feet.	
Elba	277.....		855	
Empire.....	399.....		977	
Farmington....	439.....	1,017		
Forest	515.....	1,093		
Fox Lake.....	412.....	990		
Franklin.....	335.....	913		
Geneva	445.....	1,023		
Genesee	350.....	928		
Germantown...	328.....	906		
Granville.....	212.....	790		
Green Bay.....	238.....	816		
Greenbush	417.....	995		
Greenfield	255.....	833		
Hartford.....	740.....	1,318		
Holland	307.....	885		
Jackson	440.....	1,018		
Janesville.	295.....	873		
Jefferson.....	442.....	1,020		
Kewaskum.....	528.....	1,106		
Kewaunee	145.....	723		
Koshkonong....	298.....	876		
Lafayette.....	443.....	1,021		
Lake.....	190.....	768		
Lake Mills.....	398.....	976		
Lincoln.....	232.....	810		
Lynn.....	368.....	946		
Lowell	305.....	883		
Lyndon	492.....	1,070		
Magnolia	450.....	1,028		
Manitowoc.....	213.....	791		
Maple Grove....	329.....	907		
Marshfield (Fond du Lac Co.)	450.....	1,028		
Menasha	177.....	755		
Menominee.....	334.....	912		
Metomen	421.....	999		
Milton.....	375.....	953		
Milwaukee	158.....	736		
Mount Pleasure..	203.....	781		
Newark	379.....	957		
New Berlin.....	336.....	914		
New Denmark...	328.....	906		
New Holstein...	484.....	1,062		
Norway	224.....	802		
Oak Creek.....	161.....	739		
Oak Grove.....	363.....		941	
Oakland	363.....		941	
Osceola.....	566.....	1,144		
Pewaukee	308.....		886	
Pierce	179.....		757	
Pleasant Prairie..	160.....		738	
Plymouth.....	412.....		990	
Polk.....	594.....	1,172		
Portland.....	340.....		918	
Prairie du Chien.	41.....		619	
Randall.....	340.....		918	
Red River.....	285.....		863	
Rhine.....	426.....	1,004		
Richfield.....	542.....	1,110		
Ripon.....	400.....		978	
Rock	306.....		884	
Rockland.....	320.....		898	
Rosendale.....	440.....	1,018		
Saukville.....	249.....		827	
Sheboygan	149.....		727	
Sheboygan Falls.	190.....		768	
Sherman	473.....	1,051		
Spring Prairie..	401.....		979	
Spring Valley...	423.....	1,001		
Stockbridge	399.....		977	
Sturgeon Bay...	460.....	1,038		
Taycheedah....	451.....	1,029		
Trenton	345.....		923	
Tray	217.....		895	
Turtle.....	330.....		908	
Union.....	442.....	1,020		
Washington....	226.....		804	
Waterford.,....	330.....		908	
Waterloo	401.....		979	
Waukesha	305.....		883	
Waupun	314.....		892	
Wauwatosa	228.....		806	
West Bend.....	564.....	1,142		
Westford	412.....		990	
Whitewater....	317.....		895	
Woodville	318.....		896	
Wrightstown ...	332.....		910	
Yorkville	207.....		785	

CHAPTER XIV.

PRE-HISTORIC WISCONSIN.

Early Asiatic Emigration.—Southward Emigration to Mexico.—Appeasing the Gods.—Architecture of the Mysterious People.—Mummification of the Dead.—Ancient Unknown Fortifications.—Antiquities.—Mound Builders.

WISCONSIN, and in fact, most of the territory bordering upon the great waterways in North America, has been for diverse periods in the remote centuries, peopled by various waves of Mongoloid* emigration from the continent of Asia.

The relics of the great hairy mammoth, on both sides of the Straits of Behring, is most convincing evidence of a land connection between Asia and North America, and is strong evidence in support of the theories that North America was peopled from Asiatic waves of emigration.

However, if no land connection ever existed, the distance across the straits is not so great as to preclude the possibility of their having crossed in open boats, as the Eskimo boatmen frequently pass in summer from one side to the other, for commercial purposes.

The islands in the straits are peopled by Eskimo, who traffic between the Asiatic and American shores, the distance being less than fifty statute miles across the Straits of Behring, besides, the straits are always frozen over and passable in winter.

It is strongly manifest from the accumulation of trustworthy evidence, that a considerable portion of North America was once inhabited by the Eskimo race,† who were driven out by the hunting Indians.

There is also evidence extant of Eskimo emigration northward, which was probably the receding of that tide of emigration.

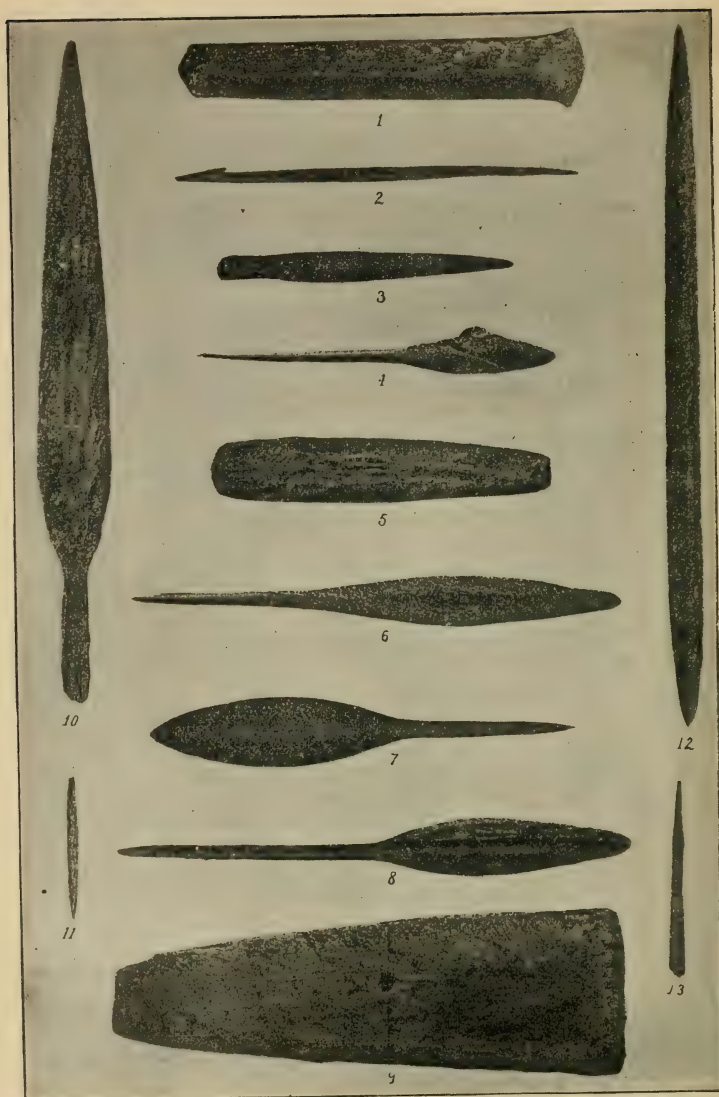
According to Icelandic annals, Lief and Djorn, about A. D. 1000, established a colony on the Atlantic coast, at or in the vicinity of Rhode Island, where they discovered natives, whom they described as dwarfish.

Some modern writers suggest that the ancient "Tower" at Newport, R. I., which shows considerable architectural science, may be the remains of Icelandic civilization, during that period.

There appear to have been two general streams of Asiatic emigration: one east of the Rocky mountains, and southward through the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico; thence around its border to the tablelands of Mexico—the other and broader route, lay west of the Rocky mountains and southward through the great plateau regions, and as far south as Rio Gila; thence to Chapala lake.

*Brown Race.

†It is well settled that the Eskimo is in no manner related or allied to the American Indian.



COPPER IMPLEMENTS IN HISTORICAL ROOMS AT MADISON.

The great center of population on the South American coast diffused beyond the Isthmus and over North America. Almost simultaneously we find waves of emigration southward from the Straits of Behring, then in time we find a partial receding of the tide.

Polygenists have argued, and been most ably defended by L. Agassiz and J. C. Nott in their advocacy of the erroneous theory, that the American Indian tribes were the original inhabitants of the soil.

Extraordinary views have been held by such able men as Dr. Rudolph Folb,* Elias Baudinot,† Dr. Deminick M. Causland‡ and others, while Alex. von Humboldt, Alex. Winchell and a score of able scientists, record their based convictions, that ancient intercourse existed between America and eastern Asia.

From the weight of authorities, we are justifiable in asserting that the American Indian tribes are of one race, and differ only from their Asiatic ancestors through severance, associations and habits. The striking facial resemblance of the Asiatic stock to our American Indians is remarkably pronounced, especially so with the Chinese and Japanese types of Mongoloids. The obliquely-set eyes and general facial expressions all indicate one common origin.

General Cesnola says that stone instruments, found by him in the ancient graves in California, are strikingly similar to some obtained from the tombs of Cyprus. Even the pottery of the Pueblos, and that of the Santa Barbara Indians of California, are similar to the Egyptian and Grecian pottery.

M. Charney, the great French traveler, while exploring eastern and western Java, discovered a close resemblance between the remains of the Hindu, Buddhist civilization, and that of ancient Mexico.

In the grim Canon de Tsay-ee, in the Navajo country, is a catacomb of genuine mummies. These were the ancient cliff-builders.

In the San Juan country, in the extreme northwest corner of New Mexico, are situated cliff-built ruins, wherein are embalmed the bodies of their ancestors. This is suggestive of Egyptian origin. The discovery of well-preserved mummies, from New Mexico and southern Patagonia, leads us to believe that the mummification of the dead was caused by a controlling motive which was inherited from ancestors, who dwelt in a more propitious climate.

The history of ancient Mexico exhibits two distinct periods. The former that of the Toltecs, which is thought to have begun in the seventh, and to have ended in the twelfth century, while that of the Aztecs

*Dr. Folb discovered the relation of the Quinchua and Aymara language to the Aryan and Semite tongue, consequently his opinion was based on the theory that the primitive seat of the human species was in Peru or Bolivia.

†Baudinot maintains that the American Indians are the posterity of the "Lost Tribes of Israel."

‡Dr. Causland maintains that the Hykess, or "Shepherds," driven from Egypt, found their way to America, and he thus accounts for the American Indians. See Causland's *Adam and Adamites*, pp. 226-227. Also same author's work, *The Builders of Babel*, pp. 84-101.



MEXICAN PYRAMID.—BUILT BY THE AZTECS.

began in the year 1200, and closed by the conquest of Cortes in 1519. The primitive seats of the Toltecs will ever be shrouded in mystery, although tradition says that they came from the north, from some undefined locality which they call Tuoalan,* whence they brought to Mexico the first elements of civilization.

They cultivated the land, made roads, erected monuments, and built pyramids,† greater in dimensions than those of Egypt.

They built magnificent temples and beautiful cities, whose ruins in various parts of Mexico and Central America still bear evidence of their architectural skill. They were well versed in many of the arts and sciences; they knew how to fuse metals, cut and polish stones, make earthenware and weave various fabrics, and were also acquainted with the movements of the heavenly bodies; they measured time by a solar year, composed of eighteen months of twenty days each, adding five days to make up the three hundred and sixty-five days.

Nothing is known of the time, manner, or the cause of the departure of the Toltecs from Mexico; but it is believed that they went southward, and built the cities of Palenque, Uxmal, and Mitla, in Central America.

The Aztecs succeeded the Toltecs, but they appear to have been in disposition the reverse of the Toltecs, as their somber cruelty‡ astonished even the Spaniards by its terrible ferocity. The Aztecs, like their predecessors, also came from some unknown place northeastward, and, after wandering from place to place, founded the city of Quenochitlan, or Mexico, in 1325. Upon the arrival of the Spaniards the Aztec empire extended from ocean to ocean.

The traditions of the Mexican nations show a pronounced southern movement of emigration from a distant country called Atzlan.

*Frequently called Atzlan.

†The architecture of the ancient Aztecs is very similar to the remains of ancient Egypt, India and Greece. The pyramids have even a larger base and are otherwise scarcely inferior to those of Egypt. The most important edifices were devoted to the purposes of religion. These are called Teocallis, and are similar to the Egyptian temples which contain apartments for the priests. They contain also sepulchral chambers with descending galleries, leading some into cavernous recesses, which it is conjectured, were used for religious mysteries. These buildings were generally in pyramidal form, rising in successive stories one above the other, each successive one being smaller. The Holy place or temple in built upon the summit. The sides of the pyramids face the cardinal points, differing a little from the Egyptian pyramids. This style of architecture is displayed at Palenque, in Mexico. The city of Palenque exhibits various buildings, temples, etc. The palaces of the kings are based on pyramidal structure.

‡The Aztecs believed in a supreme being, named Tatol. This supreme being was assisted by thirteen chiefs and two hundred inferior divinities, each of whom had his sacred days and festivals. The temples of the gods, which were annually drenched in the blood of 20,000 captives, were the most splendid and imposing edifices in the empire. Cortes and his companion, Diaz, were permitted by Montezuma to enter the sacred temple, in the city of Mexico, and to behold the god. "He had a broad face, wide mouth and terrible eyes. He was covered with gold and precious stones, and was girt about with golden serpents. On his neck, as fitting ornaments, were the faces of men, wrought in silver, and their hearts in gold; close by braziers with incense, and on the braziers three real hearts of men who had that day been sacrificed."

According to Help's Spanish Conquests in America, in the years immediately preceding the conquests of that country by the Spanish, not less than 20,000 victims were annually given up to the gods

Von Humboldt thought the mysterious and unknown Atzlan was located in the vast prairie regions, and Von Hellwald thought it located as far north as the basin of the Great Lakes; while others, for well-founded reasons, locate it in the region of Lake Pepin and western Wisconsin.

The Aztecs, according to the Aztec annals, left their mysterious Atzlan in 1090; more than one hundred years later they had only arrived at Anahuac, on the beautiful tablelands of Mexico, where they founded a civilization which excited the wonder of the civilized world.*

Jonathan Carver, the celebrated English traveler, while on the upper Mississippi, in 1766, discovered an ancient fortification which he described in this manner:

"One day, having landed on the shore of the Mississippi, some miles below Lake Pepin, whilst my attendants were preparing my dinner, I walked out to take a view at the adjacent country. I had not proceeded far before I came to a fine, level, open plain, on which I perceived, at a little distance, a partial elevation that had the appearance of an intrenchment. On a nearer inspection, I had greater reason to suppose that it had really been intended for this, many centuries ago. Notwithstanding it was now covered with grass, I could plainly discern that it had once been a breastwork of about four feet in height, extending the best part of a mile, and sufficiently capacious to cover five thousand men. Its form was somewhat circular, and its flanks reached to the river. Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable, and appeared regular, and fashioned with as much military skill, as if planned by Vauban himself. The ditch was not visible, but I thought, on examining more curiously, that I could perceive there certainly had been one. From its situation also, I am convinced that it must have been designed for this purpose. It fronted the country and the rear was covered by the river; nor was there any rising ground for a considerable way that commanded it; a few straggling oaks were alone to be seen near it. In many places, small tracks were worn across it by the feet of the elk and deer, and from the depth of the bed of earth by which it was covered, I was able to draw certain conclusions of its great antiquity. I examined all the angles, and every part with great attention, and have often blamed myself since for not encamping on the spot, and drawing an exact plan of it.

"To show that this description is not the offspring of a heated imagination, nor the chimerical tale of a mistaken traveler, I find on inquiry, since my return, that Monsieur St. Pierre, and several traders, have at different times, taken notice of similar appearances, on which they have formed the same conjectures, but without examining them so minutely as I did. How a work of this kind could exist in a country

*Col. J. W. Foster, after much careful study, concluded that the people who developed the ancient civilization of Mexico and Central America, were expelled from the Mississippi valley by a fierce and barbarous race.

that has hitherto (according to the generally-received opinion) been the seat of war of untutored Indians alone, whose whole stock of military knowledge has only till within two centuries, amounted to drawing the bow, and whose only breastwork even at present is the thicket, I know not. I have given as exact an account as possible of this singular appearance, and leave to future explorers of these distant regions to discover whether it is the production of nature or art. Perhaps the hints I have here given might lead to a more perfect investigation of it, and give us very different views of the ancient state of realms, that we at present believe to have been, from the earliest period, only the habitation of savages."

George W. Featherstonhaugh, who was sent out by the war department of the United States, to make a geological exploration of the upper Mississippi, in 1835, reported to that department that this ancient fortification then was in about the same condition as described by Carver, in 1766.

The ruins of another ancient and pre-historic fortification are near the city of Jefferson, on the west branch of the Rock river, in the county of Jefferson. Judge Nathaniel Hyer, who resided at Jefferson in the early days, called these ancient ruins the "City of Aztalan." This was upon the hypothesis that the Aztecs of Mexico once inhabited this country. Judge Hyer, in 1840, after an examination of this noted spot, described the ruins in this graphic manner:

"The citadel consisted of a brick wall, which at the base is from twenty to twenty-five feet wide, at the present time, and, as I should judge, about five feet in height; the projections of the walls have certainly the appearance of buttresses, as constructed upon military works at this day; they are constructed also of brick, regularly built, at intervals of from two to five rods, and extending beyond the wall about seventeen feet, of the same height as the main wall. The eastern wall, and parallel with, and immediately upon, the bank of the river, is, at this time, but slightly visible, nor are there any appearances of buttresses, as upon the other portions of the wall. In proceeding upon the supposition that these are the ruins of an ancient fortification, we may conclude that, inasmuch as the eastern side was defended from ingress by a deep and rapid stream, a wall and buttress similar to the one I have attempted to describe as bounding the western side, would have been unnecessary. The whole area within the wall comprises about twenty acres; within the inclosure are a number of square mounds, or elevated plains of the height of fifteen or twenty feet, as I should judge, and perhaps forty or fifty feet square, upon the top, while others are of a more conical shape, and from their situation appear as what might now be termed block-houses, or places of look-out; that such was the object of their construction I am not prepared to say. There is also a distinct ridge, running east and west, connecting two of the towers or

mounds, as well as two parallel ridges, running north and south, and extending nearly the whole length of the inclosure. There is also a stairway, I am informed, yet visible descending within the mound at the northwest angle of the ruins; this, in my hurried examination, escaped my notice; I can therefore say nothing respecting it. The same remarks must also apply to the termination of a sewer, which is said yet to be perceived at a bend, or angle about midway in the eastern wall; this sewer is said to about three feet below the surface, and arched with stone. Whether through this sewer water was supplied from the river, or not, others can judge. Without the inclosure, and at those points where this work is not protected by the river, are numerous mounds, varying from three to twenty-five feet in height, and from twenty to a hundred feet in circumference; and particularly at the southwest angle, there is an embankment forming the arc of a circle with projections resembling the buttresses represented in the main wall, which require but little stretch of the imagination to suppose was intended as an outwork for the defense of that particular point.

"In examining one of these mounds, I found the remains of a human skeleton, which had been previously exhumed, although, by the action of fire, the bones had been so completely charred, that they readily crumbled to pieces in the hand.

"One word as to the brick wall: Let me not be understood to say, that there is in the brick here found any regular appearance of brick-laying, as at present practiced. The walls which I examined and from which at many different points, with a mattock I broke off specimens, present now the appearance of a mass of burned clay. In what manner at first constructed, there is nothing to indicate; but that the walls and parapets consist of brick, rudely burned and prepared with straw, after the ancient mode, the different specimens I gathered bear sufficient witness."

Mark R. Harrison, the famous Fond du Lac artist, while excavating the foundation for his summer residence, on the east shore of Green Lake, a few years ago, at the depth of five or six feet, through loam, clay and stone, discovered several carbonized corn-cobs.* About this time he also discovered in an adjacent piece of forest a granite stone or detached boulder, upon which was rudely drawn the history of an ancient event. On the margin or edges are cut stars, moons, canoe, half-moons and other figures. At one side, near the center, is an apparent group of warriors sitting on the ground, one of which appears to have feathers in his head-dress or hair. A short distance from this group stands a figure with bow and arrow upraised and pointed at a

*In the royal library at Paris an ancient Chinese book contains the representation of the corn, or maize plant. It is alleged that grains of corn were discovered in an ancient cellar at Athens. It is generally supposed that maize is the natural and original product of America, as the Aborigines cultivated it long before America was discovered, although a smaller species is a native of Chili.

figure tied to a tree. On the ground close by is apparently a prisoner with arms outstretched. The stone upon which these figures are cut, is so hard that the finest steel implements will hardly make an impression. This granite boulder having been found in a region where there are no natural granite deposits naturally creates the presumption that it was drift, deposited there during the glacial period.

Among the numerous ancient relics found in Wisconsin, several were taken from an ancient grave near Fond du Lac, in 1869, by the employees of the Fond du Lac and Sheboygan Railroad Company, while excavating near the Taycheedah ledge, a short distance from the east shore of Lake Winnebago. From this ancient grave were taken a skeleton, many bones, a breast plate of copper, monstrous sea shells a small golden image, and several copper needles, tempered to the hardness of steel.

In the old copper mines of Lake Superior, which were partially worked many centuries ago, by unknown people, were found stone hammers, a copper gad, a copper chisel and a socket for the handle, a copper knife, pieces of a wooden bowl, levers of wood, and pieces of charcoal.

Upon a mound of earth which had been thrown out from one of these mines, grew a pine tree ten feet in circumference, and upon a similar mound a hemlock was cut whose annular growth counted 395 years.*

Not many years ago, Dr. Hoy, of Racine, opened an ancient mound in that vicinity, and found the skeletons of seven persons, in a sitting position, *facing the east*. In a similar mound he found two ancient vases, resembling those in use by the Burmese; one was made of cream-colored clay, with a capacity of about five quarts, and the other was of a reddish brick color, of smaller capacity. The antiquity of these mounds cannot be doubted, as gigantic trees stand upon them, the growth of which is estimated by Dr. Hoy as being one thousand years old.†

The most scholarly and authentic ethnologists and craniologists of the present time, after a careful comparison of the skulls of the ancient mound-builders, with those of the ancient and pre-historic Mexicans and Peruvians, find a general similarity of conformation.‡

The monuments of the pre-historic dead, which at one time dotted our land, from the Wisconsin to Galena, and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, have largely given way before the pace of civilization.

In Wisconsin, the monuments of the mysterious mound-builders are more diversified in structure than in any other locality. They are of various forms or shapes, and are from three to ten feet above the surrounding ground. Besides the conical or round mounds, some are in the shape of crosses, while effigies of the buffalo, fox, bear, deer, lizard,

*Strong's Hist. Wis. Ter., 99.

†Tuttle Hist. Wis., 56

‡Winchell's Preadamite, 339.

Relzius—Trans. for Smithsonian Annual Reports, 1858, 264-267.



COPPER IMPLEMENTS IN HISTORICAL ROOMS AT MADISON.

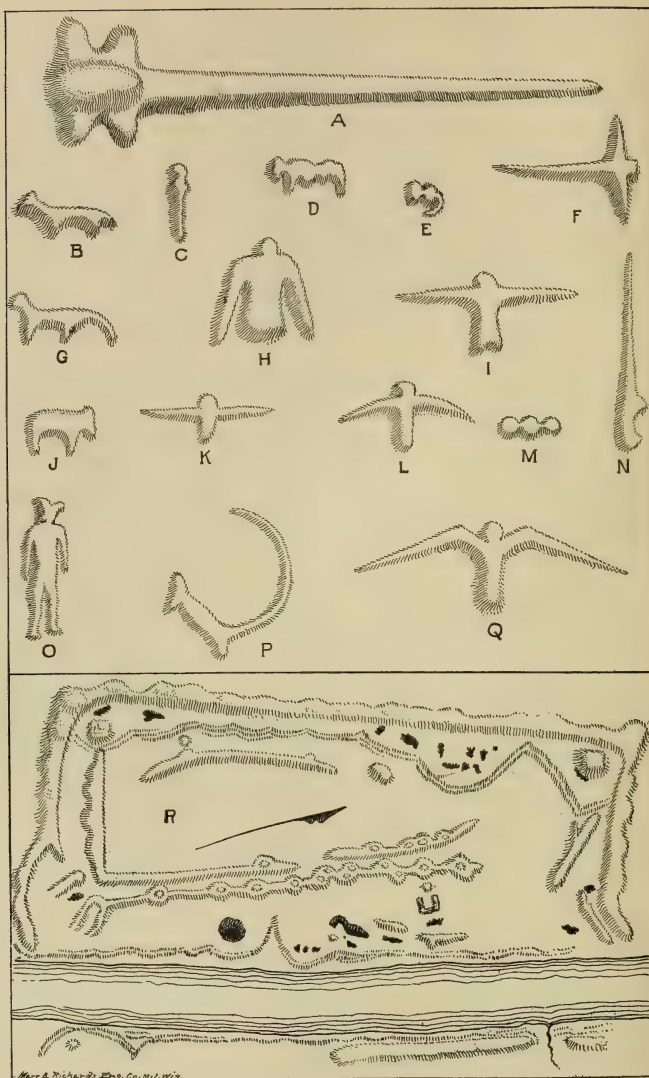
the eagle and other birds, as well as men recumbent, with arms and legs outstretched, are frequently found. On the old road from Madison to Mineral Point, the track formerly passed between two rows of round mounds, apparently at equal distances apart, and opposite each other, which forcibly reminds one of traveling the streets of an ancient village. General Smith once remarked that, upon more than one occasion, he had from one point counted from fifty-six to sixty, lying on both sides of this commonly-traveled road. The skeptical inhabitants, who once resided in the vicinity of these ancient repositories of the dead, led Dr. Locke to use the following language, in his report of 1840, while referring to the animal mounds, viz.: "The geologist suddenly and unexpectedly meets with these groups of gigantic bas-reliefs, which appear to him as decidedly artificial as the head of Julius Cæsar, on an ancient coin, notwithstanding anything which may be imagined or said to the contrary."

Mr. Richard C. Taylor, who visited Wisconsin in 1838, says that at one spot near the present city of Madison at least one hundred of these mounds could be counted. Upon the summit of many of these mounds, recent Indian graves were made. He also speaks of the pronounced effigies of at least six quadrupeds in the vicinity of the Blue Mounds, one of which was circular, one human figure, one circular or ring, were the most pronounced of this group. The old Indian war-path which led from Lake Michigan, near Milwaukee, to the Mississippi above Prairie du Chien, passed along the edge of these earth-mounds.*

Mr. Stephen Taylor, in his communication in Stillman's Journal, delineated several of these animal-shaped mounds, among which was a buffalo-shaped mound, with a hump, or raised back, the head having protuberances resembling horns. The figure of a bear measured from forehead to rump fifty-six feet. Mr. Taylor also delineated a singular human-shaped mound, having two heads gracefully reclining toward the shoulders, and the whole figure so gracefully rounded that it led him to use the following language in speaking of this figure: "The perfection of this truly singular and interesting specimen of ancient earthworks is convincing evidence that the ancient inhabitants of this region were, at one time, not as ignorant of the arts as we have reason to believe the present race of Indians are."

West of the city of Madison, on the old path leading to Mineral Point, were two animal-shaped mounds, representing foxes with long tails. According to Mr. Taylor's measurement, they measured respectively 102 and 120 feet. Two trees, sixteen inches in diameter, were growing in the nose of one of these figures in 1842.

*According to Mr. Taylor, amidst this group, was the representation of a human figure, lying east and west, and the arms and legs extended. Its length was 125 feet, the body or trunk was thirty feet in breadth, and the head twenty-five feet, while the elevation along the general surface of the prairie was six feet. Its configuration was so distinct that no possibility of a mistake could arise, in assigning it to the human figure.



ANIMAL MOUNDS AND ASTEC FORTIFICATION.

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q Animal Mounds. Astec Fortification, r.

At the time the Sauk Mills were built on Honey Creek, near Prairie du Chien, in 1851, a large Indian mound was hauled away for the purpose of making a dam. It was found composed of light-colored clay as far as the level of the ground. The clay then disappeared, which evidenced the fact that the clay had been brought there and deposited.

In this mound the entire skeleton of a man, together with a number of well-formed spears, and arrow-heads of flint were found.

Some of the United States officials in their explorations of the regions around Lake Superior, in 1850, found traces of monuments constructed in the form of mathematical figures; while on the right bank of the Ontonagon river, six miles above its mouth, is a mound forty feet high and nearly circular. On Section 16, Town No. 50, Range No. 39, near a small stream was found a pyramid ten feet in height, whose sides are fifteen feet in length. It was flat on top and sloped gradually to the base.* This structure is similar to the Toacalli of Mexico.

From northwestern Wisconsin, through the great Mississippi valley and beyond the state line,—upon the great waterways emptying into the great Father of Waters, together with the old historic waterways connecting the great lakes with the Mississippi,—in the grand old forests† as well as in the great prairies, the monuments of a mysterious race, long since gone, leave us only a record which excites our curiosity without contributing any satisfactory knowledge.

The remnants of ancient fortifications and earthworks,‡ the old partially worked copper mines on Lake Superior, the tons of stone and copper implements, are conclusive evidence that Wisconsin, in the dim and unknown centuries, has been the great center for the pre-historic races.

*Foster and Whitney's report, Vol. 1.

Hist. of Wis., Vol. 3, 262.

†Numerous pre-historic mounds are found in the great forests of Wisconsin.

‡Another line of mounds extends from Lake Winnebago in Taycheedah, Fond du Lac county, to the headwaters of the Sheboygan river, and thence down its course to Lake Michigan. The early voyagers claimed a portage from Lake Winnebago to the Sheboygan river. A similar line of mounds extended through or along the west branch of the Fond du Lac river to Lamartine, thence to the headwaters of the Rock river in the town of Waupun. This was also an available canoe route, two hundred years ago.

Hist. Fond du Lac County, 235.

ROMANCES OF A BRIGADE.

By J. A. WATROUS.

Author of "Our Friend's Story," "Richard Epps," "The Johnny Girl and Her Prisoner," "Corporal Ben," and other War, or Semi-War Stories.

The editor suggested the title; in fact, decided that "Romances of a Brigade" was the title he wanted, and besides desiring to please the editor, I also thought it an appropriate one, and for a day, or until I had taken time to consider some—only a few—of the romances of a brigade of four or five regiments, each one of which left its initial camp with a thousand men, nearly all of whom were on the sunny side of thirty, and a majority, a large majority, of whom had not reached the quarter century mark, I was glad to accept it. After that I was alarmed. To record all of the romances of a brigade of five regiments of volunteers, whose combined strength at first was five thousand men who loved their country and its beautiful emblem well enough to leave wives, children, parents, sisters and sweethearts; to abandon their offices, stores, shops, ships, farms, factories and, as it were, take their lives in their hands by enlisting and swearing into the United States' service for three years, or during the war, when an armed and brave enemy stood ready to pour volleys of iron and lead into their ranks—to record the "Romances of a Brigade," such as this, would require years of time and hundreds of volumes. My only excuse for this explanation is found in the fact that I would not have any of the generation that has grown to womanhood and manhood since the stirring, sorrowful, heart-breaking times of the great war, in which, counting both armies, nearly five millions of American citizens participated to a greater or less extent, as soldiers, get the impression that in the twenty or more pages of this excellent publication that has been assigned to me to fill during the next four months, I have recorded all of the romances of a brigade. Be it understood, then, that what follows are "Romances of a Brigade," but not all in that line that the brigade yielded during the four years of its hard service.

ROMANCE No. I.

In July, 1860, I was in a La Crosse lawyer's office when an awkward young fellow of seventeen or eighteen years strolled in, and after making a general survey of the premises and its occupants, asked the lawyer if there was "a chance for a fellow to learn law in that office." The face of that man of law was a study as he slowly looked at the young fellow,

looked at his sunburnt, freckled face, his heavy crop of red hair, coarse, home-made suit of clothes, ill-fitting and quite soiled, and his patched and newly tapped cowhide shoes.

"What do you know?" asked the lawyer.

"Not much, sir, but enough to make a lawyer," came the reply, quickly, as the young man folded his arms and looked straight, and I thought rather saucily, into the eyes of the lawyer—the leading legal light of the little city nestled on the east bank of the Mississippi.

"Where do you live?"

"In Marmon Cooly, this county, sir; have lived there ever since I was seven years old; my folks went there from Ohio. I want to quit working on a farm. I have made up my mind to climb, sir, climb."

"I guess, young man, I ought to let you begin by climbing out of this office, but the fact is I want a student. If you come into my office you will have plenty of hard work to do. I shall want you to sweep the rooms, keep things tidy, and do a great deal of copying. For some time you will have to do most of your studying after hours, nights and Sundays. Do you want to make a trial?"

"That's what I came for. I'm not afraid of hard work—have been used to it all of my life; would be lost without hard work."

"Your name?"

"Simmons, George Simmons."

"Copy this, George," and the lawyer handed him a page or two of his own writing, as complex and uncouth as Horace Greeley's in his palmiest days. It was awful, but the young man went at it with an apparent relish.

A month later a business letter from the La Crosse lawyer closed with: "That red-headed rooster from Marmon Cooly is still with me. His courage and confidence are amazing. I shall give him an ample trial; guess he'll make a lawyer."

Early in May, 1861, I read in a La Crosse paper a list of the members of a city company ready to start for Madison to become part of the Second Wisconsin Infantry. One of the privates was George Simmons. A month later I enlisted and the last week in July our regiment reached Washington and went into camp at Kalorama Heights, then a long distance out of the city, but now a prosperous and pretty part of the nation's capital. The first battle of Bull Run had been fought. The Second Wisconsin had been in the thickest of the fight, lost heavily and won praise and laurels. Very soon after we had reached Kalorama a brigade was formed. In it were the Second, two other Wisconsin regiments, and a thousand Hoosiers, whose colonel was six feet four inches long, but as short of military knowledge as the greenest farmer boy in his regiment. I went over to the La Crosse company to renew my acquaintance with George Simmons. He was not there. He had been slightly wounded and blood poisoning had set in. The orderly sergeant

of the company said, "Poor Simmons is in one of the Washington hospitals, hovering between life and death." That night I could not get the law student out of my mind. The next morning I got permission to visit that particular hospital. "You can't see him," said the courteous young surgeon. "He is dangerously ill; was crazy as a loon all night. He can't live." I recalled the La Crosse lawyer's reference to the Marmon Cooley boy in his letter and made myself believe that he should know the present condition of his student, and dispatched him: "Simmons dangerously ill; not expected to live." The next day C. C. Washburn, who had been a Wisconsin congressman for several years, rode to our camp and hunted up the soldier who had sent lawyer Levissee of La Crosse, a dispatch, relative to George Simmons. Upon responding, Mr. Washburn showed me this dispatch from John W. Levissee, La Crosse:

"Meet Simmons' mother at station Wednesday morning and escort her to sick son. See Blank of Co. —, — th regiment."

It was Monday night and I had just had a day's furlough. It was not easy to get out of camp. Taking the dispatch I showed it to the captain of my company and asked permission to again visit Washington, this time to see that the Wisconsin mother lost no time in reaching her dying son, upon the arrival of the train. I could go. When the train pulled into the old Baltimore depot and the passengers began to pour out I stepped up to a woman I thought might be Mrs. Simmons.

"Are you from La Crosse?"

"Ask my husband, sir," pointing to a tall, slim, dark man.

"What is it, my man?" asked the tall gentleman.

"I am looking for the mother of a dying soldier, that I may conduct her to the hospital; I meant no offense to your wife, sir."

"Of course you didn't; mother, you get into the carriage and John will drive you home. I will help this man to find the poor boy's mother," said the homely tall man.

We easily found Mrs. Simmons. The tall gentleman called a carriage and we three were hurried to the hospital.

"What is the sick soldier's name?" asked the tall man. "George Simmons."

"You can't go in here," growled a guard, as we started for the ward where Simmons was.

"O, I guess we can; call the surgeon," said our stranger guide. "That is my name; please take us to private Simmons," and he showed the surgeon his card. There was no further delay.

Mrs. Simmons dropped upon her knees by the side of her pale, emaciated boy, put her arm under his head and kissed the thin lips. Slowly the eyes opened and were fixed upon the dear one. There was a smile of recognition. The thin, weak arms tried to twine about the neck of the mother, but fell limp on the army blanket. It was only a whisper, but

we all heard it: "Oh, my angel mother, I knew you would come if you only knew. Now — I — will — get — well — and — go — back — to the — company."

Then the tall man stooped down, took one of the limp hands and said: "Now that your mother is here to nurse you, it will not be long before you will be able to go back to your Wisconsin home. If you get entirely well you can come back; if not, you can have a discharge."

Who was the man that seemed so interested in poor Simmons and his mother? "Please ask him his name," said the lady in a side whisper to me.

"May I ask who you are, sir?"

"I belong to the army, my man." Then he wrote and handed me the following:

WASHINGTON, August 16, 1861.

Private Blank has permission to remain in hospital and help to take care of Private George Simmons until next Sunday. Word will be sent to Blank's captain explaining his absence.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

I shall let the reader imagine the surprise of that dear Wisconsin mother when she saw me suddenly rise, give a soldier's salute and say: "Mr. Lincoln, may I shake your hand?" His hand was extended and I shook hands with the commander-in-chief of all the land and water forces of the United States, the modest man who but a moment before had told me that he "belonged to the army." For nearly four years the vast army belonged to and loved him—loved him as but few men have ever been loved by men.

Early in October Simmons had so far recovered that he could accompany his mother back to their Marmon Cooly home. The lawyer met them at the station and sent them out to the humble farm home in his own carriage, and the following week rode out to visit his law student, taking along a number of law books for the young man to study while a patient.

"Your son will make a successful lawyer, madam. He can return to my office at any time. From what he tells me, however, I shall not look for him until the war ends, or he comes home minus an arm or a leg. He is very plucky and patriotic. His story of President Lincoln's visits to the hospital during his sickness was thrillingly interesting. I guess those stories we heard about Lincoln being one of the people—the stories so rife last year in the campaign which ended in his election—were true. I did not believe them then. I do, now, and I also believe that he is the right man to lead the nation in what it seems to me must prove the darkest, saddest journey of its life."

Lawyer Levissee had not been known for the unselfish interest he took in other peoples' and the country's affairs, but from the time he

heard of the good conduct of his law student in battle, and the gentle treatment accorded him by the president, he was foremost in his city in all efforts to sustain the government. The reader will hear more about Lawyer Levissee.

I received a number of letters from Simmons while he was in Wisconsin. In each he spoke of his intention to return to his company as soon as it would be prudent for him to do so. Early in December he fixed the day upon which he would reach Washington, and wanted me to meet him at the station. I did so. "Congress is in session; let us go and see what they do and how they do it," said he. Half an hour was spent looking at the grave senators, when Simmons said, "Let's go over to the other House; this is too solemn and poky for me." We watched the representatives as long as they were in session, and he was greatly interested.

On the way to Arlington Heights, back of which our camp for the winter of 1861-2 was located, Simmons talked about the men we had seen in congress, what they did, and drew, what many a boy before him had drawn and others will draw, a highly seasoned picture of a congressman in that great capitol, going so far as to picture the glowing accounts the press gives of the doings of the great men, and dilating upon the welcome their constituents would extend to the especially competent, successful and brilliant congressman. "After the war I think I will complete my law course, practice for a few years, and then go to congress. Come and look down at me, as we looked down upon the great men to-day, will you not?" My only answer was a sharp, troubled look at the poor boy—a look and a search for evidence that the blood poisoning that made him crazy a few months before, had wholly disappeared. There was superior material in the young man, and I thought very much of him, but the idea of that little fellow, not pretty of feature, with his thick clusters of sorrel freckles, and his big shock of red hair, getting into congress, was actually appalling. It was nonsense, and without saying a word I told him so, and he knew I told him so, for he was quick to analyze a look. The young man managed to go to Washington several times that winter and spent most of the time, while in the city, looking at the house of representatives, but he never invited me to go with him, though we remained the same good friends.

"Governor Salomon, good morning." "Good morning, Brother Levissee; what brings you away from La Crosse? I'm glad to see you. I have heard of your good works for Wisconsin troops and our cause, and now, before I forget it, I thank you for what you have done and bespeak more of the same kind."

It was in June, 1862, that the above conversation took place in the executive office at Madison.

"Governor, I have come to ask a favor. You are a republican and I am a democrat; I didn't vote for you and Mr. Harvey, but you are

my governor and I want to use you. The greenest farmer boy you ever saw entered my law office a year before the war. I soon discovered that there was a good deal to him. Through the campaign of that year he went to all of the Lincoln meetings, marched in all of the Wide Awake processions, and cheered for Old Abe on the slightest provocation, all of which was very offensive to me, but as he never neglected a duty about the office, and made better progress in his studies than any other student I ever had, I overlooked it without a complaint. I might have entered a protest if he had been old enough to vote, but he was only 18 years of age. When Lincoln — am I taking too much of your time, governor?"

"No, sir; go on; I'm much interested," said the handsome Salomon.

"When Lincoln called for volunteers, or the morning the news reached La Crosse, my student, to whom I had become very much attached, said to me the moment I entered the office: 'I must go, Mr. Levissee.' 'Go where?' 'Home, sir, and get my mother's consent to enlist.' 'Nonsense; you are not fit for a soldier; you stick to your studies; you will make a good lawyer in time.' 'I must go, sir. Last year I wanted Lincoln for president; this year he wants young men like me for soldiers. I'm going, Mr. Levissee; sorry to leave you, but I must go.' The next morning he was back in town, and that day he enlisted. He was wounded at Bull Run July 21, and came near losing his life because the wound was not attended to in time. He could have had his discharge, but refused to leave the service, and he's still there, though not well and strong, and I fear never will be. You have thanked me for what you are pleased to call patriotic efforts for our troops and the country. You had no occasion to thank me, sir. The patriotic, brave, self-sacrificing conduct of that green country boy, my law student, a soldier in King's division, is responsible for any good work I may have done. His example woke me up. Now that I have laid the foundation, here's the favor I want: My law student ought to have a commission. Will you make him adjutant of the —th regiment, about to be raised?"

"Orderly, ask Adjutant General Gaylord to step here," said the governor.

"Gaylord, has an adjutant been appointed for the —th?"

"No, sir; but Senator Blush has handed in a recommendation and requested the naming of a young man in his town."

"Is the young man now in the army?" asked Governor Salomon.

"No, sir, he is a law student in the senator's office."

"General Gaylord, Mr. Levissee has told me about a law student who has already been in the army a year. We will make him adjutant of the new regiment. Ask Senator Blush to wait for a time."

"What is your friend's name, Brother Levissee?"

"Sergeant George Simmons."

"General, send the commission to-day, with an order for Lieutenant Simmons to report for duty in Wisconsin as soon as possible. By the way, general, I believe it would be a capital idea to give each company in the new regiments called for from this on, one lieutenant from the regiments that went into the service last year and have learned something practical in the art of war."

"Excellent, sir, excellent," said Wisconsin's model adjutant general, and that rule prevailed until the end of the war, and gave many splendid men in the old regiments a chance to win distinction as officers.

When Sergeant Simmons came back to camp from picket duty one hot June day, his camp being opposite Fredericksburg, Va., up the Rappahannock river from the long brick house in which General King had headquarters, the orderly sergeant met him with a salute, and, "Lieutenant Simmons, here's a letter and a paper for you—both from Madison."

The pale, tired soldier sat down in the shade of his tent and opened the paper. A marked item in the state *Journal* caught his eye and nearly took his breath. It read: "Governor Salomon has taken a step in officering the new regiments which will meet with the hearty approval of all classes of citizens, unless it be a few who care more for getting places for relatives and friends than they do for the service. Hereafter at least one lieutenant for each new company will be taken from non-commissioned officers and privates, who enlisted the first year of the war. The first commission under the new rule was issued to-day, making George Simmons, Company B, 2nd Wisconsin, first lieutenant and adjutant of the ——th regiment."

"Here's both good and bad news, boys. The governor has given me some shoulder straps; that's good news. I must leave Company B; that's bad news for me."

That night when the orderly called the roll he told the company of Simmons' promotion and they gave him three cheers. A week later he started for Wisconsin, and a month later that blessed, patriotic mother had marketed two of her cows and given her note for \$150 to raise money enough to buy a uniform, a sword, horse, saddle and bridle for her adjutant son. There was a tear in the young warrior's eye and a tremble in his voice when he said: "My angel mother, I will take up that note with my first pay and before winter I will send you money enough to buy back the two cows."

"Never mind, my boy, never mind. All I want is for you to come back at the end of the war."

When the new regiment left for the front, there was not a finer appearing officer in it than young Simmons. His good mother was present to hug and kiss the brave soldier as she had all his life kissed and hugged her noble-hearted farmer boy. Lawyer Levissee left important cases to go and see his law student ride by the side of the colonel

at the head of a thousand Wisconsin citizens—one thousand of the 95,000 our good state contributed for protection to flag and republic. As the head of the column reached the point where Mrs. Simmons and the lawyer stood, the mother half laughing and half crying, Adjutant Simmons saluted them with his sword, and that was the last time he saw them for two years; and they were years of hardships, dangers, sacrifices for the whole Union army, and particularly so for Simmons. He had been an invalid throughout the two years, but would not surrender. He asked for no privileges in consequence of poor health and missed no marches or battles that his regiment took part in. A year after leaving the state Simmons was made captain of a company.

One evening late in July, 1864, the La Crosse daily contained an account of one of Sherman's hard-fought battles about Atlanta. It spoke in glowing terms of the part taken by the ——th regiment, giving the names of many of the dead and wounded. Among the latter was that of Captain George Simmons, "seriously and probably fatally shot, while gallantly leading his company in a charge on a battery."

The next day, while at General Sherman's headquarters, Captain Simmons' regimental commander received the following dispatch:

LA CROSSE, WIS., July 24, 1864.

Commanding Officer ——th Wisconsin, Sherman's Army, near Atlanta, Georgia:

Spare no expense in securing best of nursing for Captain Simmons, and as soon as he is well enough, send him to Wisconsin. Money sent by letter.

LEVISEE.

THE HISTORY OF WISCONSIN

• • • • IN TWELVE • • • •

MONTHLY ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE NUMBERS.

1893.

GENERAL CONTENTS.

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JESSE E. MATTESON, Author's Assistant.

MILWAUKEE.

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FOR 1893.

IN MAKING the preliminary announcement of the leading feature of our Historical Magazines for 1893, **the publishers call attention to the number and character of the general historical topics**, as well as the **character of the contributions**.

In fiction the February and March numbers will contain the "**Romances of a Brigade**" from the pen of Col. J. A. Watrous. These romances are based upon historical facts, and are the best productions from the pen of that able writer.

The contents of the March number will be a pen painting of **Wisconsin Under French Dominion**, and **Wisconsin Under English Rule**, which describes the early Jesuites, traders and voyagers and their life among the savages. This interesting number **will be illustrated** by the best engravers in the Northwest. It is written by the author, C. S. Matteson, with the valuable assistance of Frances L. Brand, and includes as well the Northwest Territory, the Early Settlers and Settlements and Indian Disturbances, which will be the general topic of the April issue. This number will also be illustrated in an artistic manner.

A new and interesting feature will be introduced in future Historical Magazines **under the management** of E. W. Krackowizer. This department will pertain to the interests of the G. A. R. and Sons of Veterans, and all that goes to perpetuate the memory of the brave dead, and their companions who are fast responding to the final bugle call. It will endeavor to supply both the material and inspiration for Sons of Veterans' monthly patriotic exercises as prescribed by that order's constitution.

All contributions to this Department should be addressed to "Editor Sire and Sons' Department."

Another new and interesting feature of the February and March numbers will be "**The Origin of the French Nation**," by Clark S. Matteson, which will be a concise review of France from its earliest days to the present time.

Black Hawk and the Wars in Which He Participated is graphically written and will be finely illustrated for the May number, and is one of the most interesting of the series, which is only equalled by Col. C. K. Pier's "**Wisconsin in the Civil War**," in the July and August numbers, with illustrations of battle scenes, etc. This valuable contribution gives the organization of each Command in all the arms of service who went from the state, with their various campaigns and losses until mustered out.

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CHAPTER XV.

SPANISH EXPLORERS AND EXPLORATIONS.

Columbus and His Discoveries.—Queen Isabella's Generosity.—Ferdinand's Perfidy.—Ponce de Leon, while Searching for the "Fountain of Life," Discovers Florida.—Balboa Discovers the Pacific Ocean, and is Beheaded by De Vila.—Life of Hernando Cortes, the Conqueror of Mexico.—Mexican Mythology.—Death of Montezuma, the Emperor of Mexico.—Alleged Discovery of the Mississippi by Pineda.—Narvaez, the Contemporary of Columbus, Participates in the Conquest of Domingo, Jamaica, and Cuba.—He is sent to Mexico to Arrest Cortes, but is Taken Prisoner at Zempollia.—His Death.—Cabeza de Vaca's Thrilling Experience.—Reaches Mexico after Seven Years of Vicissitudes.—Life of De Soto.—His Untimely Death on the Mississippi River, and His Burial.—The Visionary Corondo Searching for the "Seven Cities of Cibola."—The Spanish Claim the Whole Country from the Gulf to Canada.—Spain Surrenders Her Possessions in Florida.

LET us not forget the good, noble and generous Isabella,* Queen of Spain, while honoring the memory of the greatest of explorers whose names are recorded in history, and while revering the memory of Christopher Columbus† and Queen Isabella, let us be generous and forgive the perfidy of Ferdinand,‡ for allowing so great a man to die in poverty, after his valuable life had been shortened by bitter, persistent, and jealous persecutions.

On that third day of August, 1492, when Christopher Columbus, amidst the pomp and grandeur of the court of Spain, started in search

*It will be remembered that Queen Isabella, in her earnestness, while referring to the expense of equipping the expedition, said: "I pledge my jewels to raise the money." The Court Treasurer advanced most of the money to equip the three small vessels for Columbus, while the friends of Columbus furnished the balance. The total sum furnished was about \$20,000.

†Columbus was born near Genoa, according to some authorities, in 1436, and, according to other authorities, in 1446. He was the son of a wool-comber, and for some time attended the great school of learning at Pavia, where he evinced a profound taste for astronomy and cosmography. He then went to sea, and, after making several voyages in the Mediterranean, finally settled in Lisbon in 1470. He then married Philippa, the daughter of Bartholomew de Palestrello, who was a distinguished Italian navigator in the Portuguese service, and with his wife obtained many valuable charts, journals, and memoranda.

Apparently with a view of better qualifying himself for the great enterprise, to which he believed Heaven had pointed him out, he made several voyages to the Azores, the Canaries, and the coast of Guinea, the limit of European navigation in those days. It was not until about 1483 that Columbus laid his scheme before John II., of Portugal. This monarch referred the matter to a junta of nautical and scientific men, who decided against it. The king, however, in a clandestine manner, took advantage of the detailed plan obtained from Columbus under false pretenses, and secretly sent out a vessel to examine the route. The emissaries of the king and their pilots, not being venturous navigators, soon returned to Lisbon and ridiculed the project.

Columbus, being disgusted with the duplicity of his sovereign, secretly left Lisbon in 1484, taking with him his motherless boy, Diego. He then unfolded his plans to the authorities at Genoa, who treated his scheme as a product of a visionary brain. Disappointed, but not despairing, Columbus turned his steps toward Spain. One day, weary and hungry, he stopped at the gate of the Convent of La Rabida, in Andalusia, to beg

of another hemisphere, the sun arose upon a beautiful unknown land, peopled only by savages; a land destined to become so great that the Old World§ will become only secondary in consideration.

The long line of early Spanish navigators and explorers is headed by the brave and resolute Columbus,|| who discovered San Salvador, and, in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, took possession of the country on Friday, October 12th, 1492.

We next find him, in 1498, on the coast of South America, and in 1502-1503, on the Central American coast.

Juan Ponce de Leon,¶ once the page of Ferdinand V., arose to distinction in the wars against the Moors, in Granada, and was one of the companions of the great navigator, on his second voyage to Hispaniola, in 1493, and finally became commander of the eastern province. In 1512, he became absorbed with the mythical idea that the "Fountain of Youth" existed in the Bahamas, and having failed to find it, he sailed westward, and arrived on the coast of Florida, on Easter Sunday, 1512.

bread and water for his child, and there met the Superior of the Convent, Juan Perez de Marchena, through whose influence he finally procured the favorable consideration of the king and queen of Spain.

On August 3d, 1492 Columbus set sail from the bar of Saltes, near Palos. He delayed a month at the Canaries, to refit the expedition, then on September 6th, he started over the unknown seas. After battling with the open disaffection of the crew, his perseverance was finally rewarded on the 12th of October, by the sight of land, which proved to be one of the Bahama Islands. Here he landed and solemnly planted the cross, and named the island, San Salvador. After discovering several of the West India Islands, including Cuba and Hayti, or San Domingo, he set sail for Spain, after first having settled a colony at Hispaniola, where he arrived on March 15th, 1493, and was received amidst great pomp and joy.

In September of the same year, he set sail from Cadiz, with 17 ships and 1500 men. On their voyage he discovered the Carribee Islands, Jamaica, etc., and returned in 1496. He again set sail in 1498, on the third expedition; this time he steered more southward, and discovered Trinidad and the mouths of the Orinoco, and landed at Paria, on the coast of South America. He then steered for Hispaniola, where he found everything in chaos. The king's mind had been poisoned by slanderous tongues, and an officer, named Bobadilla, had been appointed to supersede Columbus as governor, and by the new governor Columbus was sent home in chains. After Columbus was released, he succeeded in equipping four vessels and 150 men, and on May 9th, 1502, again started out to seek a passage uniting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The mutinous character of his crew forced him to seek gold, and, after many difficulties and disasters, he returned to Spain in 1504.

†Ferdinand's baseness was forcibly depicted in causing Columbus to be arrested and brought to Spain from Hispaniola in irons, and by allowing him to remain in poverty at Valladolid, many months prior to his death, which occurred May 20th, 1506. Ferdinand then repented of his great injustice, and gave Columbus a pompous funeral, and afterwards erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

§Max O'Rell, in "Jonathan and his Continent," after describing the expanse of 3000 miles of beautiful landscape between New York and San Francisco, dotted with its beautiful cities and inhabited by 60,000,000 people, says: "The luxury displayed at receptions, dinners, and dances, surpasses European imagination. At a ball given in New York, in the month of February, 1888, the walls were covered with roses, which did not cost less than \$10,000.

||Columbus, believing that he had reached the islands lying off the coast of India, called the country "The West India," and the natives "Indians."

¶Ponce de Leon was born in Spain in 1460, and belonged to an ancient family. In consequence of his conquering the island of Porta Rica, in 1509, he was appointed its governor. He ruled it with great rigor until his removal, which was occasioned by political influences of the Columbus family.

The banks being covered with beautiful foliage, intermingled with variegated flowers, he called the country "Florida," and took possession of the peninsula, in the name of his sovereign.

After returning to Spain in 1513, he was appointed governor of Florida, and while trying to colonize it, was wounded by one of the natives, from the effects of which wound he died, in Cuba, in 1521.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the son of a reduced nobleman at Xeres-de-Caballeros, took part in the great mercantile expedition of Rodrigo de Bastidas to the new world. After establishing himself at St. Domingo, he began cultivating the soil, but was so pressed by creditors that he had himself smuggled on board a ship, in a cask, and joined the expedition to the Isthmus of Darien in 1510, which was commanded by Francisco de Encisco.

An insurrection soon broke out which placed Balboa in supreme command of the new colony. In 1513, he set out in quest of a western ocean, and on September 25th, from a mountain top in the Isthmus of Panama, obtained the first sight of the Pacific ocean. The enthusiasm of this discovery was shared by all the learned men of that day.

Pedrarias de Vila, through the intrigues of the Spanish court, succeeded in being appointed governor of the territory conquered by Balboa, notwithstanding the fact that Balboa had married the daughter of de Vila. Balboa, in the year 1517, through the cruel jealousy of his father-in-law, and in violation of all forms of justice, was beheaded at Santa Maria.

The history of the early Spanish conquerors in America is so fraught with the daring, dashing glory of their enterprises, that we shudder when we think of their application of the maxim that "the end justifies the means."

Hernando Cortes, the daring conqueror of Mexico, was born in 1485, at Medellin, a village of Estremadura, in Spain. He was educated for the law, but adopted the profession of arms, and in 1511, he distinguished himself under Diego Velasquez, in the expedition against Cuba. This established his reputation, so that, in 1518, the conquest of Mexico was entrusted to him by Velasquez, then governor of Cuba. The commission was no sooner granted than the versatile governor tried to revoke it, being jealous of his dashing and sagacious lieutenant. Cortes, however, in defiance of the governor, remained in command. A greater enterprise was never undertaken, with so little regard for the great difficulties and dangers to be encountered. Cortes' whole force only amounted to about 700 men, which included thirteen muscatiers, with ten field pieces, and two or three small cannon. This was all the means placed at Cortes' disposal, to effect the conquest of the extensive empire of Mexico.

Early in the year 1519, he landed on the shores of Mexico, and, shortly after, sailed up the Tabasco river, and captured the town of

Tabasco. The gallant commander and his forces caused great terror to the Tabascians, who made liberal presents to their conquerors and volunteered full information about Mexico and her power.

After arriving off the coast of San Juan de Ulloa, Cortes was visited by many of the leading Mexican chiefs, with whom he entered into negotiations regarding a visit to Montezuma, the absolute ruler of Mexico.

The sagacious Montezuma sent rich presents to Cortes, but declined to invite the conqueror to visit the capital. Cortes, however, had resolved on visiting the emperor in his palace, and was undaunted by all opposition. After having founded the town of Vera Cruz, he burned his ships, so that his troops could not return, thereby giving them the only alternative—to conquer or die. Cortes, with his then reduced force of 400 Spaniards on foot, and fifteen horse, with a number of Indian followers, led by the treacherous chiefs, friendly to Montezuma, marched upon the capital. He overcame the Tlascalans on the way, and made them his firm allies. At Chalula, by order of Montezuma, a treacherous attempt was made to massacre Cortes' troops, which caused fearful vengeance to be wrecked on the city of Chalula. He reached the city of Mexico on the 8th of November, and was received with great pomp, by Montezuma in person.

The Spaniards, upon their arrival at the city of Mexico, were regarded as the descendants of the sun, which, according to Mexican prophecies, were to come from the east and subvert the Aztec empire.* This traditionary superstition was worth to Cortes an army of soldiers. One of Montezuma's generals caused an attack to be made on Cortes' colony at Vera Cruz, which resulted in the seizure of the emperor, by the intrepid Cortes, who had him conveyed to the Spanish quarters and forced him to surrender the offending general and three other officers, whom he caused to be burned in front of the emperor's palace.

Under the iron hand of Cortes, the entire empire was soon ceded to Spain. The capital city at that time contained, it is estimated, 300,000 inhabitants. In the meantime, Velasquez, jealous of the success of Cortes, sent an army of about 1000 men with artillery, and well provided, to compel the surrender of Cortes. The undaunted Cortes was equal to the emergency, however, as history shows that he unexpectedly met and overpowered the force sent against him, and secured their permanent allegiance.

During these disturbances, the Mexicans at the capital arose and drove out the Spanish forces with great loss. At this time the Emperor Montezuma, who was kept a prisoner, appeared on a terrace, for the

*According to the Aztec mythology, which was handed down by their predecessors, (the Taltics,) their god Taotal, believed in pure sacrifices. Taotal had once reigned in Anahuac, but for some unknown reason, retired from earth, by way of the Mexican Gulf, promising to return. This tradition accelerated the success of Cortes, as the Mexicans believed that their god had returned.

purpose of pacifying his people, and was accidentally wounded with a stone, from the effects of which he died a few days later.

Cortes retired to Tlascala, and, after recruiting and reinforcing his army, subdued all the Mexican valley, and soon marched against the city of Mexico, which he recaptured, August 16th, 1521, after a siege of four months. Language cannot depict the horrors of the murderous assault of the two days following the capture of the city. In 1639, Cortes was divested of his civil rank. Undaunted and determined, the irrepressible conqueror, at his own expense, fitted out several expeditions, one of which discovered California.

Cortes died at Seville, in December, 1547,* after having been for several years coldly received at the Spanish court. History thus repeats itself, "Court favors are of short duration."

Pineda, in 1519, traversed the coast of the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, as far as Panuco, in Mexico, and it is alleged, discovered the Mississippi river, which was called the "River of the Holy Spirit." The next year Ayllon landed upon the coast of Georgia and South Carolina, and five years later he explored as far as Virginia, where he planted an ill-fated settlement, on the present site of Jamestown.†

Pamfilo de Narvaez, a contemporary of the great explorer, sailed for the West India, shortly after the discovery of Columbus. In 1501, he participated in the conquest of Santa Domingo, Jamaica, and Cuba, and was second to Velasquez, the governor in command of the Spanish forces. The tyrannical Velasquez, in 1520, sent him on an expedition to Mexico, to bring Cortes to submission, and with orders to arrest Cortes, and to succeed him as governor of that country. At Zempoalla, Cortes surprised and took him prisoner, after Narvaez had lost an eye in the battle. He was imprisoned by Cortes for five years, while the balance of the army joined Cortes, and took part in the battles which resulted in the conquest of Mexico. After his liberation, Narvaez returned to Spain, and succeeded in obtaining an extensive tract of land in Florida. He arrived at Tampa Bay in 1528, with a force of 400 men, and proceeded to Appalachicola, with the intention of settling in Florida, but was everywhere met by hostile natives. After numerous adversities, he again reached the seacoast, and, while attempting to go to Mexico in boats, he was drowned, by the sinking of his boats, near the mouth of the Mississippi river. All of his companions, except four, perished before reaching Sonora.

Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca was one of the lieutenants of De Narvaez, who conducted the unfortunate expedition, and lost his life while crossing the Gulf Stream out at sea, and was one of the few who survived the perils of the deep and the horrors of the land and lived to tell, in after years, one of the most remarkable tales ever chronicled in American history. In those days, long since past and gone, Henry

*Prescott's Conquest of Mexico.

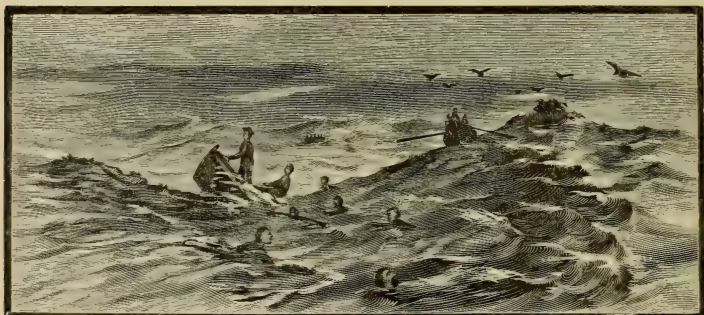
†The Old Northwest. (By Prof. Hinsdale) Page 6.

VIII. was king of England, and sixteen rulers have since occupied that throne.

Cabeza de Vaca was the descendant of an honorable family in Spain, whose honors were earned at the battle of Narvaez de Talosa, in the 13th century, one of the greatest battles won in those days against the Moors. De Vaca's grandfather was the conqueror of the Canary Islands.

De Vaca sailed from Spain as treasurer and sheriff of the expedition of 600 men, under De Narvaez, the intended conquerer and colonizer of the "Flowery Land," already discovered by Ponce de Leon. The expedition reached Santa Domingo and thence sailed to Cuba. It was on Good Friday, in the year 1528, some ten months after leaving Spain, when they reached Florida, and landed at a place now called Tampa Bay.

After taking formal possession of the country for Spain, they set out to explore the vast unknown wilderness. While at Santa Domingo, shipwreck and desertion had reduced the original 600 men to only 345. The most fearful misfortunes met them on every hand. After reaching Florida, each day brought new misfortunes. Food was scarce, and the hostile Indians beset them on every hand; while the numberless lakes, rivers, and almost impregnable swamps, made progress both difficult and dangerous. They finally became so enfeebled that they could not get back to their vessels. They, at last, struggled through and reached the coast, far west of Tampa Bay. Here they decided to build boats and coast to the Spanish settlements in Mexico. After great toil, five rude boats were made, and they turned westward along the coast of the Gulf. Storms scattered their boats and wrecked them, one after another.



DROWNING OF NARVAEZ IN THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Many of the despairing and haggard adventurers were drowned while crossing the Gulf stream, Narvaez among them, while scores were cast upon the inhospitable shores and perished by exposure and starvation. Of the five boats, three had gone down with all on board; and of the eighty men who escaped shipwreck, but fifteen were now alive,

while their arms and clothing were at the bottom of the Gulf. At this time, the survivors were on Mal Hado, "The Isle of Misfortune," which was west of the mouth of the Mississippi.

The Indians on the island, who lived on roots, berries and fish, treated their starving guests as generously as possible. In the spring, Vaca's thirteen companions determined to escape. Vaca being too sick to walk, he, together with two other sick men, Oviedo and Alaniz, were abandoned and left behind by the deserters. Alaniz soon perished, and Oviedo fled from some danger, and was never more heard of, while Vaca, a naked skeleton, scarcely able to stand, faced the dangers alone. It is recorded that his sufferings were almost unendurable, for when he was not the victim of cruel treatment by the savages, he was looked upon as a worthless incumbrance and an interloper among them. The deserters fared even worse than Vaca. They had fallen into cruel hands and all had been slain, except Andres Darantes, Alonzo del Castillo Maldonado, and the negro, Esterinco. These three naked slaves, and the skeleton Vaca, were now the only survivors of the 600, who had left their homes in Spain, in 1527, to conquer the new world, and even they were separated for seven long years, though occasionally hearing from each other. Then they finally met and were united again in Texas, west of the Sabine river.

While the fifteen Spaniards were on the Isle of Mal Hado, the Indians wished to make them doctors and to cure sickness by blowing upon the sick ones, and with their hands remove the disease, and bade them to do so on some of the sick ones. The Spaniards laughed at this, thinking it an Indian joke, but the Indians were in earnest, for they took away their food, and informed them that the stones and the herbs in the field had power to heal, and that they must necessarily have greater power. This hint gave Vaca the key and passport to safety. This strange and interesting clew eventually saved the trio of despairing Spaniards; without this all would have perished in the wilderness, and the world would never have known the result of that Spanish expedition. After Vaca's desertion by his last surviving companion, he began to wander about. His captors were indifferent and paid little attention to him, as he could not serve as a warrior, on account of his physical condition, and as a hunter he was equally unavailable. By degrees he began making long trips northward and down the coast. In time he saw a chance for trading, in which the Indians encouraged him. From the northern tribes he brought down skins and face-paint, flakes of flint, for arrow heads, and reeds for shafts. These he exchanged among the coast tribes for shells, beads and other traffic, which were in demand among the northern tribes. On account of the constant wars raging between the various Indian tribes, they dared not venture beyond their limits. Vaca thus became the first American trader. These lonely trading expeditions were carried on by thousands of miles of travel on

A day's march beyond the village in southwestern Sonora, they met an Indian, wearing upon his neck symbols of civilization—the buckle of a sword-belt, and a horse-shoe nail. This was the first sign of civilization that had been seen in their eight years wanderings. The Indian told them of men with beards like themselves who had come from the sky and made war upon their people. They now entered Senaloa, and found themselves in the land of flowers and streams. The Indians were in mortal fear of two Spanish brutes, who were in the vicinity, and were trying to capture slaves. They had just left, but Vaca and Esteranico, with eleven Indians, hurriedly followed their trail, and the next day overtook four Spaniards, who conducted them to their rascally captain, Diego Alcuraz. The Spanish captain sent back for Dorantes and Castillo, who arrived five days later, accompanied by several hundred Indians. After resting a short period they again journeyed forth, and after a few days hard travel they reached Culioscan, on May 1st, 1536, and were warmly received by Melchior Daiz. After a short rest, the wanderers made a journey of 300 miles through a land swarming with hostile savages, and, at last, reached the city of Mexico in safety, where they were received with great honor.

Cabeza de Vaca, Castillo and Dorantes sailed for Spain on April 10th, 1537, and arrived in August. Esteranico, the negro, remained in Mexico. The report of Vaca and his companions caused the fitting out of the expedition which resulted in the discovery of Arizona, New Mexico, Indian Territory, Kansas, and Colorado, and established the nucleus of the first European towns in the United States.

The Spanish government rewarded de Vaca by making him governor of Paraguay in 1540, but on account of inefficiency he was afterwards recalled and given a pension of 2,000 ducats. He died at Seville, many years later.

Ferdinand de Soto, one of our early Spanish explorers, and the discoverer of the Mississippi river, was born in Spain, in 1496. In his youth he was a distinguished literary student, and remarkably skilled in athletic exercises. He accompanied the tyrannical Pedrasias Davila, in 1519, to the Isthmus of Darien, and was a daring and independent opponent of that officer's tyrannical rule, while governor of Darien. In 1528, he left Davila's service and explored the coast of Guatamala and Yucatan, in search of a water communication supposed to exist between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. He was with the celebrated butcher Pizarro,* in 1532, in the expedition for the conquest of Peru, and used his influence with that great robber of temples to prevent the slaughter of the Peruvian king.

Having quickly amassed a fortune in Peru, de Soto returned to Spain and married the daughter of Davila. Shortly after his marriage,

*Pizarro's death was in accordance with his life. In Peru, he lived the life of an assassin, by virtue of conquest. On June 26th, 1541, he expiated his crimes at the hands of assassins, who were incited by his own deeds of blood.



DE SOTO ON THE BANKS OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Diego Columbus (son of Christopher Columbus) relinquished his right to the crown, to appoint a governor of Cuba. De Soto being in favor at the Spanish court, was immediately appointed, under the title of governor-general.

De Soto's love for travel and adventure, stimulated by the reports of the mythical El Dorado in North America, prompted him to undertake the conquest of Florida. He sailed in April, 1538, with twenty officers, twenty-four priests and six hundred men, and landed at Tampa Bay on May 25th, 1539, and in July his ships were sent back to Havana. The next year, he moved slowly westward and, from time to time, had serious and disastrous conflicts with the Indians. His second winter was spent in the great Chickasaw country, where his camp, together with forty of his followers, was burned by the Indians, because he attempted to impress them into service, as luggage carriers. After marching several days, through almost impregnable swamps, de Soto and his expedition reached the Mississippi in June, 1541, and were the first white men to gaze upon the water of that mighty river. Here they constructed rude barges, crossed the river and traveled to the White river, which was the west limit of the exploration. From the White river they traveled south past the Hot Springs of Arkansas, and wintered on the Washita river.

The following spring, de Soto moved his expedition down the Washita to the Mississippi, where he was taken sick with fever, and died, either in May or June, 1542.

"His soldiers pronounced his eulogy, by grieving for their loss. The priests chanted over his body the first requiems that were ever heard on the waters of the Mississippi. To conceal his death, his body was wrapped in a mantle, and, in the stillness of midnight, was silently sunk in the middle of the stream. The wanderer had crossed a large part of the continent, in his search for gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial place."*

The now greatly reduced expedition found its way down the Mississippi to the Gulf, and finally succeeded in reaching their countrymen in Mexico.†

De Soto's faithful wife, who had patiently waited his return to Havana, died upon the third day after hearing of her husband's unfortunate death.

At the time de Soto's expedition was in the region south of the Missouri, another expedition, headed by Coronado‡, came overland from Mexico, and was searching in the same vicinity for the fabled "Seven Cities of Cibola."

These two visionary commanders were within a few days travel of

*Bancroft's History. Vol. I., 50. (Sixth Volume Edition.)

†Hinsdale's Old Northwest, 7.

‡Hinsdale's Old Northwest, 7.

each other, so close in fact, that Corondo heard of de Soto's party, and sent him a letter which failed to reach him.

In those days of Spanish explorations, the only form of wealth known to them was the precious metals, and they, being unable to find those in Florida and the adjacent country, again centered their attentions on Mexico, where they had already found them in such great and surprising abundance.

After the death of de Soto, Spain became so indifferent to her rights that she allowed the Mississippi to slip from her grasp, and go into the hands of the French, without hardly a struggle, and only awoke, a century later, to realize her loss and mistake.

While the Spanish laid claim to the whole country, from the Gulf to Canada, her greatest stronghold was peninsula Florida.

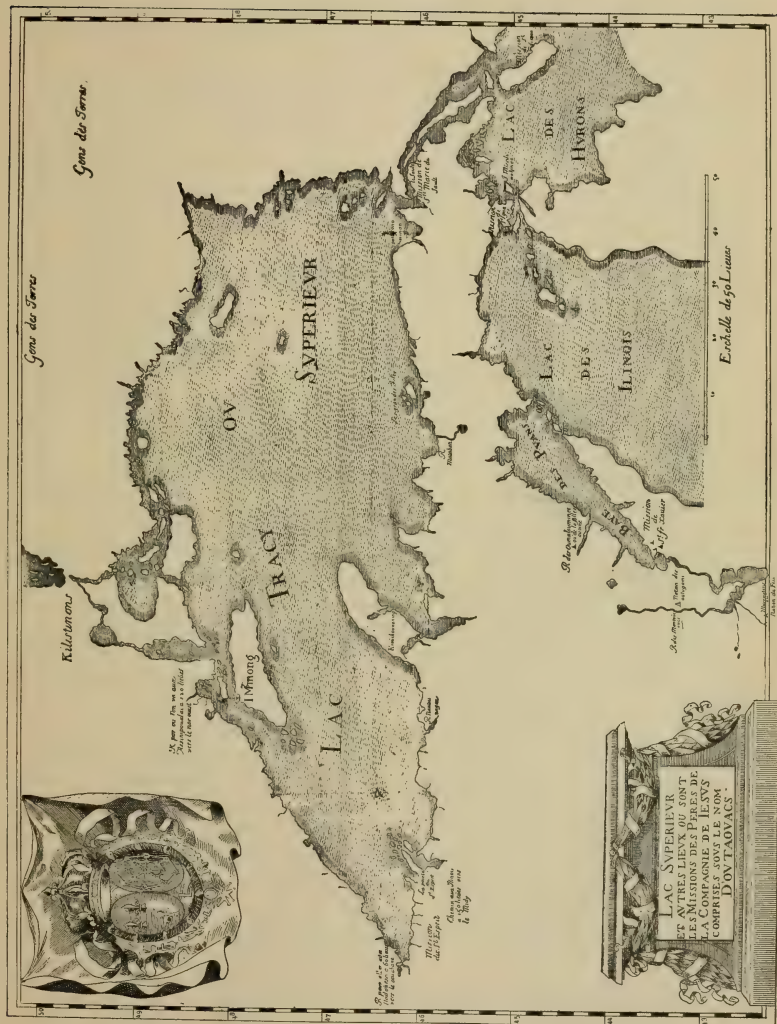
Menendez de Aviles, on St. Augustine's day, August 28th, 1565, arrived in Florida, and built a fort, which became the nucleus of the present city of St. Augustine.† One hundred and ninety-eight years later—1763, Spain surrendered the key of the Gulf and the India Seas, as the price of the Queen of the Antilles.

†St. Augustine was defended with great difficulty against the Indians, the French and Indian adventurers, but was captured and pillaged by Sir Francis Drake, in 1586, and by the pirates in 1665.

The city was built after the old Spanish style, the widest streets being only from 12 to 15 feet across. The original dwellings were constructed of a conglomerate of shells and shell-lime, from Anastasia Island.

In the center of the city, where now stands the Plaza de la Constitution, once stood the residence, custom-house and slave market of the Spanish governors.

Old Fort San Marco, which was finished in 1756, after nearly a century's labor, still stands, and is an object of historical interest. Also, the Ponce de Leon Hotel, which was built of coquina, in the Moorish style, and covers four acres.



MAP MADE BY THE JESUITS, 1671.--FROM ARCHIVES AT PARIS.

CHAPTER XVI.

FRENCH EXPLORERS AND EXPLORATIONS.

1634—1763.

Object of French Exploration.—Explorations of Verazzano.—Cartier.—Champlain.—Nicollet.—Radisson and Groseilliers.—Menard.—Allouez.—Joliet.—Marquette.—La Salle.

WHILE the great incentive to the Spanish explorations was gold, the main motive of the French explorations in America was (1) religious zeal, and (2) love for gold and adventure, through that great channel known as the fur trade.

The first French explorer of North America was Giovanni de Verazzano,* an Italian of noble birth, who was commissioned by Francis I., king of France, to make a voyage of discovery to North America. In 1524, he set sail, and went by way of Madeira, in command of the frigate *Dolphin*, and after meeting much stormy weather reached the coast of America, and sailed along its coast from the 34° of latitude to Newfoundland. He discovered the continent at Cape Fear, or New Jersey, and is thought to have discovered New York bay. The genuineness of a letter written to Francis I., giving an elaborate account of his discoveries, has frequently been questioned.

The next French explorer of America was Jacques Cartier,† who was sent out by the king of France on a tour of discovery. He sailed from St. Malo, in 1534, in command of two ships, to explore the north-east coast of America. He first landed at Cape Buena Vista, Newfoundland, then passed up the straits of Belle Isle, and discovered the mainland of Canada, which he claimed in the name of the king of France. The next year, with another expedition, he discovered the St. Lawrence river, and explored its banks as far as Stradeconna, the Indian name of Quebec. Cartier, believing that this river was the long-sought passage to Cathay, left his ships, and with two or three companions, sailed up the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga, a large fortified Indian village at the foot of Mount Royal, where Montreal is now situated. The unusual severity of the climate during the first winter, together with the sickness of his men, caused him to sail back to France in 1536, and nothing was further done towards the colonization of America until 1540, at which time Jean Francis La Roche obtained leave to form a settlement in Canada. Cartier was again sent out, in 1541, by the king, in command of five ships. After landing at Quebec, he built Fort Charlesbourg, and took formal possession of Canada, in the name of his royal master, and

*Verazzano was born in Italy, in 1480, and is said to have been put to death in Spain for piracy, in 1527.

†Jacques Cartier was born in Brittany, 1494. As late as 1552, he lived at Limoilin, his native village, as seigneur.

raised a cross, surmounted by the *fleur-de-lis*, upon which was blazoned the legend, *Franciscus Primus Dei Gracia Francorum Rex regnat*.

Cartier's attempt to colonize Canada proved futile, on account of his having carried away an Indian chief during his previous voyage.

Samuel de Champlain, the suave French explorer, was born in 1567, and served in the army of Henry IV., of France, while a young man; then accompanied the fleet of the Spanish to the West Indies. In 1603 he was sent to Canada, by De Chaste,* upon whom had been bestowed some of the new territory. Stopping at Hochelaga, on the St. Lawrence, he, like Cartier, was filled with admiration for this beautiful country, and became at once convinced that the beautiful valley of the St. Lawrence must be the seat of the future French-American empire. This land contained all that the enthusiastic Frenchman desired, as the forests and waters abounded in the valuable furs which, next to gold and silver, were the prime objects of the early American explorers; while the great river of the unknown regions, it was believed, would lead to the lands of Marco Polo. He returned to France, with the determination to plant, in Canada, a colony that would reflect glory upon his country, and extend the dominions of the Catholic church.

From 1604 to 1607, Champlain was engaged in exploring the gulf and coasts of the St. Lawrence, and the adjacent waterways, seeking a desirable spot for his permanent settlement. In 1608, after his third voyage to Canada, he established a settlement at Quebec, which, after many misfortunes and struggles, became both permanent and prosperous. The next year, this intrepid explorer and his hardy companions plunged into the wilderness of northern New York, where, near Lake Champlain, they met a party of Mohawk Indians, which they attacked and principally destroyed. Champlain, however, was much impressed by the courage they displayed, as well as the formidable confederation to which they belonged.

It was fortunate that Champlain concluded not to invade the seats of the Iroquois, as he had first determined, but to more permanently lay the foundation of New France, farther northward. The establishment of New France, through the strenuous efforts of Champlain, fully entitled him ever to be known as "the Father of New France."

In 1629, the settlement at Quebec was captured by English adventurers, and Champlain taken to London as a prisoner, but was liberated in 1632, and shortly after returned to Quebec. It was on Christmas day, 1635, that this daring explorer, who had the honor of being the first governor of New France, died at Quebec, and in his death the spirit of the colony appeared for a time to depart. The Iroquois, the insatiate enemies of Champlain, took advantage of Champlain's death, and wreaked their vengeance on the French settlers, and their allies, the Algonquin tribes. The Dutch traders at Albany, ever jealous of the

*According to Prof. Hinsdale, he came to Canada with Pontgrève.

French traders, supplied the Five Nations with firearms and ammunition, and it was not long ere many of the Indians were a match for the best shots in Canada.* The French settlers were driven within their gates, while their allies, the Algonquins, were driven as far west as the Wisconsin river.

The first actual explorer of the territory now known as Wisconsin was Jean Nicollet, who was born at Cherbourg, in Normandy, and while a young man emigrated to Canada in 1618. At this time the celebrated Champlain, entertaining ambitious schemes of exploration, and desiring to rival even Columbus, was in the habit of occasionally sending young men among the Indian tribes, to learn their languages and customs, to be serviceable to him as interpreters and explorers. Nicollet was thus selected by Champlain, shortly after his arrival at Quebec, and was dispatched to the Algonquins, on the Ottawa; and next to the Nipissings, on Lake Nipissing. After years of intimate association with the various Indian tribes, he was employed as interpreter at Three Rivers, where he soon gained an enviable reputation as an adroit manager of the red men, who assembled there from the adjacent country for the purpose of trade and council. In 1634, he was dispatched by the governor of New France to secure the good will of the Indian tribes upon the shores of Winnipegou,* and other lakes of the northwest.

Nicollet, in company with Fathers Brebeuf, Daniel, and DaVost, Jesuit priests who were journeying towards the Huron country, to establish the mission which was afterwards abandoned by the Recollets, journeyed, with his priestly companions, as far as Isle des Allumetts. At this island he parted company with his comrades, and proceeded by way of Lake Nipissing to Georgian Bay, where he spent some time among the Hurons, and secured seven of their tribe to accompany him upon his voyage of discovery to the northwest.

Nicollet's training, among the hardships of the uncivilized savages, made him a semi-savage, and more than equal in endurance to any of his hardy companions, and qualified him for that arduous journey. Through storm and calm they pursued their perilous voyage, picking up their food as Indian hunters do from time to time, until finally the shore lines led them through the north channel to the outlet of Lake Superior, and thence to the Straits of St. Mary.

At the site of the present city of Sault Ste. Marie, they found a large and prosperous village of Algonquins. Nicollet and his party landed here, and were the first white men to set foot upon the soil of that part of the country which, one hundred and fifty years later, became the Northwest Territory. Nicollet did not discover Lake Superior, which was within a few hours' walk of the Indian village; as so notable a discovery would have been placed to his credit by his many Jesuit admirers. After stopping at the Falls of St. Anthony a sufficient

*Winnebago.

length of time to recruit his men, they commenced their long and arduous journey, and finally entered the Straits of Mackinaw, and, descending that famous highway, they gazed with rapture upon the inexhaustible waters of Lake Michigan, and were honored by being its first white discoverers. Skirting the northern shore of this great inland sea, camping upon the edges of the solemn forests which framed it, alternately waiting the passage of storms and to refresh themselves, this brave explorer and his hardy followers finally rounded Point Détour, and beached their frail crafts on the shores of Bay de Noquet, the northern arm of Green Bay. Here they found another Algonquin tribe, with whom they smoked the pipe of peace, and obtained valuable information from them of the far-beyond country.

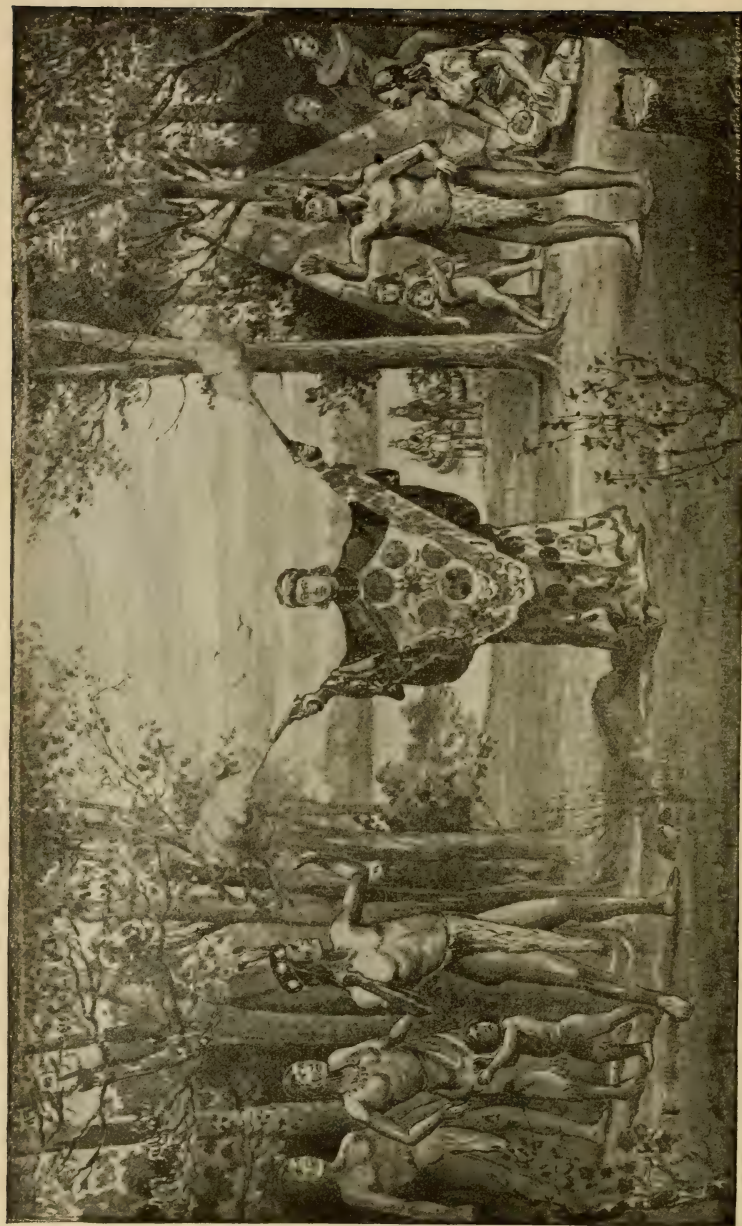
They next stopped at the mouth of the Menomonie river, which forms a boundary line between Wisconsin and upper Michigan, which at that time, was principally peopled by Algonquins. Here our explorer and his friends tarried long enough to hold a council with the Indians, and to dispatch one of their Huron runners to herald their approach to the Winnebagoes, established at the mouth of the Fox river.* The western shores were low and irregular, and densely wooded with pine and tamarack, which present a somber and depressing appearance, while the eastern banks were high, presenting rugged headlands and abrupt slopes covered with dense hard and soft woods. The summit of the picturesque clay cliff at Red Banks was crowned, for several miles back in the country, with innumerable and interesting mounds. It was here, according to the Winnebago tradition, that the Adam and Eve of the Indian race first lived.†

Nicollet, after waiting for favorable weather, pursued his course through the enormous marshes of wild rice which made the mouth of the Fox river almost impassable, and there landed. In these days the China sea was generally supposed to be in the neighborhood of the great lakes, as yet there being no knowledge of the immense width of the great American continent. Nicollet had heard from the Nipissings "that at Green Bay he would meet with a strange people, who had come from beyond a great water, lying to the west."

Nicollet's mind had been prepared to find, at that point, a large colony of Chinamen or Japanese, or to discover the Orient itself. Nicollet's canoe had been run into a cove below the mouth of the Fox, while he attired himself in a gorgeous damask gown, beautifully decorated with gaily-colored birds and flowers, an oriental garment which he had taken care to provide himself with at Quebec, with the anticipation that he would meet mandarins who would be dressed in a similar manner. Nicollet, thus attired, stepped upon the shore, a short distance up the river, and in this picturesque manner Wisconsin was

*Thwaites' Story of Wisconsin, 27.

†Ibid., 28.



NICOLLET IN ORIENTAL ROBES AMONG THE WINNEBAGOES.

introduced to its first white explorer. The rustling skirts of his oriental robe swept the ground as he boldly advanced among the nearly-naked Winnebagoes, and discharged the pistols which he held in either hand. The warriors were greatly startled at this singular apparition, but hailed him as Manitou, or wonderful man; while the women and children fled in terror from the presence of the great Manitou, who carried with him both lightning and thunder.

The polite Frenchman smothered his chagrin beneath a smile, and after doffing his oriental costume, met the Winnebagoes in friendly council. The news of his arrival quickly spread to the surrounding villages, and there soon gathered four thousand or five thousand Indians, who gave great feasts in honor of their noted guest. After the breaking up of the councils he left the Winnebagoes at the mouth of the Fox, and pursued his way up that river. He made portages around the Falls, Depores, the Kakalins, Appleton, and Menasha. This picturesque vineclad river is now lined with prosperous cities and towns, where, in those days, lived only half-naked savages. In those days, populous Indian villages were at the rapids, and on Doty's island, and at the outlet of Winnebago, while upon the tablelands on either side, were immense fields of maize, which furnished their *caches* with an abundant supply for winter use, as well as for traffic with the neighboring tribes.

Nicollet and his companions soon emerged upon the broad expanse of Lake Winnebago, and cautiously wended their way until they reached the point where the upper Fox enters into the lake, where now is situated the prosperous city of Oshkosh. This site was afterwards a famous camping-ground for French *voyageurs*, both before and after the establishment of the "jack-knife" trading posts upon the innumerable waterways of Wisconsin. From this point he pushed on in search of the Fire nation, whose camp was located thirty miles to the southwest, up the Fox.*

Through this marshy, serpentine course Nicollet pushed on, frequently losing his way, until he at last arrived at a point above where Omro now lies, and from thence near the site of the present city of Berlin, where, upon a beach of clay, Nicollet stranded his canoe. Two miles farther to the south, upon an eminence, lay the palisaded town of the Mascoutins, or Fire nation, the object of his search. Three days' journey from this Indian village was the portage which separates the waters of the Fox from the Wisconsin. Had Nicollet dreamed of his nearness to the portage, he would have had the honor of being the first white discoverer of the upper Mississippi. Having secured the goodwill of the Mascoutins in the interest of the French, he took up his

*According to Indian tradition, the Fox river was so named because of its winding path, which resembled the course of a fox when pursued. Another tradition says, a monstrous snake lay down for the night in the swamp, between the Wisconsin portage and the lake of the Winnebagoes; the dew accumulated upon it at night, and, when morning came, it wriggled and shook itself, and disappeared down the river, thus leaving the river bed to mark its course.

way southward and visited the Indians of the Illinois, and returned to Quebec the following year, by way of Lake Michigan. Jean Nicollet* journeyed over two thousand miles through the trackless wilderness of the great unknown northwest, and thus won for New France a name theretofore unknown in the great European conquest of the northwest.



NICOLLET EXPLORING THE WILDERNESS.

Twenty years passed after Nicollet's journey before another white man came to Wisconsin. Exploration was at a standstill, because of the Iroquois fury and their monopoly of the trade; but, in 1658, Radisson and his brother-in-law, Groseilliers, set out on a tour of exploration. For two hundred years very little was known of their travels. Radisson had written an account of his adventures for the king of England, and this manuscript, whose truth is universally believed, was finally published in 1885.

These two men spent some time among the Hurons and Ottawas at the Manitoulin islands, then came to the Pottawatomes, living on the islands at the entrance of Green Bay. Here they spent the winter, and in the following spring proceeded to the villages of the Mascoutins, on the upper Fox river. These Indians were regarded with great admiration by Radisson, and he, in turn, was looked upon with delight, astonishment and awe; they even went so far as to carry Radisson in their canoes, up and down the watercourses of Wisconsin, whenever he desired, and, in the summer of 1659, he discovered the Mississippi river. It took four months to accomplish this end. Radisson describes their discovery as "a beautiful river, grand, wide, deep, and comparable to

*In the year 1642, while attempting to deliver a companion who had fallen into the hands of the Indians, his canoe was upset in a Canadian stream, and thus the noble and venturesome explorer perished. Wis. Hist. Col., Vol. X., 282.

our own great river, the St. Lawrence." Radisson was alone at the time of this discovery. His brother-in-law, Groseilliers, had remained with the Indians at their village, and helped them make corn.

At this period there was no mission, not even another white man, except Groseilliers, west of the Alleghanies. With nothing but his own skill and bravery, he plunged his way into the very depths of the wilderness, and explored the Mississippi river, a thousand miles above the point which De Soto reached. The next year, the two travelers came back to the St. Lawrence river. In the summer of 1661, they both set out on a new exploration. They went to Lake Superior, and skirted along its southern shore until they reached Chequamegon Bay, where they built a stockaded fort, near the site of the present city of Ashland. From thence they proceeded in a southeasterly direction, until they came to a village of the Hurons.* These barbarous people received the explorers like demi-gods, or like people from another planet.

The winter following was extraordinarily bitter. A terrible famine was the result. Their only food was the bark of trees or vines, and old beaver-skins. About five hundred men, women and children died from starvation. "We became the very image of death," writes Radisson. When spring came the famine ended. A party of Sioux Indians soon visited the travelers. These Indians lived in northwestern Wisconsin and northern Minnesota. After a short time, the explorers went to Minnesota, and visited the Sioux at their homes, and also the Christinos, living to the northwest of Lake Superior. Late in the summer of 1662, they returned to the St. Lawrence river, with sixty canoes loaded with furs, valued at 200,000 livres, their well-earned reward.

Upon their arrival the mercenary governor of New France determined to rob them, but, being warned, they secretly fled to Boston, and from there sailed to England. In 1667, they sailed for Hudson's Bay, and established trading-posts, for the purpose of drawing the fur trade of the northwest away from Canada. Thus they became the founders of the famous Hudson's Bay Company. After a little, some trouble arose between them and the officers of the Company, which prompted them to turn from their English allegiance and join the French service. In 1682, they again came to Hudson's Bay, seized an English ship, took all their former associates prisoners, and raised the flag of France over Port Nelson. In the meantime Radisson's wife had remained in England. Through the influence of the English ambassador at Paris the two Frenchmen were soon persuaded to reënter the English service.

In 1684, they sailed for Hudson's Bay a third time, where, upon their arrival, they lowered the lilies of France and hoisted the English flag, which has ever since floated triumphantly over that portion of the continent.

*According to Perrot, this Indian village was three days' journey from Chequamegon Bay, and situated near a little lake about eight leagues in circuit. (Hebberd's Wisconsin Under French Dominion.)



RADISSON AND GROSEILLIERS AMONG THE STARVING INDIANS. See page 70.

This is the last we hear of this renowned and brave man. Few of the many whom history has made famous have done so much as Radisson.

In August, 1660, Father Menard, notwithstanding the ruin of the Huron missions, set out for the west, and, after indescribable sufferings en route, finally reached an Ottawa settlement at Keweenaw Point, on Lake Superior. The Ottawas had been driven from their old home by the Iroquois, and were now in a state of unequalled wretchedness. Misery had made them brutes of the lowest of the savage order.* They treated Father Menard most inhumanly. They mocked at his teachings and, in the depth of winter, they drove him from their cabins, where he was forced to make a shelter in the great forest out of pine boughs. Here, battling with the winter's blasts and half famished, living only upon acorns and the bark from trees, this feeble old man lived the life of a martyr until the next summer. The following June he started to establish a mission among the Hurons at the headwaters of the Chippewa. His guides had deserted him on the way, but he pushed on until he reached a point near the Huron village, where he is supposed to have perished in the wilderness, and thus gained a crown of martyrdom, he being Wisconsin's first missionary, and her first martyr.



FIRST JESUIT CHAPEL.

Claude Jean Allouez, a Jesuit, was trained for work in establishing missions, among the Algonquins on the St. Lawrence river. In 1665, Allouez was sent to take Menard's place, at the headwaters of the Chippewa, but the Hurons and Ottawas had removed from the interior wilds to Chequamegon Bay. Allouez repaired to the new Indian settlement, built a rude bark chapel, and here established the first Jesuit

*Radisson met them one year later in the wilds of northern Wisconsin, and characterized them as "the cursedest, unblest, the infamous and cowardliest people, that I have seen among four score nations, that I have frequented."

mission in Wisconsin. This spot soon became the center for the nations of the west. The Hurons and the Ottawas had been attracted to this spot, at the head of the Chequamegon Bay, by the abundant supply of excellent fish, and the opportunities for traffic. Other tribes followed for the same purpose, while some were fugitives from the fury of the warlike Iroquois, who were then invading the whole northwest. Here were conglomerated Sacs, Pottawatomies, Foxes, and numerous tribes from eastern Wisconsin, as well as the tribes from the south, including the Illinois.

Allouez, with the zeal and ardor of a Napoleon, labored with uncertain success, but his work was soon ended, as the Iroquois thirst for blood was curbed by the power of the French. The various tribes soon returned to their original hunting grounds, while the missionaries followed their flocks and the mission of St. Esprit again became a solitude. This zealous priest erected a chapel of reeds, styled St. James, and there, on Assumption day, 1672, planted a cross and preached to a large audience, consisting of five distinct Indian tribes. Allouez' death occurred on the St. Joseph river, among the Miamis, in 1690. Much valuable Indian history was given to the world by this good priest, who passed his life in ministering to others.

Louis Joliet, another early explorer, was born in 1645, at Quebec, and was educated at the Jesuit college for the priesthood. In 1672, he was appointed by Governor Frontenac as chief of the expedition to explore the Mississippi river. Joliet, accompanied by Marquette and five *voyageurs*, started from St. Ignace on May 17, 1673. The little party canoed the forest-bordered shore of upper Michigan, and, on June 7th, they were at the Mascoutin village on the upper Fox. At this place they obtained guides, as the creek was narrow and wound its tortuous way through immense and almost-impregnable swamps, and, after days of arduous canoeing, they made the portage and found themselves upon the bosom of the mighty Mississippi. It was with rapture that they gazed upon the beautiful scenery on either side of this mighty and broad stream. The celebrated canoeists passed down the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Arkansas, and being satisfied from Indians whom they met that the river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, and not into the Pacific ocean, and fearing to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, they returned to Green Bay, by way of the Illinois river, making the Chicago portage. Joliet hastened on to Montreal to report to Frontenac his great discoveries, and while in the Lachine rapids, his canoe was upset, and his maps and manuscripts lost.

Upon his return to Quebec, this indefatigable explorer prepared a map, and made a report of the expedition from memory. As a mark of esteem, he was appointed royal hydrographer at Quebec, and, in 1680, he received the grant of the seignury of Anticosti Island. In 1697, he was granted the royal favor to the seignury of Joliette, which still belongs to the family. It has been erroneously stated, and gener-

ally believed, that the leader of this great exploring expedition was Pere Marquette, but such is not the fact, however. Father Marquette was sent out on this expedition by the Jesuits in the interest of the Christian cause; while Louis Joliet was the leader of the expedition, and as such is entitled to the credit due so worthy a leader.

James Marquette came to Canada, as a Jesuit missionary, in 1666, and spent some time in the valley of the Three Rivers, learning the different dialects of the Algonquin tribes. After a year and a half had been passed in this way, he was appointed to the Mohawk mission, but before setting out, his course was changed, and he was sent to Lake Superior, where he founded the mission of the Sault Ste. Marie, in 1668. Next, in 1669, he was sent among the Ottawas and Hurons. Here the mission was dispersed by the Sioux, and the Hurons fled to Mackinaw, where Marquette soon followed them, and established the mission of St. Ignatius.

In 1673, when Joliet was commissioned by Frontenac, then governor, to explore the Mississippi, Father Marquette was directed by the Jesuits to accompany him. In May of the same year, they started from Mackinaw, in two canoes, with five French *voyageurs*, and proceeded to Green Bay. Next they reached the Fox river, and ascended it to the rapids, and there found a Miami village. Then they descended the Mississippi for a distance of three hundred miles, without seeing a human being. Now they noticed a trail on the eastern shore, and following this they soon came upon an Illinois Indian settlement, where they were royally received. Next they proceeded to the mouth of the Ohio, where they met a party of Indians, who informed them that they were within ten days' journey of the sea, and that they had purchased goods from people that came from the east, and dressed as the explorers did. The travelers then resumed their journey, and found numerous and more-civilized Indians as they proceeded. Finally, having arrived at latitude 34°, they stopped, fearing to go farther, lest they should fall into the hands of the Spaniards. After tarrying a short time they turned back and ascended the river. When they came to the Illinois river, instead of going up to the mouth of the Wisconsin, they went up the Illinois. From the head of this river, they were said to have made a portage to Lake Michigan at or near Chicago, and after a four months' absence, they arrived at Green Bay.

On October 25, 1674, Father Marquette* again, with a few com-

*Marquette's map is unquestionably the first ever published of the Mississippi river. The five great rivers, the Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio and Arkansas, are placed in their relative positions, and their general course delineated with a marked degree of accuracy. The Wisconsin by the French is written Mississing in the map, while in the narrative it is written Mescousin, and the Missouri is written Pekitanoni, the Ohio is called Ouabouquigon, and the Arkansas is not named on the map; but in the narrative mention is made of the village of Akamsca, near the bank of a river of that name.

The Marquette map and the narrative was issued by Thevenot, in what was called *Thevenot's Recueil*. See Sparks' "Life of Marquette," also Smith's "History of Wisconsin," Vol. I., 306, 307.

panions, set out to form a mission settlement in Illinois. He and his little party were obliged to carry their canoes through the forests from Green Bay to the shore of Lake Michigan, thence skirted the western shore of the lake to the Chicago river, where, because of illness, they were obliged to stop. Here they built a rude log hut and spent the winter. The following spring, their hut was inundated by an early freshet in the river. Gathering together their possessions, they went on their way to the Illinois, which they made by the portage of the Des Plaines river, and finally arrived at the Indian town of Kaskaskia, where he says "he was received like an angel from heaven." After Easter, with two companions, he went back to Lake Michigan, and explored its eastern shore as far north as what is known as Sleeping Bear Point, in Michigan. Then his strength failed. He grew sick and died on May 18, 1675.* His party buried him, and took up their march to Michilimackinac. In 1676, a party of Ottawas dug up his bones, washed, dried, and carefully placed them in birch-bark, and forming a procession of thirty canoes, bore them with funeral chants to the mission of St. Ignace, where the relics were received with solemn ceremonies, and buried beneath the floor of the chapel.



FUNERAL PROCESSION OF FATHER MARQUETTE.

Wisconsin, in honor of this good and great man, has placed his statue in the hall of the national capitol.

Louis Hennepin accompanied La Salle in his exploration tour. On the 28th of February, 1680, Hennepin, with two companions, set out to explore the upper Mississippi, at the command of La Salle. They

*On this day he requested his companions to leave him. They supposed he wished to be left alone with his prayers and acceded to his request; when they returned to him they found him dead. Wis. Hist. Col., Vol. X., 284.

ascended the Mississippi, passing the mouth of the Wisconsin, and were made prisoners by the Sioux below Lake Pepin, on the 12th of April. They were captives for two long months, when one day, their captors started on a buffalo hunt, took their prisoners as far as Rum river, supplied them with a small canoe and other necessities, and then set them loose. They continued their journey up the Mississippi, and soon beheld for the first time the great falls, which still bear the name Hennepin gave them—St. Anthony Falls. He, however, gave an exaggerated account of the height of the falls, claiming that they were from fifty to sixty feet high. From this the conclusion was drawn that Hennepin did not adhere strictly to the truth. He returned shortly after this to Europe, and died in obscurity.

Robert Cavalier La Salle spent his early life in a school of the Roman church, where he became a Jesuit priest. When about twenty-three years of age, he withdrew from the service, and sailed for Canada, where he met an older brother, who was a priest at Montreal, in the seminary of St. Sulpice. This seminary was a religious corporation which had been given a feudal proprietorship of Montreal and its vicinage. The superior, seeing in La Salle a youth of high character, granted him a tract of land, near where La Chane now stands, with seigniorial rights. The young lord built a fort, laid out a village, subdivided and leased lands in the form of that day, set apart a park or common, and cleared the land and erected buildings. He studied the Indian languages, and after a few years, was master of seven or eight different dialects. Trade with the Indians in furs had given La Salle a chance to make improvements upon his property, and to obtain a vague knowledge of the land in the interior. A party of Seneca Indians spent the winter at La Salle's fort, and told him of the great Ohio, rising in their country, but that the river was so long that it required eight or nine months to paddle to its mouth. La Salle determined to see the river, and obtained the consent of the governor, and procured letters-patent authorizing the exploration. This expedition was fitted out at his own expense. In order to be able to do this, he was obliged to sell his seignory and all improvements. On July 6, 1669, with fourteen men and four canoes, he started up the St. Lawrence. Thirty days of arduous labor was required to pass the rapids, the Thousand Islands, and to reach Lake Ontario. Thence they skirted the shore south to the mouth of the Genesee, where they remained a month, obtaining information and seeking friendship among the Indians. Then coasting in a westerly direction as far as the mouth of the Niagara, plainly hearing the mighty roar of the distant cataract, they reached the west shore of Lake Ontario, where they found an Indian prisoner, who promised to lead them to the Ohio river in six weeks. He also met Joliet, returning from a vain search for copper-mines on Lake Superior, and from him procured a map of the lake country, which he had explored.

La Salle's movements from this point are not full, but it is known, however, that he followed the Ohio down to the rapids of Louisville. There he learned from the natives that far beyond, this stream joined the bed of that great river which loses itself in the immense low regions of the south. Here his followers, in a body, deserted him. La Salle was forced to return alone to Canada, living upon such as he was able to procure, and upon the hospitality of the Indians. Perrot claims that he met La Salle in the summer of 1670, hunting on the Ottawa river, with a party of Iroquois. This proves that he must have been in reduced circumstances, and that he was working to get the means to set out on another expedition.

In 1671, we again find him on Lake Erie, which, with his companions, he skirted in canoes to the mouth of the Detroit river, thence to Lake Huron, Mackinaw and Lake Michigan. He explored the vicinity of Green Bay and the west shore of the lake southward, as far as Chicago, and made the portage to the Illinois river, either by way of Chicago or by way of the St. Joseph and the Kankakee on the east shore of the lake. He followed down the Illinois to the vicinity of the Mississippi, and is said to have made a map of its course and tributary streams. The map, claimed to have been made by La Salle, indicates that he made the Chicago portage, although his subsequent explorations, by way of St. Joseph and Kankakee portage, indicate that he did not so early make the portage of the Illinois, by way of Chicago.



LA SALLE'S RETINUE MAKING CHICAGO PORTAGE.

In 1673, he was occupied in the fur trade, and the next year he laid before Governor Frontenac a project for the exploration of the Mississippi and its valley. Frontenac could promise no money, but the project embraced mercantile advantages, which induced him to use his influence to further the scheme. The main object of the project, however, it is believed was to build forts westward and south of Canada, and to hold the country for Louis XIV., and to prevent the fur trade from being

diverted to the Dutch and English, at Albany and New York. The forts were to be made great centers for the fur trade, beyond the competition of the dealers at Montreal. Naturally the project met with great opposition from the fur-traders at Montreal, as well as the directors of the Jesuits, but Frontenac's iron will knew no opposition. With the consent of his king, he managed secretly to have a fort built for La Salle, at a point where Kingston, Canada, now stands, and invited the Iroquois to attend a grand council which was there assembled. The able and energetic La Salle's scheme embraced the building of forts at Niagara, and on all of the upper lakes.

Frontenac, in November, 1674, sent his friend La Salle to France, well recommended to the king, who received him at his court with great honor. To reimburse him in part as a daring and able explorer, he was made a noble, and appointed governor of new Fort Frontenac, and given a valuable land-grant around it. During the season of 1675, we again find La Salle back at Fort Frontenac, surrounded by power and great wealth, which had been partially showered upon him by his wealthy relatives at Rouen, which now enabled him to maintain his garrison, as required by the terms of his grant. At this time a bitter feeling existed between La Salle and the Jesuits, which threatened to endanger the success of their enterprises. The Jesuits could only retain their control over the Indians by excluding traders in the vicinity of their missions, over which they had no control. They derived large profits from the fur trade at their missions, and thus monopolized that trade as well as religion. The Jesuits succeeded in procuring an order from the supreme council, prohibiting traders from going into the Indian country to trade. The astute La Salle circumvented this order by establishing large settlements of Iroquois around the fort, who ranged the whole country for him as trappers and hunters, without being considered traders. He then built a new fort and barracks, erected a flouring-mill, a bakery, and numerous houses for French settlers. His fort was in the midst of numerous Indian villages, where he reigned as absolute lord of this half-civilized and barbarous colony.

He again visited France early in 1678, and through that renowned financier, Colbert, the prime minister of Louis XIV., secured the confirmation and extension of the privileges of discovery before granted, together with the authority to build forts in any region he might discover, and to hold them upon the same terms contained in the grant of Fort Frontenac, which authorized a monopoly of the trade in buffalo-skins, a trade heretofore unthought of.

In July, 1678, he again sailed for Canada, being amply supplied by his relatives with wealth. In November following, the expedition assembled at Fort Frontenac. On November 8, 1678, disregarding the lateness of the season, and the inclement weather, which frowned upon them, they embarked, to begin the long and arduous journey to the sea.

Notwithstanding the continuous bad weather, the vessel anchored in Toronto Bay within eight days after their embarkation. On December 5th, they crossed to the mouth of the Niagara, and commenced the erection of a palisaded fort. Shortly after this, their vessel was wrecked, but their stores were saved and carried up the cliffs of Niagara, and from thence conveyed to the shores of Lake Erie by sledge, where, at the mouth of Cayuga creek, they laid the keel of the first vessel built above the falls, a bark of forty-five tons, and named the Griffin. The winter was a long and dreary one for the settlement, owing to its severity, and the scant supply of provisions, together with the hostile attitude of the Indians, who surrounded them. Before spring greeted them, La Salle made his way back to Fort Frontenac, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, on foot, through deep snow, and tangled forests, accompanied by two men, a dog and a sledge. Upon his arrival, he found his property had been seized by creditors in his absence. Discouraged, but adhering to the enterprise, he with difficulty succeeded in procuring equipments for the Griffin, which was completed in the spring and summer of 1679. On August 7th, of this year, La Salle and thirty-four *voyageurs* embarked amidst a favorable breeze which carried them to the mouth of the Detroit in four days. After being nearly wrecked by a terrible storm, which they encountered on Lake Huron, they finally reached Mackinaw, and anchored behind Point St. Ignace, where the Jesuits had established a settlement, already strong in numbers, as well as in trade.

In September following, the voyage was continued as far as Green Bay, where he was met by his advance party, who had collected large quantities of rich furs. The furs were loaded on the Griffin, and sent back to Fort Frontenac, to appease the appetites of his ferocious creditors. The vessel was never again directly heard from, although, in after years, a rumor reached La Salle, that two of his agents who were on board the Griffin, were shortly after engaged in trade on the upper Mississippi.

From Green Bay, La Salle continued his perilous canoe voyage along the western shore of Lake Michigan. After battling many weeks with constant danger, along the surf and storm-lashed coasts, they finally reached the bay of Milwaukee. After tarrying a short time at this point, they moved southward. They were greeted by fairer weather, plentiful game and abundance of fruit. They finally reached the mouth of the St. Joseph river on the east shore, and erected Fort Miami. On December 3, 1679, with a party of thirty-two men and eight canoes, they ascended the St. Joseph as far as the present site of South Bend, where they were shown trails leading to the Kankakee. Carrying their canoes over the portage, they launched them in a small stream hardly navigable for even such frail crafts, and floated down the stream, which hourly grew in volume. At the present site of the village of Utica, they found

an Indian town of four hundred and sixty lodges, where, on New Year's day, 1680, they landed and said mass. A few days later, they were at Peoria, below which place they found an Indian village, which occupied both banks of the river. La Salle quickly succeeded in making peace with the natives, although it is alleged that, even in that far-away land, the threatening hand of the Jesuit power found means to stir the Indians to hatred against La Salle. Several attempts had been previously made to poison him. La Salle was now in the midst of severe winter. The river had been closed by ice, and they were surrounded by savages not over-friendly. At this point he was apprised of the loss of the Griffin, which he had relied upon to bring back the means to build a boat on the Illinois, in which to sail to the Gulf of Mexico and thence to the West Indies. Amidst all these disappointments, he built Fort Crevecœur, (which means broken-heart), near the Indian village, then began the erection of a forty-ton vessel on the banks of the river. He then, with four Frenchmen, a Mohican guide and a canoe, started back to Montreal, by way of Fort Miami, where they arrived on March 24th. Thence on foot to the Detroit river, which they crossed by raft, and proceeded on to the fort on the Niagara river. Here he learned that a vessel from France, with a cargo consigned to him, had been wrecked in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He now took three fresh men, and pushed through the woods to the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and, on May 6th, he sighted the walls of Fort Frontenac. Upon his arrival, he found that he had been robbed by some of his agents, his creditors had financially embarrassed those who were faithful to him, while his *voyageurs'* canoes, which were richly laden with furs, had been wrecked in the rapids of the St. Lawrence. With the determination worthy of so great an enterprise, he, in a short time, secured another outfit, and was about to return to the Illinois, when he learned that Fort Crevecœur had been plundered and deserted by his men, who had organized as banditti of the woods and lakes, and had also visited and destroyed Fort Miami, plundered Michilimackinac of its furs, came on to Fort Niagara, and, after plundering it, they separated, one party going to Albany, and the other to Fort Frontenac, to surprise and kill La Salle, who, being warned at the critical moment, surprised them in detail, as they arrived in canoes, and either captured or killed the whole party. But few escaped. La Salle, at the head of twenty-five men, started, on August 10th, for the Illinois, with equipments to finish his vessel for the descent of the Mississippi. He traveled by the eastern shore of Georgian Bay to Mackinaw, and, on November 4th, he reached the ruins of Fort Miami, at the mouth of the St. Joseph. Leaving his stores at this place, he proceeded to Fort Crevecœur, where he found that not only the fort had been destroyed, but where he had left a populous Indian village, the blackened remains of lodges and human bodies half-burned, told the awful story of the bloody visit of the insatiate Iroquois. He followed

the river to the Mississippi, and found along the whole valley the horrible evidence of the retreat of the entire tribe of the Illinois, under the murderous attacks of the powerful and bloodthirsty Iroquois. After leaving a mark on the shores of the Mississippi, to show that he had been there, he returned with his party to commence preparations for the great voyage. On January 6, 1681, he reached the Kankakee, and soon after arrived at St. Joseph. The horrors of the Iroquois invasion of the Illinois country had made so great an impression upon him that he conceived the idea, and at once put it in execution, to unite the western Indian tribes in self-defense, by rallying them around the French flag near its forts.

Late in May, they returned to Michilimackinac, thence to Fort Frontenac, by water. Early in December following, they arrived at the St. Joseph river. On December 21, 1681, he and fifty-four companions crossed Lake Michigan and proceeded to the mouth of the Chicago river, to find that portage to the Illinois. They, on account of the ice, were obliged to place their canoes on sledges and drag them over prairies and forests, until they came to open water below Lake Peoria. They came to the Mississippi on February 6, 1682, and, on the 24th of February, they were building Fort Prudhomme near the Chickasaw Bluffs. Spring with its balmy breezes and gentle zephyrs, saw them floating down the river, where on every hand they met Indians more hospitable and intelligent. As they progressed, La Salle with his usual suavity of manner, quickly won their good-will, and erected monuments in their villages, and claimed the country in the name of Louis XIV., King of France. On March 31st, he was at the mouth of the Red river; on April 6th, at the divergence of the three mouths of the Mississippi; and, on April 9th, 1682, he planted at the mouth of the Mississippi a cross bearing the arms of France, and, with due impressiveness, claimed the river, and all the lands drained by it, as belonging to France, by right of discovery.

In September of the same year, the untiring La Salle was back at Michilimackinac and St. Joseph, and before the winter set in, was erecting a fort at Starved Rock, for the safety of the Illinois. In less than a year, it is alleged, 20,000 Indians had settled near the fort. It seemed as though La Salle's success was well assured. It was left for him to trace the Mississippi, for the first time, from its source to the sea. But now his greatest trouble began. Frontenac, his resolute and mighty friend, was no longer governor of Canada, La Barre was put in his place; and he not only set the king against La Salle, but authorized the Indians to consider his property legitimate spoils. La Salle then sailed to France to see the king. At the luxuriant court of Louis XIV., this courageous man made numerous friends. Count Frontenac, then in Paris, was among the foremost. The government reversed its policy, gave back all his rights and privileges, and ordered four vessels to be

equipped and placed at his command, to make a voyage directly to the mouth of the Mississippi. The fleet was unfortunately placed under the command of a man named Beaujeu. This man did all he could to balk La Salle's plans. The trip was a series of misfortunes from beginning to end. When they came to the Gulf of Mexico, they passed unnoticed the mouths of the Mississippi. They searched vainly for the mouths of the river, along the Texan coast, and anchored finally in Matagorda Bay. Beaujeu, with all but one of the fleet, sailed back to France, leaving the colony to its fate. On November 1, 1685, La Salle left the colony with a party, in order to search again for the Mississippi, and to



ASSASSINATION OF LA SALLE.

bring aid from Canada to help his colony. At the end of March, 1686, he returned baffled. Half his men had died in this vain attempt. Again he set out to make the journey overland to Canada. Once more he was forced to return, on account of many of his men having been lost in a cane-brake. Of the two hundred men who had landed with him, but forty-five were left. His men now became discontented, and a mutiny resulted. Three of his men were murdered while sleeping, and La Salle was shot from an ambuscade.

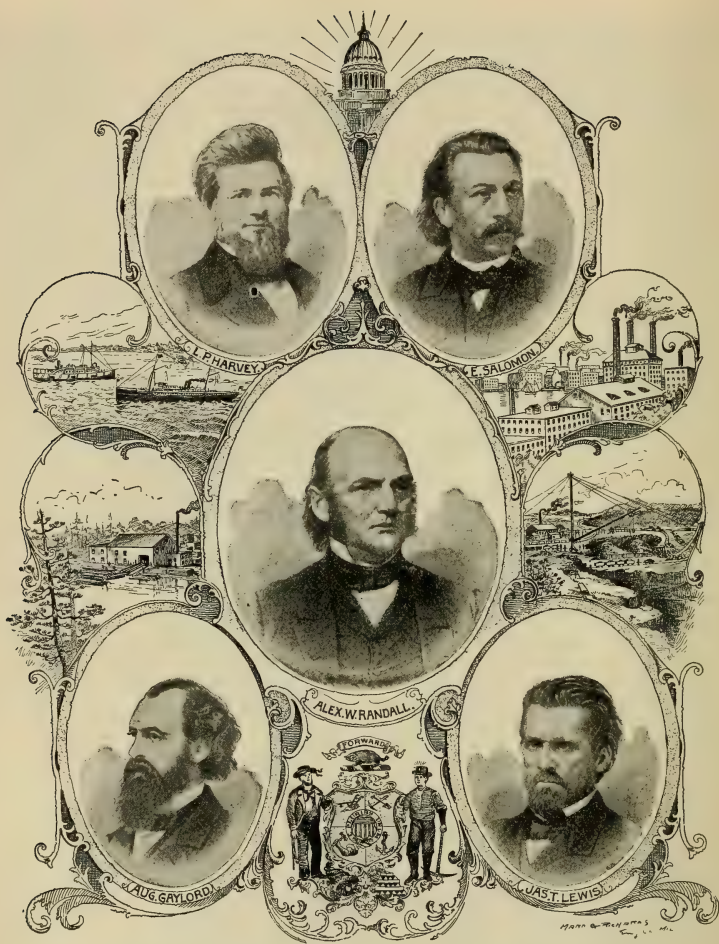
Thus ended the life of the renowned La Salle, who had only lived forty-four years, which were passed in the interest of those who went before him to make up the great discoveries, which would close the chapter of the French explorations in North America.

From 1634, the time when that venturesome explorer, Jean Nicolet, first trod the soil of Wisconsin, up to the time of the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, when Wisconsin, as a part of New France, was surrendered to England—a period of one hundred and twenty-nine years—numerous French zealots and adventurers explored the many beautiful lakes, and traversed the picturesque waterways within our borders.





HOMeward Bound.



WISCONSIN'S WAR GOVERNORS.

WISCONSIN IN THE CIVIL WAR.

1861-1865.

IN CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER XVII

The Call to Arms.—Wisconsin's Wonderful Response.—One Hundred Thousand Volunteers.—All Classes and Conditions Represented.—Sunday Service Suspended.—Wisconsin Women in the War.—The Christian and Sanitary Commissions.—Wisconsin's Tribute to the Southern Army.—Skulkers to Canada.—The Loyal League and the Knights of the Golden Circle.—Action of Northern Governors.—The First Regiment Ordered to the Front.—They Engage and Drive the Enemy.—Badger Boys in Battle.—Anecdotes and Incidents.—The Old Iron Brigade.

INTO the immense armies and navies, on the union side, between the 16th day of April, 1861, and the same month in 1865, Wisconsin contributed nearly one hundred thousand of her loyal sons.

It is impossible for even the most intelligent of the present generation to appreciate the material composing the numerous organizations of these wonderful human forces.

Not infrequently, every civilized nation on the face of the earth was represented in the rank and file of the same regiment.

Every condition of social, religious and political faith, all the trades, occupations and professions were represented. The same tent covered the banker, lumberman, medical student, lawyer, merchant and machinist. The millionaire's son touched elbows with the son of his father's hired man.

When the war commenced Wisconsin had been a state scarcely twelve years, so that, comparatively speaking, only a few of these volunteers were native born; while the sons of New England, and all other of the loyal states, who had settled there, helped to fill the quotas called. But whether born in America, or across the ocean, they were patriotic and proud of their new home, and the Badger commonwealth had no more gallant defenders on land or sea than those who were bred beyond her borders, or in foreign climes. The earlier volunteers were usually young men, the average age being less than twenty-five years. Such a variety, such a mixture of manual and mental strength, when harmonized and disciplined for effort in a common cause, and that the cause of a generally-united country dedicated to freedom, against an unholy sectional rebellion to maintain human slavery, constituted a force which only needed wise leaders or commanders to become irresistible to all the combined armies of the world.

HISTORY OF WISCONSIN.

HOW THE NEWS CAME.

It was Friday morning, April 12th, 1861, when the slaveholders' rebellion first opened fire on the flag of the national government, flying from Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, South Carolina. On the 14th (Sunday), President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers, to protect Washington and the public property. Wisconsin's share, or quota, was fixed at one regiment of infantry.

This call for troops was first heard of from the pulpits of the principal churches, at the close of the morning service, in the cities of Wisconsin having telegraphic communication, on April 14th, 1861. The effect of the announcement can hardly be told upon those who had persistently insisted, notwithstanding all the threats which had been made, that no American would ever open fire upon an American flag. Then came a palsied numbness, and from those of hotter temperament—those who had met the threat of secession with the counter-promise of hanging—there was instant willingness to make the promise good.

The noon Sunday schools were not well attended by the older boys that day. They were out on the corners listening, thinking and talking, as they had not listened, thought nor talked before. There was very little loud expression, and no boasting or cheers. The saloons were not patronized by even those who habitually frequented such resorts. There was a most ominous quietness among those who gathered on the streets from the different congregations. This semi-silence was more expressive than can well be described. It forbode a terrible storm.

THE PRECEDING PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN,

of the previous autumn and fall, had been waged with surprising vigor by the three contending parties. The organized marching columns constituted remarkable and conspicuous figures. They were usually composed of representative citizens, according to their respective political affiliations, the country on horseback and the city on foot. It may be truthfully stated that they were the only practically organized forces in the country. They differed in politics, social condition, religion and business, but as a general rule they were all union men. They were not soldiers, but they were patriots. The shots at Sumter, and the president's call for volunteers to protect the national capital, harmonized, for the time being, all other differences. These were the men who consulted together that Sunday noontime. They united in sending dispatches to Governor Randall, at Madison, tendering their services. The next morning (April 16th) that official was able to wire to the secretary of war that in place of one, Wisconsin tendered three regiments of infantry to the national government, and that they awaited muster-in and marching orders.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE WHO

went out from the state to represent at the front the patriotism of its

WISCONSIN IN THE CIVIL WAR.

new and mixed population found such service for the maintenance of the national cause in seventy-four different organizations, besides those who did duty on the water as naval officers, seamen and marines.

There were fifty-three regiments of infantry, besides one company formed of the most skilled riflemen, which was called Co. G, of the celebrated United States Berdan Sharpshooters Regiment. Four regiments of cavalry, thirteen light batteries, and one full regiment of heavy artillery, besides a battalion of the last-named regiment, who, at the expiration of their term of service, reënlisted, and until the close of the war were known as such. The service of each of these will be given, so far as can be, in the numerical order of their organization and departure from the state.

WISCONSIN'S TRIBUTE TO THE NAVY NUMBERED

more than one thousand able-bodied men, but, because we had no seaport city, and, with a single temporary exception, no recruiting station for such service, nearly all those who entered from Wisconsin had to leave the state to do so, and our commonwealth never received the credit from this class of enlistment. But this fact is known, that the Badger State was represented by one or more of her citizens on four hundred and eighty-seven different vessels, which served and fought on the union side. The names and experiences of these several boats, will be hereafter recorded.

WISCONSIN WOMEN IN THE WAR.

Those who think that the union soldiers, in the south, won the final glorious victory by their own heroic efforts, are in error. They did their part, and did it splendidly. They could not have remained a single day before the enemy—much less four long years—except for that great supporting rear-line-of-battle at home. The great loyal north was always actively engaged in backing them up.

Individual efforts of men, women and children at home contributed their immeasurable weight to the national cause, while organizations in infinite number aided the government in its great cause. Among the latter are conspicuously mentioned in all histories

THE CHRISTIAN AND SANITARY COMMISSIONS.

While men of means poured out their wealth most bountifully, it was the mothers, wives and sisters, who stirred men to organized action. None but a soldier or sailor, who when in greivous trouble, whether in camp, hospital, prison or on the march, has received the contributions of thoughtful women at home, can fully appreciate even a fractional part of what these two generous commissions did for the country's cause. Their record—although not as full as it should be made—will be found in its proper place in later pages



GENERAL NELSON A. MILES.

WISCONSIN IN THE CIVIL WAR.

THE LOYAL LEAGUE.

The general government had its bitter enemies in large numbers scattered here and there among the loyal people of the north, and, while such were not brave enough to go openly and fight on the side of slavery, they secretly organized and in midnight meetings laid plans to discourage enlistments, and by the back-fire process aid the enemies of the union. They were principally known as "Knights of the Golden Circle," "Copperheads," and "Canada Skulkers." The surrender of the confederacy, and capture of all its archives, exposed the treason of those who belonged to these several organizations—and the story is told for the first time, as far as Wisconsin citizenship is concerned, in the following pages. It constitutes one of the most interesting features of Wisconsin in the war. Some skipped to foreign parts, and were there relegated to the rear—for everybody hates a coward. Others, through a vicious or mistaken theory as to state rights and the slavery issue, remained at home, frequently stabbing their own government in the back. There were other individuals who were too pure, good and holy to take part on either side, or do anything except find fault with everybody and hide behind one excuse and another, and often behind the skirts of a slender woman.

There was another class (or at least person) without mention and record of which no History of Wisconsin in the War would be complete, and it has never been given until now. At least one prominent citizen of the Badger State had the courage to fight for his convictions, although it required him to leave his home, enlist and serve in the army against his former neighbors, who were in the union army. Major Chas. H. Gardner, at the present time one of the prominent members of the legal profession, and a leading politician of the state, a man of great mental and physical vigor, believing that the southern idea was the right one and the most beneficial to the nation, voluntarily cut loose from his associates and business at Watertown, went to Kentucky, and enlisted as a private soldier in the confederate ranks, served through the war, receiving various promotions, and, after the war was over, returned to his Watertown home. That part of his experience is a part of the experience of Wisconsin in the war; his services and subsequent conclusions are all given in the articles which follow, and are principally from his own pen, written thirty years after the events narrated.

THE FIRST (THREE MONTHS) REGIMENT,

after its organization, went immediately into camp at Milwaukee, and shortly after left the state for Washington, eight hundred and ten strong. It is true that several of the ten companies were organized around a small nucleus of the remnants of a former state militia company, but a large majority of the volunteers were never members of a military company, and first saw an army musket and a military uniform at the

HISTORY OF WISCONSIN

camp in Milwaukee. The people having for years followed peaceful pursuits, such an army as the present National Guard, now so well known in nearly all the states, had no existence in 1861.

But the public schools and colleges of the nation were more or less represented in every mess. They learned quickly. They merited all the praises bestowed by army officers after their first engagement with the enemy, and the spontaneous and wonderful reception tendered them upon their return from the front. Nearly all reëntered the service for three years after the expiration of their short-term service in Virginia, during which, July 2d, 1861, at Falling Water, Va., they met and fought a victorious combat, driving the force of the celebrated "Stonewall" Jackson for miles beyond its selected position, capturing camps and prisoners.

Col. John C. Starkweather was the commanding officer, and it has been well said that his confidence in his men was only equaled by their faith in him. He was over six feet tall, with elegant military bearing, and had so strong a voice that, oftentimes, amidst the rattle and roar of battle, the enemy heard the commands he gave to his brigade a full quarter of a mile away. He was a good disciplinarian, but recognized that his men, although able and willing to learn, were green and unsophisticated, as the following illustrates:

One of the volunteers, on a wet night, had been detailed as guard over some bales of hay. Having full confidence that the forage would not run away on such a stormy night, the soldier made a hole in the pile, crept in and slept. McCracken, for such was the guard's name, should have known that on such nights the colonel would be sure to visit all the sentinels and outposts, to praise the vigilant and punish those derelict in duty. After a restless nap he awoke, only to find his gun gone; the condition of his situation flashed upon him in an instant. Rushing off to his mess, he quickly secured another musket, and aroused a comrade, to secure, if possible, the one taken from him, and which doubtless had ben sent to regimental headquarters, to be used as evidence against him, when summoned to arrest in the morning. The scheme worked, and when, three-quarters of an hour later, the colonel returned with a guard to take the place of the sleeper, McCracken brought the party to a sudden "Halt! who comes there?"

"Look here, McCracken, where did you get that musket? Less than an hour ago I found you here asleep, and took yours away from you, now what do you think of it?"

"What do I think of it?" stammered the confused guard.

"Yes, what do you think of it? That's the question for you to answer."

"I think any d—d fool can rob a sleeping man of his gun or anything else, without much credit to the robber."

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WISCONSIN IN THE CIVIL WAR.

In the midst of an active, hot summer's campaign, the regiment was hurriedly marched through the streets of a southern city.

"What dirty ragamuffin regiment is that?" asked a bystander on the walk, and within hearing of Starkweather, who instantly wheeled his horse to the speaker, and replied:

"That's the dirty ragamuffin First Wisconsin, sir. By G-d, sir, I'm its commander, and if there is any man in it, who doesn't know more than you do, who isn't a better gentleman than you are, and who can't whip a dozen like you, I'll have him courtmartialed and shot."

From scores which might be given, a single other incident will be here narrated. Col. Starkweather's elegant manners and social disposition brought him many invitations, and when off duty and in convivial company, he maintained his leadership, sometimes to his own detriment. On one occasion a party of kindred spirits, from the different regiments of the brigade, were enjoying themselves, in the rear of the sutler's tent, and fell to discussing the merits of their respective colonels, each of course championing his own. One of them in the heat and enthusiasm of debate, alleged in detriment to the Wisconsin commander, that he sometimes got tipsy, and was promptly called down by the same McCracken, before named, who captured the house, and proved his fidelity to his colonel, by proclaiming that Starkweather drunk was a better officer than all the others put together when sober, and he stood ready to prove it, if the others would ever get sobered up.

REORGANIZED FOR THREE YEARS.

After serving more than their enlistment called for, the (3 months) First Regiment, being relieved by the Third Wisconsin, at Harper's Ferry, returned to Milwaukee, and were there mustered out August 21st, 1861. Many of them, then on the same day reënlisted in the Three Years First, among them the now veteran Col. Starkweather. All of those who returned from their short service were deemed veterans, and, as such, readily received commissioned or noncommissioned places in the regiments organized after their return. Seven full regiments had been sent out since the first call, and in reorganizing, the original First would naturally have been designated as the Ninth Wisconsin Infantry. But Col. Starkweather insisted on holding his priority in regimental order, so that the new and reorganized First, Three Years Volunteers, maintained their place as No. 1, while they were in fact the Ninth regiment organized for service. This fact has been omitted by official reports, and all histories of Wisconsin in the War.

It is also worthy of note that more than 95 per cent. of the original list reëntered the service, and that to the 810 men who composed it, there were subsequently issued over 1200 commissions, ranging from lieutenant to brigadier-general. Among the survivors after the war were men who occupied front positions in civil, official life, governors of



SOME OF THE IRON BRIGADE BOYS.

WISCONSIN IN THE CIVIL WAR.

states, judicial officers, foreign ministers and national representatives. Such were the union volunteers of 1861-1865.

It was a typical Wisconsin regiment, and much here narrated as to the material composing the same is equally applicable to every other organization. The service of the Three Years First will appear in its place later on, in its order with other regiments as they left the state for the front.

THE BADGER BOYS IN BATTLE.

It may be truly said, without danger of denial, that from July 2d, 1861, until the last confederate forces surrendered, May 26th, 1865, there were no important campaigns or battles in which Wisconsin had not its armed representatives actively engaged.

Prior to the earlier date given there had been a few unimportant occupations, reconnoissances and a few minor affairs, where shots were exchanged between union and secession forces, usually of a naval nature, wherein less than a hundred in total had been touched by lead or iron.

The first campaign or organized movement against confederate forces originated by General Scott, who (next to President Lincoln was the commander-in-chief of all the national armies and navies), with full approval of the war department, sent General Patterson with a well-equipped column of 32,000 men across the Potomac into the famous Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, to threaten, attack, fight and beat General Jackson's army if he could, but, in any event, to prevent him from reënforcing General Beauregard at Bull Run, when the union army under General McDowell should assault and seek to capture or annihilate the rebellious forces principally congregated there, a few days later.

Patterson crossed the river on the 2d of July, 1861, with the First Wisconsin infantry in the lead, and engaged and drove Jackson from his position at Falling Water, ten miles southward to Bunker Hill and Winchester. This was the first time that Wisconsin troops met the enemy. The last shots fired by Wisconsin troops were at Talladega, Alabama, April 22d, 1865, by the Fourth Wisconsin, who, on Wilson's cavalry raid, captured the enemy and first learned that Lee had surrendered, and the war was over.

FACTS TO BE REMEMBERED.

Before narrating the organization and service of other forces that went to the front from Wisconsin, it is worth while to call attention to a few conditions existing at the time.

General Scott, who in 1861 was in command, was a firm believer in the infantry arm of the service for fighting the rebellion. He had no use for cavalry or batteries, or heavy artillery except in extremely exceptional cases. Hence the first calls made by the president on the

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loyal states were for regiments of infantry. All through the loyal north were thousands of horses and expert horsemen. In squads and squadrons they poured in tender of military service. The states in turn reported such offers to the general government and asked permission to organize cavalry and battery companies. They were declined. When Scott retired, McClellan, who succeeded him, took a different and correct view.

Again, it was the desire of Governor Randall, Wisconsin's first and splendid war governor, that, as far as practicable, volunteers from each state should serve together. He called a meeting of the loyal governors to consider this and other questions in which all were mutually interested, with the hope of influencing the general government. The meeting was held, and favored the scheme, but the necessities were such that the secretary of war could not reasonably grant the request made. The result was that in place of the west massing to take care of southwestern enemies, the east of southeastern rebels, and Ohio and Indiana of the foe in their nearest and immediate front, the Minnesota volunteers were transported to Virginia, and New England soldiers to Cairo, Illinois. However desirable or undesirable it may have been to mix up the troops in this way may never be known for certainty, but the shake of a dice-box could not have made the intermixture more complete. Train-loads of western troops and material going east, met and passed train-loads of men and material from the east going west.

In response to public opinion and personal inclination, each state sent to the camps and battlefields sanitary and relief committees to attend the needs of the sick and wounded, who were scattered along thousands of miles of front, much of it not easy of access. Had the general government in its arrangements said to Wisconsin and the western states, "You look after the Mississippi valley"; to Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio, "Virginia is in your charge," emulation would have worked wonders, and the aggregate cost very nominal compared to what it was.

THE IRON BRIGADE.

Governor Randall's efforts met with only slight success. But the endeavor at least demonstrated the wisdom of his advice. Hon. Rufus King, of Milwaukee, was authorized to organize into a brigade such regiments as might arrive in Washington from Wisconsin. Ultimately the 2d, 6th and 7th Wisconsin, with two other western regiments, subsequently served under the same brigade commander, and the record made is without a parallel in the annals of the war. It missed no important campaign, and participated actively and successfully in every historic battle in Virginia and Maryland. It was always ready for a fight, and fought it to the finish. Its history is that of the Army of the Potomac, from the autumn of 1861 to the final surrender at Appomattox in April, 1865.

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On its battle-flags are inscribed, among others, such well-known bloody fields as Rappahannock Station, Gainesville, Second Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredricksburg, Fitzhugh Crossing, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Weldon Railroad, Reams Station and Appomattox. In a letter to a Wisconsin comrade, General George B. McClellan, among other things, thus speaks of the Iron Brigade.

“No one remembers your heroic deeds and soldierly bearing more clearly, and with greater pride, than does your old commander, who always numbers you as among the very best of the brave soldiers with whom he had the honor of associating.”

It was never better commanded than when in charge of General Edward S. Bragg, who went out as captain in the Sixth Wisconsin, and by successive promotions for soldierly conduct and ability, reached the rank of brigadier-general.





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THE HUNTING PARTY.

Origin of the French Nation,

HISTORICAL NUGGETS,

BY
CLARK S. MATTESON.



"For heaven's sake, let us sit upon the ground,
And tell sad stories of the death of kings:
How some have been deposed, some slain in war,
Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed:
Some poisoned by their wives, some sleeping killed,
All murdered: For all within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a king,
Keeps death his court; And there the antic sits,
Scoffing his state, and grinning at his pomp."

King Richard II.

HISTORY and tradition show that France, thirty centuries ago, or rather the country now called France, can only be recognized by its general contour; its mountains still lift their peaks heavenward, the valleys are the same now as then, and the rivers still flow oceanward as in those centuries.

In those days the whole country was dispersed with vast forests and innumerable and inaccessible morasses, the country overrun with wild and ferocious animals. Wandering through fields and forests were great herds of swine, more fierce than wolves, and "tamed only by the sound of their keeper's horn." The country inhabited by six or seven millions of desperate and warlike men, who lived in dark and low dwellings, built of wood and clay, and covered with grass and branches.

The country was then known as Gaul, and was not inhabited by one or the same people, but by different tribes, and of different origin, habits, and dates of settlement. In the south were Iberians, Phœnicians, and Greeks; in the northeast were Kymereans or Belgians; everywhere else were the Gauls or Celts.

The Phœnicians, as early as eleven centuries before the Christian era, began to trade their dyed stuffs, necklaces, arms and wines, with the people who inhabited the south of Gaul, and, in exchange, they

ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH NATION.

received furs, gold and silver. According to Greek history, the Phœnicians, after a few centuries, withdrew their trade from Gaul, and were succeeded by the Greek merchants and colonists, who made Marseilles their first and principal colony.

History is silent as to the origin of the Gauls and Iberians. The time of their settlement in Gaul, or from whence they came, "for they were discovered there already at the first appearance of the country itself in the domain of history." According to Roman writers, the Iberians belong to a race that had already settled Spain, and are now called Basques, and still live in the lower Pyrenees.

The Gauls made innumerable incursions into the Roman republic, and finally, in the year 390 B. C., under the leadership of Brennus,* succeeded in burning the city of Rome. The Gauls, a little later on, were themselves subdued by the Romans. The Romans frequently and unsuccessfully undertook to subdue the Germanic race, up to about 70 B. C. Then, a few centuries later, under the two empires (eastern and western) the Romans were themselves subdued by the Germanic race, with the assistance of the Franks.

France of to-day, together with Belgium, western Prussia, and all of the territory on the east bank of the Rhine, from the Mayon to the ocean, belonged to the Roman empire, prior to, and a few centuries later than, the Christian era, and was known as "Gallia" by the Romans. It is a historical fact that many of the principal cities in France were founded by the Romans, either before or shortly after the Christian era. In the time of Julius Cæsar, Paris was called Lutitia, and consisted of mud huts, and was occupied by a Gallic tribe, which was driven out by Cæsar's army about 70 B. C. It was not until four centuries later that Lutitia was called "Parisa," or Paris, and became the seat of government, under Clovis, the first Frankish king. The Franks were unknown to history until about two hundred and forty-one years after the Christian era, and were originally Teutonic, or Germanic, tribes, roving the right bank of the Rhine from the Mayon to the ocean.† Later on, we find the Frankish tribes forming confederations, crossing the Rhine and invading the very heart of Gaul, and demanding lands of the Roman emperors. The Franks were composed of that portion of the German element whose love for adventure, freedom and liberty, made them in time, through severance, different habits and education, a separate and

*According to Polybius, these Gauls, 70,000 strong, headed by their Brennus (Brenhi-king), fought and overthrew the Roman army on the banks of the Ali, plundered and burned Rome, and besieged the capital, wherein the Romans had fled with their "treasure and holy things." After many months the siege was raised by the Romans giving the Gauls 1000 pounds of gold as a ransom. This was 390 B. C. Another Brennus headed an army of 150,000 foot and 61,000 horse, who forced their way through Thessaly to Thermopylæ, and would have plundered Delphi, which was said to contain the wealth of the world, had it not been for an earthquake, and a terrible storm that frightened the Gauls, so they were beaten and demoralized by the Grecian army.

†Guizot's History of France, 1-103.

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distinct nation; as distinct, in fact, as the French and English are to-day. A chart of the Roman empire, prepared the latter part of the fourth century, during the reign of Emperor Honorius, covers a large territory on the right bank of the Rhine, and across the face the word "Francia" is written, together with the following descriptive language:

"The Chaucians, the Ampsurians, the Cherusians, and the Chamavarians, who are also called Franks."

History is silent as to the Ampsurians and Chamavarians, except that they were of the German race. The Chaucians were also of the German race, and fought against the Romans in the early centuries. History also records the fact that the Cherusians were also of the German race, and lived near the Hartz forest under the leadership of a chief named Hermann, and that they allied themselves with the Germans and fought and defeated the Romans under Varus, A. D. 9.* Historical evidence is sufficient and extant to justify us in saying that the above tribe formed a confederacy with the Franks, and finally became merged with them as one people, and that they all sprang from the same common source: the Teutonic, or Germanic, race.†

Aurelian, Lucius Domitius (elected emperor of Rome by the army, A. D. 272) was commander of the sixth Roman legion, about A. D. 242, and after having just finished a campaign on the Rhine, and while preparing to make war on the Persians, his soldiers sang:

"We have slain a thousand Franks,
And a thousand Sarmatians,
We want to slay a thousand,
Thousand, thousand Persians."

At Rome and in Gaul, at the military festivals, the children sang, as they danced:

"One man hath cut off the heads of a thousand,
Thousand, thousand, thousand, may he live a thousand years.
He who hath slain a thousand thousand."

Aurelian, and, in fact, the Romans as a people, were pagans, and believers in the Sibylline books, which were books of oracles or prophecies, and were said by Tarquin "to contain advices regarding the religion, policy and destinies of the Roman empire." The books were destroyed at the burning of the temple of Jupiter, 84 B. C., but were afterwards replaced by a collection from Greece, Italy and Asia-Minor, after the rebuilding of the temple.

It was not uncommon for Frankish and other captives to be offered up as human sacrifices to the pagan gods, as the following letter, written by Emperor Aurelian to the Roman senate, shows:

"I marvel, Conscript Fathers, that ye have so much misgivings about opening the Sibylline books, as if ye were deliberating in an

*Cæsar's Commentaries particularly mention this tribe.

†The MS. of the German philosopher, Conrad Pentinger, who lived in the fifteenth century, shows that the Franks sprang from the German race.

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assembly of Christians, and not in the temple of one of the gods. Let inquiry be made for the sacred books, and let celebration take place of the ceremonies that ought to be fulfilled. Far from refusing, I offer with zeal to satisfy all expenditures required, with captives of every nationality, victims of royal rank. It is no shame to conquer with the aid of the gods; it is thus that our ancestors began and ended many a war.'"

Probus (Marcus Aurelius) succeeded Aurelian as emperor of Rome (278 A. D.) and, after displaying brilliant military genius by driving his enemies from Gaul, he transported during the year A. D. 280, a large band of Franks, and established them, as a military colony, on the European shore of the Black Sea; but their free, independent and roving spirit soon exhibited itself; they took possession of several vessels, traversed the Prepontis, Hellespont, and the Archipelago, and after ravaging the coasts of Greece, Asia-Minor, and Africa, they plundered Syracuse, then scoured the Mediterranean, and finally "entered the ocean through the Straits of Gibraltar, and made their way up to the coast of Gaul, arriving at the mouth of the Rhine, where they again found themselves at home, among the vines planted by their enemy, Probus, with their appetite for adventure only increased by their tour of nearly fifteen years.

The Frankish tribes were adventurous and warlike, and were blood-thirsty, according to the degree of viciousness exhibited by their respective leaders. From their first recognition in history (A. D. 481) they were gradually becoming more permanent in their habits and aspirations as a separate people. When the most barbarous of all barbarians, the Huns, under their leader Attila, and their purchased allies, Goths, Burgundians, Gepidæans, Alans, and beyond-Rhine Franks, crossed to the left bank of the Rhine (A. D. 451), the common interests of resistance united the inhabiting Gauls, Romans, Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks, Alans, Saxons, and Bretons, under Aëtius, a Roman commander.

The city of Orleans, having been besieged for some time by Attila, surrendered and threw open her gates on June 14, 451. The Huns and their allies rushed in and immediately commenced plundering and loading their spoils into carts, and dividing up their captives by lot; at this opportune moment, the united nations or tribes, under Aëtius, arrived, and after fighting on the banks of the Loire, and in the streets, the Huns retreated. Shortly after this great chaotic mass of barbarians met and gave battle on the plains near Chalons, under their respective leaders, Attila and Aëtius. "It was," says Jorandes "a battle which for atrocity, multitude, horror and stubbornness, has not the like in the records of antiquity." Some historians claim that the number engaged in battle exceeded 300,000, and that 160,000 were left on the field of battle. This great battle was won in the name of the Roman empire, and drove the Huns out of Gaul. Twenty-four years later (A. D. 475), the Roman

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empire disappeared with Augustulus their emperor. There is something about the combative disposition of these barbarians towards each other, that forcibly reminds us of the pell-mell and free-for-all fights at the celebrated "Donnybrook fairs."

The kingdom and history of France commenced A. D. 481, under Clovis, who was elected king of the Salian Franks when he was sixteen years old. Clovis was the son of Childeric, and grandson of Meroveus, both celebrated chieftains of the Salian Franks of Tourney. The first queen of France was Clotilda, daughter of Chilperic, a Burgundian king. Historians agree that Clotilda was a young girl of the German royal line, charitable and pious, and a believer of the Catholic faith. The many sterling virtues of Clotilda undoubtedly had a salutary and lasting effect upon the Frankish tribes, who were as a rule, at that time pagans.

For the purpose of throwing more light upon the condition of affairs at that time, we will quote from M. Guizot's History of France, Vol. I., 110, 111.

"While pursuing his course of plunder and war in eastern Belgia on the banks of the Muse, Clovis was inspired with a wish to get married. He had heard tell of a young girl, like himself of the Germanic royal line—Clotilda—niece of Gundebaud, at that time king of the Burgundians. She was clever, beautiful, wise and well informed, but her situation was melancholy and perilous. Ambition and fraternal hatred had devastated her family, her father, Chilperic, and her brothers had been put to death by her uncle Gundebaud, who had also caused her mother, Aggrippiana, to be thrown into the Rhone, with a stone around her neck, and drowned. Two sisters alone had survived the slaughter; the elder, Chrona, had taken religious vows, the other, Clotilda, was living almost in exile, at Geneva, absorbed in works of piety and charity." The principal historian of this epoch, Gregory of Tours, an almost contemporary authority, for he was elected bishop sixty-two years after the death of Clovis, says simply, "Clovis at once sent a deputation to Gundebaud to ask Clotilda in marriage. Gundebaud, not daring to refuse, took her promptly to the king. Clovis was transported with joy and married her."

Prior to fighting a great battle against the invading Alemanni (German tribes) at Talbiac near Cologne, Clovis had promised Clotilda that if he were victorious he would become a Christian. After a hard fought battle Clovis and his legions were victorious. The king, true to his word (through the influence of Clotilda and St. Remi, the bishop of Rheims) embraced the Christian faith, and was baptized on Christmas day, A. D. 496, at the church of Rheims, together with his two sisters, and three thousand of his Frankish army.*

The influence of Clovis was greatly increased by his conversion to

*See Life St. Remi.

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Christianity. He was called "most Christian king" by Pope Anastasius, who also wrote, "The church, our common mother, rejoiceth to have born unto God so great a king." While Clovis was by no means a scholar, yet he formed the Salic law, which was a code of laws, principally governing the succession of Salic lands, and for the punishment of crimes. These were the first written Frankish laws, and the principles therein contained gave rise to the old French proverb, "*Le royaume de France ne tombe point en quenouilli.*"*

When, shortly prior to A. D. 499, Clovis found that Gundebaud, king of the Burgundians, was doing some quiet political scheming that was injurious to the interests of the Franks, he entered Burgundy with his army, gave battle to and defeated the Burgundians at Dijon, and forced Gundebaud to take refuge in a fortified castle at Avignon, where he was besieged by Clovis, who finally raised the siege, by Gundebaud's agreeing to pay a stipulated annual tribute. Clovis, after having made Paris his military and political center, and having already conquered the Burgundians, and subdued the Gauls, then, with all the adroitness of a nineteenth-century politician, proceeded to subject and unite the independent Frankish tribes, who were under different chieftains, who called themselves kings. This he did by the forcible and persuasive method of extermination.

Clodéric, chief of Riparian Franks, refusing to confederate, his death was the penalty. Chaveric, chief of Toloune Franks and his son, Regnacaire, chief of the Franks of Cambria, and his brother, Requier, were all slain by the hand of Clovis, for refusing to come into the confederation. Last, but not least, came Rignomar, chief of the Franks of Le Mans, who was also slain by the order of Clovis, for the same reason.† So Clovis, through such persuasive methods, became sole king of the confederation of the Franks. While we cannot forget the numerous crimes, and cold-blooded murders committed by Clovis, we must take into consideration the age in which he lived, together with all his surroundings. His whole ambition and aim in life was to unite the Franks as one nation, and in this he was not disappointed. Clovis not only united the Franks, but he laid the foundation and corner-stone of the French monarchy, and promulgated the Christian religion in France at the same time. This great man "who, amidst his vices and his crimes, was sufficiently great, and did sufficient great deeds to live forever in the course of ages," died at Paris, November 27, 511, and was buried in the church of St. Genevieve,‡ at Paris.

Civilization and modern Christianity, can to-day afford to do justice to the memory of Clotilda, the first queen of France, by giving her

*The Salic laws were written in bad Latin.

†A majority of the Franks were willing to join the confederation, but their chieftains would not.

‡St. Genevieve, built by Queen Clotilda, and then known as St. Paul and St. Peter.

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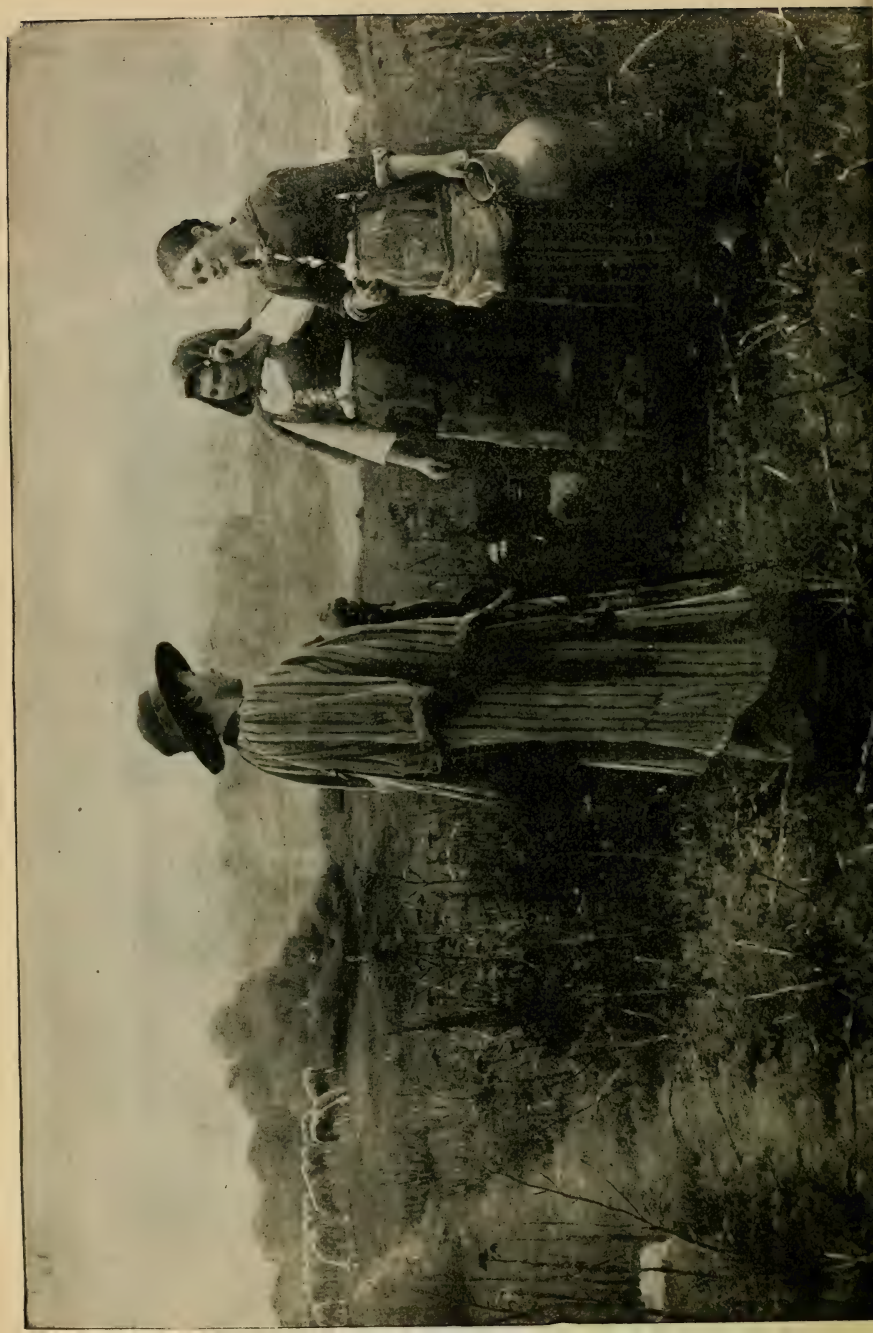
credit for the good qualities of Clovis, and rounding and making more smooth the corners of his rough and rugged nature, and the establishment of Christianity as the corner-stone of the French monarchy. When the three thousand Frankish soldiers were baptized, and became Catholic converts, with Clovis and his sisters, it showed that the Franks had in their midst a pure and noble woman, of high morals and lofty ideas, and when the Church of Rome canonized and made her St. Clotilda, it cast no discredit, either upon itself or on the Frankish nation.



CHURCH OF St. GENEVIEVE, PARIS.

Queen Clotilda died at Tours A. D. 545, after having lived the life of a devotee for many years, and was buried in the church of St. Genevieve, in Paris. It is said that her ashes are now in an urn in the church of St. Leu. A fine church and a statue have been erected in her honor at Paris.

[CONTINUED.]



ROMANCES OF A BRIGADE.

BY J. A. WATROUS.

Author of "Our Friend's Story," "Richard Epps," "A Great Battle," "The Johnny Girl and Her Prisoner," "Corporal Ben," and other War or Semi-War Stories.

[CONTINUED FROM JANUARY NUMBER.]

Steps had already been taken to render the wounded soldier as comfortable as possible, but no one in his regiment expected to see him alive again. Captain Simmons' colored servant, who had been nurse to his gouty master in the days of slavery, was at the captain's side most of the time, including the long nights of agony.

The third day after he was taken to the hospital the surgeon said to Captain Simmons:

"We have done the best we can, captain; we have made three attempts to extract the bullet without avail, and dare not try again. You ought to know the worst. Dr. St. Clair and myself do not see how you can recover. If you have any business matters which need attending to before you go, I will aid you. Have you any messages to send home?"

There was fire in the eyes of the suffering soldier, and a snap to his words, as he replied:

"Yes, I have several messages. Send word to my mother that I am only slightly wounded and that I will be home in a month. Send word to the commander of my regiment that I want to see him, if he can leave the boys; and also ask him to bring our surgeon along. My next message is to you. It is this: Don't come near me again."

"The poor fellow is losing his mind," said the young surgeon—a contract doctor—as he passed Robert, the captain's servant and nurse.

"Dar's whar yo' is mistaken, doctah. Dat's de capt'ns way. I'se been his man for mos' two y'ars and I knows. De capt'ns goin' ter git well."

After that speech Robert went to the cot upon which Simmons was lying and said:

"Massa Capt'n, I'se dun tole de sug'n yo's goin' ter git well, and now I'se cum to tell yo' so, too. I knows it. Las' night when yo' dun fell asleep fer a little time, I knelt by yo' side and axed de Lo'd to scuse yo' from dyin' jes' dis once, and de anser came right back dis way: 'Do yo' part, Robert, and yo' new mastah will cum out dis yer trubble and do a whole mess mo' fightin' o' dem rebbels. O, yes, massa, yo's mor'n half cured, now. Jes' yo' hang on 'till de reglar rig'ment doctah comes; he and de cunnel ken fix yo'. Da alls will char yo' up right smart,'"

"Robert, of course I shall get well. Ten days from now I shall start for my Wisconsin home, and I shall want you to go with me. Will you go?"

"Dat I will, massa capt'n, dat I will. I'se goin' to stan' by yo' 'till yo' tells me to clar out."

"There is something eating a hole through my hip, Robert; turn me over and see if you can't stop the terrible pain."

"For de Lo'd sakes, massa, da's er bunch dar as big as my fis'. One o' dem bums mus' er hit yo' dar. De spot am as black as I is, massa. Ise 'fraid dat's a bad sign. De sug'n dun said mercification set in. Do mercification mean dat yo's got to die, massa! I hopes not."

Captain Simmons felt easier in his mind than he had at any time since he fell on the battle field. That big bunch helped him in his belief that he would get well. Now he was sure of it. He was so sure of it that he felt like amusing himself at Robert's expense.

"So you prayed for me last night, did you, Robert?"

"I did dat, massa."

"And you got an answer?"

"Yes, massa. De Lo'd dun promised me dat yo'd git well."

"And you are expressing fear that mortification will kill me, after such a promise? Robert, you have little faith."

"O, yes I has, massa, but I don' reckon de Lo'd had seen whar dat bum hit yo' when he dun made dat promise. De boys in de bres' works says it's good-by when one o' dem bums comes prowling aroun' an' hits er man."

You ask why Simmons brightened up after black Robert's discovery. Because he knew that the bullet which the surgeons had nearly killed him in probing for in his body three times, had been located by his servant, and could be removed without difficulty. The big black bunch contained the rebel bullet that had sent him to hospital, if not out of the army.

Simmons, in his most solemn and earnest manner, asked:

"Robert, are you a surgeon?"

"Me, massa? Me a sug'n; yah, yah. De doctah mus' er been right when he said yo' min' was failin'."

"I'm in my right mind and serious. Robert, have you a sharp knife?"

"I ain't got no knife, yer, massa, but I'se got er razer. All us black boys keeps er razer. Will dat do?"

"That will do. Take your razor and make a quick, deep cut into that black bunch on my hip."

There was a look of horror on the black man's face when the order was given, but it was quickly chased away by an ivory-exhibiting laugh, followed by this from Robert:

"Yo' dun scar'd de life mos' out'n me, massa. Ob cos yo' don' mean dat. I might'n ter kill yo', den whar would dis black man go ter?"

"I want you to do as I told you. Cut a deep gash into the bunch with your razor, and do it at once."

"I don' reckon I ken do dat, massa. I'll git de sug'n. He knows how to do it."

Simmons was getting mad. He knew that that bullet was responsible for most of his pain; that its removal would give him great relief. Under his pillow was his revolver. Drawing it forth he pointed it at Robert and said:

"Now, you black rascal, do as I tell you. The surgeons have nearly murdered me searching for that bullet. You have found it. I will not allow that surgeon near me again and I want that bullet taken out, now, without waiting for another surgeon. You cut it out or I will cut you down."

Black Bob was terrified. He started to say something, when Simmons said:

"Go to work, now, or I will go to shooting."

The razor was drawn forth and opened. Simmons rolled over and the deed was done, but it was too much for Black Bob; he fell back in a dead faint.

Simmons, nervy and plucky as ever, pressed the bunch, from which blood was flowing freely, and a calibre 58 ball, long and ugly in looks, fell upon the cot. Then it was Simmons' turn to take a long breath and almost pass into unconsciousness. Only his unusual will power saved him from a dead faint. Half an hour later a surgeon had been called, the wound dressed and Black Bob was himself again. The first thing the colored surgeon said upon returning to consciousness was:

"Is yo' live, massa capt'n? Dun tho't I'd killed yo'?"

"I am not only alive, but my worst pain has disappeared. Hereafter you are not Robert, but Doctor. If anybody asks where you graduated tell him that you got your sheep-skin at the open mouth of a six-shooter."

Dr. Bob's answer to this was a yah, yah, and a show of as white a set of teeth as one would care to see.

Two weeks later the wounded officer, still unable to stand, was loaded, with hundreds of others, some worse off than himself, on to a freight train and started for home. Dr. Bob was with Captain Simmons and did all he could to make him comfortable, but the three days and nights required to reach the Mississippi river, where he took steamer for La Crosse, were days and nights of the keenest torture he had ever suffered. The bed of straw was hard indeed, and the road was rough and the numerous sudden jerks incident to rides on a freight train, were enough to wear out a well man to say nothing about a half dead man. The reader can imagine the sufferings of these hundreds of wounded

heroes during that long ride. The trip from St. Louis to Prairie du Chien was not remarkable beyond any of the scores of trips the steamer had made.

While lying at the wharf at the Wisconsin city named, the steamer's boiler exploded, scattering passengers and goods in all directions. Captain Simmons was among those thrown into the river. Black Bob had escaped without harm, and seeing his new master in danger threw off his soldier coat and plunged into the swift-running water. He caught Simmons as he was sinking for the second time and swam to the shore, where a great crowd cheered and cried and took on like half crazed people. Captain Simmons was placed in a St. Paul ware-house and given the best of care until he was strong enough to be removed to a hotel. Here it was discovered that, in consequence of lack of attention, gangrene had set in and the wound was giving him great pain. That afternoon he was delirious and ordered his servant to put him out of his misery—to shoot him. This seems shocking, but such pleas were often made by wounded men, and that, too, while they were conscious. I know a Milwaukee man who complied with the repeated and earnest appeals of a fellow soldier to take his life. He knew he must die; the surgeon had told him so, and the racking pain was more than he could bear. His friend finally yielded and gave him a large dose of morphine. He swallowed it like one starving and said "thank you—thank you," and died.

This time Dr. Bob knew sure enough that his young master was not in his right mind; he also knew that the revolver was in his possession, so he disobeyed orders.

That night there was in the hotel a company of railroad men. The attention of one of them was attracted by a reference to the wounded captain. He asked:

"What did you say his name is?"

"Captain George Simmons, of La Crosse."

"I want to see him."

"This way," said Dr. Mason, an army surgeon home on leave.

Simmons had awakened from an unrestful nap. The railroad man asked:

"Are you the young man who was studying law with Levissee at La Crosse?"

"Yes, sir."

"Can I do anything for you?"

"I want to get home. I live at La Crosse. Guess I'm done for, now. Am sure nothing but home can save me, and I fear that, even, cannot. When does the next boat go up the river?"

"How soon will you be ready to start?"

"Just as soon as they can carry me to a boat."

"A boat will be ready to take you to La Crosse in twenty minutes."

The railroad man gave orders to have the company's boat that had just arrived from St. Paul, and was to start back next morning, to return as far as La Crosse that night. An hour later Captain Simmons was on his way up the river, a special passenger on a special boat, and, an hour later Lawyer Levissee, of La Crosse, received this dispatch:

PRÉAIRIE DU CHIEN, WIS., Aug. 12, 1864.

Meet Captain George Simmons on up boat, at 5 o'clock in the morning.

S. S. MERRILL.

Mr. Merrill had heard the attorney for his company, Mr. Levissee, tell about his soldier boy, and lost no time in helping him on his way home.

Levissee and a few others were at the landing when the steamer arrived. While they were debating as to the best way to convey the almost helpless soldier to the lawyer's home, Dr. Bob tenderly took him in his arms and carried him the whole distance without resting. In the first place, Dr. Bob was a powerful man. In the second place, Captain Simmons was a small man and since the 22d of July, the day upon which he was wounded, he had lost over thirty pounds.

It was a sorrowful procession which followed the lawyer and Dr. Bob through the streets, before sunrise, that August morning. In the company was a loving brother of Captain Simmons, a newspaper man. He scarcely knew his brother, the change was so great. He had heard Levissee when that gentleman said, "I am afraid that my poor soldier boy has come home to die," and tears were creeping over his cheeks.

The captain's brother drove out to Mormon Cooly that morning and before noon Mrs. Simmons had met her son. I cannot describe the scene. The deathly pale face, sunken eyes, extreme weakness, all seemed to say to this loving mother that the end was not far off. Like the brave woman that she was, her son saw no signs of distress in his mother's face, but when she sat in the shade of the young maple in front of the Levissee home, she found relief in tears.

By direction of Mr. Levissee the best medical skill in the city was called, and a dispatch was sent to Milwaukee, requesting that Surgeon General E. B. Wolcott, famed as a physician and surgeon, come to La Crosse for consultation in an important case.

Dr. Wolcott, though pressed for time, spent an entire day examining the patient and in prescribing.

"Can you give me any hope, Doctor?" asked Mrs. Simmons.

"My good woman, lots of it. Your son has an iron will. He will pull through. He needs and will have a mother's care. Within a month we will have him on the streets, and in less than three months he will be back in the field."

Dr. Wolcott was right. Three weeks from the day Captain Simmons reached La Crosse, a good deal more dead than alive, he rode out to his Mormon Cooly home and there he seemed to gain faster than

ever. Every day saw him wandering about the dear old farm upon which he had wrought from his early boyhood up to the day he left to study law.

It was along toward the close of September that Lawyer Levissee visited the captain. During that visit this conversation took place:

"Have you resigned, captain?"

"Certainly not. I am going back to my company. I shall be all right before winter."

"So you can't be induced to give it up and go back to your studies?"

"Not until the war is over. My duty is with my men as soon as I have recovered sufficiently to warrant a return."

The next day Lawyer Levissee left for Madison. Meeting Governor Lewis on the street, he said, in the blunt way that has always been a striking characteristic, "I have come over for a colonel's commission, governor, and as I am driven with work I wish you would have it made out so I can start back on the noon train."

"I shall be glad to do so, Mr. Levissee. I have often thought you would make a capital regimental commander."

"No trifling, governor, no trifling. I don't want it for myself. I want it for a man ten times as brave and worthy as I am. I want it for Captain George Simmons, whom Governor Salomon, at my request, over two years ago, made adjutant of a regiment. He is at home, recovering from a bad wound, but is bent on going back to the front as soon as he gets a little more strength."

Levissee got off on the noon train and carried his colonel's commission with him. Two days later the La Crosse Daily contained a long sketch of Colonel George Simmons, enumerating his services, now known to my readers. The new colonel knew nothing of the promotion until he read it from a copy of the paper that had been sent him by his brother.

A month later Colonel Simmons was busily engaged in recruiting and organizing his regiment, and early in January, 1865, he broke camp at Madison and went to Tennessee. Early in the spring his regiment was transferred to a Kentucky city. While stationed there he formed the acquaintance of a charming young lady. In June, 1865, Colonel Simmons came home and himself and regiment were mustered out of service, he having been a soldier for more than four years and had earned his way from a private to the command of a regiment. For two years he made use of every minute he could in acquiring a knowledge of the law, at the end of which time he was admitted to practice. With less than \$500 in his pocket he went to the Kentucky city mentioned, opened an office and began to practice. A year from then, or in 1868, he had won several important suits, one of which brought him large returns. He had also won the heart and hand of the young

lady and married her. Two years later he was elected to congress, but his opponent contested and won the seat. While Colonel Simmons was in Washington looking after his rights he became personally acquainted with President Grant, who was very much pleased with the young lawyer. The day after it was decided that he could not have a seat in congress, President Grant sent for Colonel Simmons and offered him an appointment as associate justice of one of the territories. This he accepted and served two or three years, but finding that the chances for getting ahead either financially or politically were not encouraging, he resigned and removed to Colorado and resumed practice. He soon found a large return in mining cases. Good fortune smiled upon him. In 1884 he had reached the half million dollar mark and concluded that he would try politics again. He sought and received an election to congress. A week after election I received a letter from him in which he spoke of the promise I had made him the fall of 1861, while we were going from the capital to our camp in the rear of the Lee mansion, to visit the Representatives gallery and take a look at him when he reached congress. I kept the promise. Colonel Simmons made more than an average congressman. He served two terms and declined further honors in that direction. He is now one of the great lawyers of Denver, one of its rich men; and Dr. Bob is his coachman.



SIRE AND SON.

Devoted to a Discussion of Fraternity, Charity and Loyalty, the Patriotic Creep
of the

G. A. R., W. R. C., S. OF V., AND L. A. S.

BY E. W. KRACKOWIZER.

TRUE allegiance to our national government must be based on a devoted fidelity to its constitution and an enlightened respect for its laws.

Wherefore it is the fundamental purpose of these orders to discourage every word and act tending to weaken loyalty or to incite insurrection, treason and rebellion ; and to encourage every thought and deed seeking to quicken patriotism or to sustain equitable justice and just equality for all.

Hence, it should be our constant aim to arouse and keep alive in our ranks both by precept and by practice a spirit of genuine, growing patriotism.

Every consideration of enlightened citizenship and of intelligent public spirit constrains us, therefore, to the study of our country's history ; and while much may, no doubt, be done in this direction by individual effort, yet much more general and generous results can be achieved by united action. It has accordingly, been made obligatory upon Sons of Veterans to devote at least one Camp meeting monthly to an appropriate patriotic entertainment, wherein their affiliated societies are earnestly urged to participate.

But it is not intended that these patriotic entertainments shall pattern after the G. A. R. "camp fire," wherein, quite naturally and appropriately, personal reminiscences and the oft-told tales of contemporary experiences are the never-failing delight of our fathers. Instead we, their sons, need solid instruction and picturesque demonstration to make those days and deeds take hold of our imagination and fire our hearts as living realities. Hence our studies, to avail, must be systematic, thorough and persistent, yet no less inviting, interesting and entertaining. And the three essentials stimulative of a rational and sustained enthusiasm for and in such studies are *good books, vivid pictures and live songs.*

Is it not, then, an omen of good promise that this department is begun in that number of the Wisconsin Historical Magazine which is to reach its readers on the eve of what we boys of younger growth call "Union Defenders' Day." February 12th is the anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth, a date which, in the words of Commander-in-Chief Hall,

"marks the birth of an American whose life and character was to touch as with the hand of magic the civilization of the world. Through him came freedom to bonded millions; through him our Nation took a mighty step in civilizing progress."

For the Order of Sons of Veterans (S. V., U. S. A.) stands pledged to labor in behalf of a worthy public commemoration of this day with appropriate patriotic exercises.

Such is the occasion and the opportunity that—the date this year falling upon Sunday—Commander Hall very properly suggests that "where possible Camps interest churches in a programme for that day, illustrating the life and character of the martyr president; but that where such arrangements be impracticable, a special meeting of the Camp be held on the Saturday evening preceding or the Monday evening following the 12th, open to the general public."

It is the Camp's chaplain who should, of his own initiative, as the conductor of its monthly patriotic exercises prescribed by the C. R. & R., prepare the programme and superintend the exercises, not necessarily in person, but at least as the guiding, directing spirit. This demands such qualities of tact, experience and education as may not be joined in the average son of a veteran. In other words: the chaplain should, where and whenever possible, be a man of mature mind and ripe reading—a teacher, preacher, lawyer, doctor; or, if a business man, one of sufficient leisure for the cultivation of literary tastes.

Has *your* Camp *such* a chaplain? If not, why not? Is *your* Camp going to commemorate "Union Defenders' Day" *appropriately*? If not, why not? Are *your* Post, and Corps, and Aid Society going to help their *sons* and *brothers* to honor the name and fame of Abraham Lincoln this year? If not, why not?



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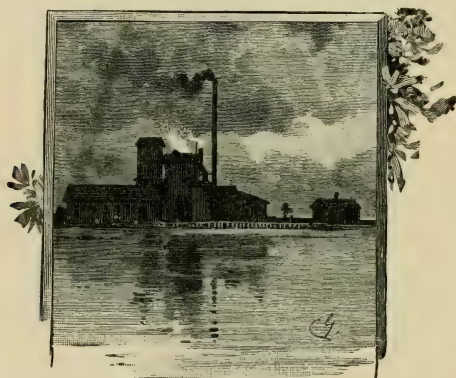
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America Discovered.
1492.

COLUMBIA RIVER
1792.

United States Established
1788.

LEWIS AND CLARKE,
1804-6.

ASTOR AND HUNT,
1811-12

WHITMAN'S RIDE, 1842.

WYETH, 1852.

FREMONT, 1843.

OREGON

A STATE,
1859.

MINNESOTA
A STATE,
1858.

WASHINGTON
A STATE,
1889.

NORTH DAKOTA
A STATE, 1889.

IDAHO
A STATE, 1890.

RAIL

ROAD

MONTANA
A STATE
1889.

STEVEN'S SURVEY
OF NORTHERN
PACIFIC
RAILROAD,
1853.

NORTHERN PACIFIC
RAILROAD BEGUN
1870,
COMPLETED
1883.

THE
NORTHERN
PACIFIC RAILROAD

THE
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Passes through a region rich in Historic
Incident, replete with scenery of
the finest sort, and one where
the mountains which it has
tunnelled, give up

... THE ...

J. M.
HANNAFORD,
Gen. Traffic Mgr.
St. Paul.

CHAS.
S. FEE,
Gen. Pass.
and Ticket Agt.
St. Paul.

Louisiana Purchase,
1803.

PRECIOUS METALS
IN UNLIMITED QUANTITIES.

Oregon Treaty,
1846.



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IN THE PRIVATE GALLERY OF W. H. METCALF, MILWAUKEE.

THE LOST PLEIAD.



THE FOXES LEAVING THE BEAUTIFUL FOX RIVER VALLEY FOR DETROIT.

CHAPTER XVII.

WISCONSIN UNDER FRENCH DOMINION.—1634-1763.

France takes possession of the West.—The French fort at Green Bay plundered by the Foxes and their allies.—The Fox River Indians abandon their homes and remove to the Detroit river.—French and Indian battle near present site of Neenah.—The Menomones overcome.—Morand punishes the tribute-exacting Foxes.—Massacre of the Foxes on the Wisconsin.—The brutal De Villiers killed by Young Blackbird.—Sacs and Foxes driven from Green Bay.—The downfall of New France.

To France we are indebted for our first pages in actual history. From the time Nicollet stepped upon our soil in 1634, up to 1763, when New France passed into oblivion, each page is a record of the most horrible tragedies ever written in blood.



PLUNDERING OF THE FRENCH FORT AT GREEN BAY, AND BURNING OF FRENCH CHAPEL.

As early as 1670, France was eager to take possession of the West. Nicholas Perrot was chosen, as the best fitted, to gather the Indians in one grand assembly, and there make known the desires of the French. He went in person to the tribes of Wisconsin, and, because of his favor among them, he was wonderfully successful. The next spring, Perrot returned to Sault Ste. Marie with the guileless barbarians, who were ready to surrender their land to the French crown. St. Lusson acted as master of ceremonies, but the real work had been done by Perrot.

One tribe remained that would not do homage to the French. Nothing could induce the proud Foxes to be present at the great council. They started and went as far as Green Bay, but then turned back.

While Frontenac was governor of New France, Perrot was forced to fall back, and La Salle took his place. In 1685, the friends of Perrot again came into power and Perrot was made governor of the Northwest,

with headquarters at Green Bay.* He established posts along the Mississippi, and made explorations in the countries west of the river. He spent the winter not far from Mount Trempealeau on the Black river. The next season, Perrot hastened to Green Bay where his presence was much needed. The long-smoldering discontent of the Foxes and their adherents was now bursting forth into open violence against France. This tribe had endured all manner of abuses heaped upon them by the traders. La Salle also, for actual or imaginary reasons, had greatly incensed the Indians. In 1687, the Foxes, Kickapoos and Mascoutins formed a conspiracy to plunder the French fort at Green Bay. The plan was carried out, the French chapel burned, and everything of value carried off or destroyed. The chief sufferer by this conspiracy was Perrot. It is said that he lost furs amounting to 40,000 livres. Even this did not discourage Perrot. He pushed on to the Mississippi river, and spent the winter again at Mount Trempealeau. The next spring, on the 9th of May, 1689, Perrot formally took possession of the great northwest, at Fort St. Antoine.†



PERROT WAS MANY TIMES CONDEMNED TO DEATH.

In 1690, Perrot was at Quebec, whence he returned to Wisconsin. Year after year he passed in mediating among the different tribes; not only once, but many times, was he condemned to death, but always miraculously escaped. Perrot's old age was spent in poverty. The French king had no compassion, and did not heed the many entreaties made in his behalf. About 1716 he wrote a memoir addressed to the colonial authorities. This is the last we hear of this noble man.

*Wis. Hist. Col., Vol. X., 299.

†Hebberd's "Wisconsin Under French Dominion," 62.

At this time the French empire in America was at the height of its prosperity. The French, however, did not desire to make settlements in the west. All they wished was to control the continent and to monopolize its trade. This they did, and the lilies of France floated without opposition over the entire land, from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi, and from the Alleghanies nearly to the base of the Rocky Mountains. But already could be heard the murmurings of the distant storm. On account of the restrictions throughout France, the prices of French merchandise were exorbitant. The English traders were able to offer the Indians three or four times more for their furs than the French could. This was quickly noticed by the savages, and they became much dissatisfied, and began to chafe under the yoke of France.

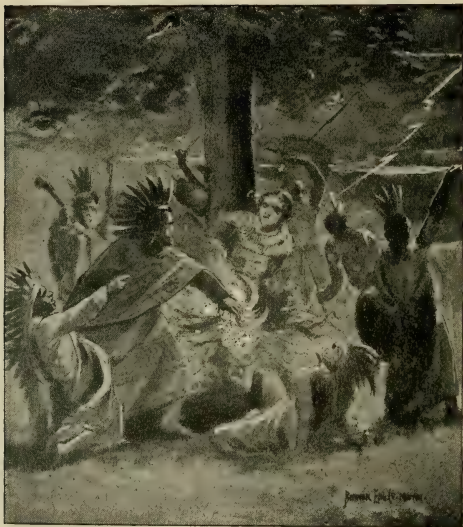


THE FOXES OVERTAKEN BY THE FRENCH AND INDIANS NEAR DETROIT.

The Foxes of Wisconsin were the one tribe that the French could not subdue. The fire of Fox resistance did not burn itself out until the French empire in America had fallen in ruins. The other Algonquin nations, Hurons, Ottawas, and Illinois, placed themselves under the protection of the French; the Foxes, on the contrary, proud and unsubdued, first looked upon them with suspicion and dislike, at last with burning hatred.

The French had been made aware of the Foxes' secret hostility, and took all manner of precaution to avoid an outbreak. In 1712, the Foxes, Mascoutins, Kickapoos, and part of the Sacs, gathered together their belongings, left the beautiful and fertile land along the Fox river.

and made their way to the Detroit river. This they had been persuaded to do by the French, in order that they might be gotten out of the way, as France readily saw that they were a people untrained, haughty and intractable. It was absolutely necessary for them to be gotten rid of. When, at last, they had well settled at Detroit, the French began hostilities. Unaware of and unexpected any danger, the Foxes were overwhelmed with surprise when the French opened fire upon them. The defiant Indians, however, were a terror to all. The French would not go near them, but fought at a safe distance, trying to subdue them by famine and thirst. In this manner they fought for days. Even when water failed them they would not give in. Hundreds of their people



FOX WOMEN BURNED AT THE STAKE.

were dying, scores were lying unburied in their camp. Still the cruel fight went on. The French were very nearly discouraged. It seemed impossible to overcome such people as the Foxes. At last, after nineteen days of fighting, fortune came to the relief of the Foxes. One dark night, during a heavy rainstorm, the Indians stealthily departed. The next morning the French set out in hot pursuit. They came upon a party of the Foxes about twelve miles above Detroit, and, after two days' fighting, the Indians were forced to surrender. Mercy was not shown them, nor was it asked. All the warriors were slaughtered. Even the women and children were not spared. Nothing in the annals of Indian history is as black as this transaction. Hundreds upon hundreds of fires were kindled in order to slowly burn at the stake some woman or inoffensive child.

This unparalleled slaughter had only deepened the hatred of the Foxes towards the French. They were not nearly so well exterminated as the French had fondly anticipated. Four hundred good warriors were still at Green Bay, and some others, who had been scattered in the

flight. So, from time to time, the governor had to complain of the Indians' insolence. The Indians, however, were now more civil to the surrounding tribes, and sought in every way to make friends and allies. This they soon did, and, in 1714, the Fox and the Sioux tribes combined and made war against the Illinois, a tribe in alliance with the French. At this the French authorities were greatly distressed, for the thought of being overcome by a single tribe of Indians was to them bitter as gall. The great but fragile empire of New France was almost wiped out of existence by these desperate and untamable savages of Wisconsin.

The French thought of numerous methods to overcome this danger. At last it was decided to again attempt the extermination of the Foxes. This plan met the opposition of the most experienced people of the colony, but all in vain. On the 14th of March, 1716, De Louigny* led the expedition from Quebec to destroy the Foxes. There were about eight hundred men in this expedition, and they were the first white men, to any great extent, that had ever reached Wisconsin. First, they came to Green Bay, from there they ascended the rapids of the Fox river until they arrived at the town of the Foxes, which was nearly opposite the present city of Neenah. Here the savages were quietly awaiting the attack, which they so well knew must surely come. They were prepared to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The Indians had five hundred warriors, and more than three thousand women. For three days they kept up a continual fire, and withstood the deadly attack of the French, expecting every moment a reinforcement of three hundred men. At the last moment they attempted to surrender, but were not listened to. De Louigny had come to destroy, not to make terms of peace. A second time the Indians sued for peace. This time, for some unaccountable reason, the governor listened to the proposition. Probably he was aware of the closeness of the long-expected reinforcements. De Louigny was much censured for his conduct. He tried to hold the Indians responsible, but they indignantly denied his report. The terms of the surrender were mild. The Foxes were to give back their prisoners; they were to hunt, to pay the expenditures of the war; they were to capture slaves and give them to the French, to replace the dead; and six of their chiefs, or chiefs' children, were to be sent or taken to Quebec as hostages. De Louigny then set out for home and arrived at Quebec on October 12th. This battle took place about thirty-seven miles above Green Bay, at a place called Little Butte des Morts.†

The next spring De Louigny‡ was sent back to carry out the con-

*De Louigny is said to have lost his life in a shipwreck, August 27, 1725.

†Strong's "History of Wisconsin Territory," 33-34.

‡The following is the account of the battle, in De Louigny's own words:

"After three days of open trenches, sustained by a continuous fire of fusileers, with two pieces of cannon and a grenade mortar, they were reduced to ask for peace, notwithstanding they had five hundred warriors in the fort, who fired briskly, and more than three thousand women; they also expected shortly a reinforcement of three hundred men. But the promptitude with which the officers, who were in this action, pushed

ditions of the surrender. In the meantime, three of the Fox chiefs had died of small-pox at Quebec, and another, the only remaining one it seems, had lost one eye. This one-eyed savage hostage, with two French interpreters, the governor sent to perfect the treaty. At first he



SURRENDER OF THE FOXES NEAR NEENAH.

induced the Foxes to sign an agreement that they would send ambassadors to Montreal to finish the treaty the next spring. With this indispensable and precious paper, the hostage, together with the two French interpreters, started for Michilimackinac. After about thirty miles had been traversed, the Indian hostage, who rejoiced in but one eye, began to reconsider. He finally said he felt it his duty to go back to his people and help them keep faith with the French. After making this deliberate

forward the trenches that I had opened at only seventy yards from the fort, made the enemy fear the third night that they would be taken. As I was only twenty-four yards from their fort, my design was to reach the triple oak stakes by a ditch of a foot and a half in the rear. Perceiving very well that my balls had not the effect I anticipated, I decided to take the place at the first onset, and to explode two mines under their curtains. The boxes being properly placed for the purpose, I did not listen to the enemies' first proposition; but they having made a second one, I submitted it to my allies, who consented to it on the following conditions: That the Foxes and their allies would make peace with all the Indians who are submissive to the king, and with whom the French are engaged in trade and commerce, and that they would return to me all the French prisoners that they have, and those captured during the war from our allies. This was complied with immediately. That they would take slaves from distant natives and deliver them to our allies, to replace their dead; that they should hunt to pay the expenses of this war, and as a surety of the keeping of their word, they should deliver me six chiefs, or children of chiefs, to take with me to M. La Marquis De Vaudreuil as hostages, until the entire execution of our treaty, which they did, and I took them with me to Quebec. Besides I have re-united the other nations at variance among themselves, and have left that country enjoying universal peace."

speech, the one-eyed savage turned back, and was soon lost to view in the depths of the surrounding forest. So ended the much-talked-of treaty of the French with the Foxes.

The question now arises, what good had the expedition of De Louvigny accomplished? The natural answer is, none whatsoever; nothing but evil resulted from his work. The Foxes, in place of being exterminated, had been aroused to greater efforts. Now that many of the old warriors were dead, nothing remained to check the wild impetuosity of the young chiefs. They made friends with all the tribes that was possible, and attacked the Illinois Indians, who were stanch adherents of the French. In this manner the very core of the French nation was being aimed at. This danger was fully realized by the French authorities. Year after year, the Foxes strengthened their forces, and, year after year, the French became more uneasy. The confederation which the hostile Indians formed in this manner is entirely without equal in the history of American Indians. Their attacks on the Illinois were increasing, and all but one tribe were compelled to flee southward. This one tribe had a formidable stronghold on Rock St. Louis. This the Foxes knew, but, undaunted, decided to capture it. Reinforcements were sent to the French allies, and the Foxes were obliged to raise the siege. The attack was thought foolish at first, but the outcome was good. Immediately after the siege was over, the Indians fled from the barren Rock St. Louis. The French tried hard to prevent this, but of no avail. The colonial authorities made every effort to keep control of the Illinois river.

On the 7th of June, 1725, at Green Bay, the French again tried to make peace. The Indians were penitent, and placed the blame on the young warriors. This was merely by-play. Peace was neither desired nor expected by the French; their idea was to exterminate the Foxes.*

To this end, the French were eagerly preparing to slaughter the Foxes. For some time the French had endeavored to establish a trading-post on the Mississippi. Until now they had been unable to do so. By their treaty with the Foxes, they had at least carried this point—the building of Fort Beauharnois. As soon as this end was accomplished, they threw off all reserve, and declared war. They said that the Foxes were still sending war parties against the Illinois. The French, with the utmost secrecy, made all preparations for the final move. All the Canadians and friendly Indians were told to hold themselves in readiness for the onset in the ensuing spring.

On the 5th of June, 1728, about four hundred Frenchmen, under M. De Lignery,† together with nearly nine hundred savages, started from Montreal. Many more were expected to join the expedition on the route to Green Bay. On the 15th of August, they came to the vil-

*Hebberd's "Wisconsin Under French Dominion," 114.

†Wis. Hist. Coll. Vol. III., 148-163.

lage of the Menomonies, and these savages were entirely overcome. Elated with this success, the French moved on toward the Sac village at Green Bay. When about eight or ten miles from the village, they halted and waited until nightfall. Under cover of its darkness, they boldly advanced, and, about midnight, reached the village. But they were balked of their prey. The Indians had been warned and had fled. The pillagers next went to the village of the Winnebagoes. This tribe also had fled. The French were obliged to content themselves with the destruction of their huts, and harvest of Indian corn, upon which the savages principally subsisted. Now they moved on to the chief settlement of the Foxes. Here, also, nothing but emptiness greeted them. One more town of the enemy they went to, but that, also, was forsaken. The savage allies would then go no farther, so the French were forced to go back. Before returning, however, they devastated all the villages, and destroyed all the corn, peas, beans and gourds that they could find.



MASSACRE OF THE MENOMONEES.

This left the Foxes in a very poor condition. Winter was close at hand, and starvation staring them in the face. What they were to do they knew not. The Sioux had refused to receive them. Even the Mascoutins and Kickapoos, their oldest allies, had deserted them. The Foxes were left alone to bear the brunt of the French vandals.

They spent the first winter in the land of the Iowas, but love of home overpowering them, they came back to Wisconsin in the spring. Their spirit at last broken, they were willing to give up all to the

insatiate French. The French answered their peaceful proposals by fiercer attacks than ever before. Towards the end of 1729, a party of Ottawas, Chippewas, Menominees and Winnebagoes ambuscaded a detachment of Fox Indians. Three hundred women and children were taken prisoners, and, of the eighty warriors in the detachment, all but three were killed or captured. Burned at the stake was their horrible fate. The idea is erroneous that burning originated with the Indians. It is true they burned men, but it was left for the French to burn defenseless women and children. This went far beyond the malignity of the uncivilized savage. "That was the invention of the French, one of those depths of infamy into which it would seem that only the civilized could sink, as a stone descends with the greater force when it falls from the greater height."*

The Foxes sent the great chief of their nation to make peace. He was willing, and expected nothing but death for his portion. The only thing he asked for was the lives of the women and children. Even this sad appeal did not stir the hearts of the hard-hearted French. The French attempted to place all the blame on their savage allies, but history shows that such was not the case.

Captain Morand, of France, a prominent trader among the Sacs and various nations on the Mississippi, had a place of deposit on the banks of the Mississippi, called Fort Morand, and another nine miles west of Mackinaw, also known by the same name. The numerous exactions of the Foxes, by way of tribute, vexed Morand to the degree that he resolved to chastise them. He raised a small volunteer force at Mackinaw, which was increased by the friendly Indians at Green Bay. Morand's fleet of canoes started from Green Bay up the Fox river about March, 1730, each canoe being full of well-armed men, having an oil-cloth large enough to cover both men and boat. This was customary to all traders in order to protect their goods from the evil effects of the weather. They proceeded on their way as far as Grand Chute, about three miles below Little Butte des Morts, where Morand divided his party, one going by land to surround the village and attack them from the rear, while the water division would attack them from the front.

In due time, the Foxes discovered the approach of the fleet. Only two men were seen in each canoe. The Foxes then placed out their signal torch, and squatted themselves thickly along the banks of the river and waited patiently for their customary tribute. When the fleet arrived sufficiently near to be effective, the oil-cloths were thrown, and a deadly volley from a large swivel-gun, loaded with grape and canister, together with the musketry of the soldiers, scattered death among the unsuspecting savages. Almost simultaneously, the land party opened fire from the rear, nearly annihilating the Indians.

Tradition also gives us an account of the remnants of the Foxes,

*Hebberd's "Wisconsin Under French Dominion."

locating about three miles above the Great Butte des Morts. Here Morand, the same season, followed them, and a severe battle ensued, in which many Foxes were slain, and the remaining ones forced to fly. According to the statement of Perrish Grignon, that he had many years ago discovered a large number of Indian skulls and other remains in a crevice or cavity on the shore of Lake Winnebago, near the old Indian village of Black Wolf, and suggested that when the Foxes fled from the Little Butte des Morts, they may have passed around the head of Lake Winnebago, and placed the dead within said cavity.

The surviving Foxes located on the northern banks of the Wisconsin, about twenty miles from its mouth, near the Kickapoo river. When the revengeful and enterprising Morand heard of their new location, he collected his trusted band of French and Indians, and made a distant winter expedition against the Foxes. They pursued their way on foot up the Fox river and down the Wisconsin, taking with them snow-shoes. In this manner they pursued their tedious march over the snow, for a distance of two hundred miles or more. Morand and his forces found the Foxes engaged in the amusement of *jeudepaille*, or game of straws. Their camp was completely destroyed, so that only twenty Fox warriors, with a large number of women and children, were taken prisoners. Not one of the Foxes escaped. According to one tradition, the prisoners all escaped through the cunning of an Indian woman; according to another, they were liberated by Captain Morand,* and allowed to retire across the Mississippi.†

About two months after Morand's attack, another party started out to accomplish what had long been tried, the extermination of the Foxes. In this expedition were five hundred and fifty-five Indians and fifty Frenchmen. Of this resolve the wily Foxes became aware, and, before the other squad had even started out, the Indians had fled southward out of reach of the enemy. The wretched fugitives were next found gathered on the Illinois river, near Rock St. Louis. Here they fortified themselves, and prepared for a desperate resistance. De Villiers, in command of eleven hundred Indians, and one hundred and seventy Frenchmen, started from Fort St. Joseph, in Michigan, to once more try and overcome the Fox nation. On the 19th of August, 1730, the battle commenced, and continued unceasingly for twenty-two days. The Foxes were outnumbered four to one. This, however, did not hinder them from fighting with their old-time valor. After fighting for some time, in both camps food became scarce. Many of the French Indian allies deserted—but the French were persevering. They built a fort so that the Foxes were cut off from the river, and thus had no place from whence to get their water. This made further resistance seem impossible. Fate in the meantime once more came to the Foxes' aid.

*Strong, in his "History of Wisconsin Territory," calls Morand *Sieur Perriere Marin*.

†Wis. Hist. Col., Vol. III., 206, 211.

On the 8th of September, it rained and stormed terribly. The next night turned out to be cold, rainy and dark. Taking advantage of the gloomy appearance, the Foxes silently stole away from the fort. The crying of the children made their flight known, however, before they had succeeded in getting away from the reach of their French enemies. The next morning, as day broke, these inhuman Frenchmen started out in hot pursuit. It did not take them long to overtake the Fox warriors, who were in the rear of the women and children, as a protection. The battle which followed soon turned into a massacre. Of the whole party, only fifty or sixty warriors escaped, while three hundred were either killed or burned. Not satisfied with this, they killed or burned six hundred defenseless women and children.



THE FOXES DWELLING IN PEACE UPON THE BORDERS OF
THE WISCONSIN.

Now the French were joyful. Although a few had escaped their bloodthirsty attack, yet so many had been massacred that they supposed they would ever more be rid of the proud and unconquered Fox nation. Two years passed away before we again find the wandering remnants of the Fox people molested by the French. They had lived in comparative peace for these two years, but the skies were again darkening over their unhappy heads. The French government, as early as

1726, decreed that the Fox nation should be extirpated. * Upon October 17, 1732, the remnants of the Foxes were dwelling in peace upon the borders of the Wisconsin. The wrath of the French having recently been rekindled, a large body of Christian Iroquois from the St. Lawrence, and the Hurons from Detroit, ascending the summit of a hill, one day, looked down into the vale below, and discovered the Foxes in their tranquil homes. Discharging their guns, and with tomahawk in hand, they came down upon the unsuspecting Foxes like an avalanche, and, within a short space of time, three hundred men, women and children were massacred. Several parties escaped to other nations. One party of



MASSACRE OF THE FOXES ON THE WISCONSIN.

sixty or seventy men, women and children, in their despair went to Green Bay, and threw themselves upon the mercy of the brutal De Villiers, the French commandant. † In this party was the great Fox chief, Kiola, who was sent to Quebec, and from there into slavery under the burning skies of Martinique. Kiola was followed to Quebec by his faithful wife, whose love for her husband was so great that she voluntarily joined him in the chain-gang at Martinique.

About this time, an order was issued by the French governor-general, to discontinue the burning the Foxes, whom they took as prisoners. "It has only served to irritate the Fox people, and arouse the strongest hatred towards us," says the worthy governor-general.

*Wis. Hist. Col., Vol. III., 148.

†Hebberd's "Wisconsin Under French Dominion," 137.

Another band of Fox fugitives, who had fled to Green Bay, found an asylum in the Sac village, across the river from the fort.* They had remained nearly a year with the Sacs, when the French government decided to demand their surrender. M. De Repentigny, the commandant at Mackinaw, was secretly sent with sixty Frenchmen and two hundred Indians to the aid of De Villiers. The French and Indian forces were concealed about a mile from the fort, and were to advance upon the discharge of three gun-shots. De Villiers then returned to the fort, and sent for the Sac chiefs, and demanded that the Foxes be delivered by a certain hour. The chiefs gravely listened, then withdrew to consult with their people.



SHOOTING OF DE VILLIERS BY YOUNG BLACKBIRD.

The Foxes, remembering the fate of their chief, Kiola, and the horrors of Martinique slavery, were unwilling to be delivered up to De Villiers. The Sacs, like all Indian nations, never violated the rules of hospitality. The appointed time passed, and the Foxes did not appear. De Villiers, now thoroughly enraged at the contempt shown to his demand, and half maddened by drink, took with him De Repentigny and eight other Frenchmen, hastened to the palisaded Sac village, and

*Hebberd's "Wisconsin Under French Dominion," 138.

attempted to force an entrance. The principal chief entreated him to desist, and told him that, if he did not, he would be killed, as the young men could not be controlled. The enraged De Villiers drew up his gun, and shot the chief dead, then with his pistols shot two other chiefs. A young Indian lad, about twelve years old, leveled his gun and shot the brutal commandant dead. Then a general fight ensued, in which De Repentigny and all of the Frenchmen, except one, were killed.*

Three nights later, amidst a terrible storm, the Sacs abandoned their camp and stole away. The French and their Indian allies overtook them about twenty miles away, and a fierce battle was fought, in which both sides lost heavily.

The Sacs continued their way westward, and finally located their village two or three days' journey southward from the mouth of the Wisconsin. French hatred still pursued them. In August, 1734, DeNoyelles, with eighty Frenchmen and several hundred of their savage allies, left Montreal for the purpose of exterminating this little band of Fox and Sac exiles. Before DeNoyelles reached their village on the Wapinacon river, the Sacs and Foxes fled southward and entrenched themselves on the banks of the Des Moines. The French finally arrived, and, after many weeks of unsuccessful sorties, ingloriously returned to Montreal.

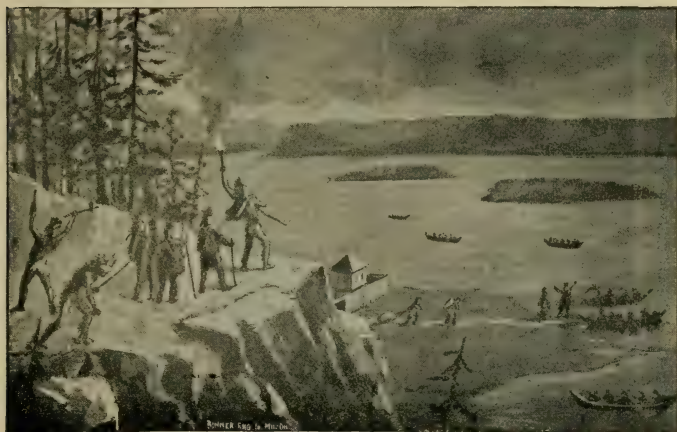
History and tradition are silent as to whether these Sacs and Foxes joined the confederation at the mouth of the Rock river or not. The presumption is that they did.

According to Grignon's recollections, as published in Vol. III., 205 and 206, Wis. Hist. Coll., Captain De Velie was the commandant of a small garrison at Green Bay, but was relieved by the arrival of the new commandant, who brought with him demands for the the Sacs, at a village opposite the fort, to deliver up the few Foxes who were living with them. All were readily given up, except a Fox boy, who had been adopted by a Sac woman. De Velie and his successor, having wine and dined together, entered into a sharp controversy relating to the tardiness of the Sacs in surrendering the Fox boy, upon which De Velie arose, and taking his gun and a negro servant, crossed the river to the palisaded town of the Sacs opposite. From them he demanded the immediate surrender of the Indian youth. The chief informed him that his principal chiefs and men had just been in council about the matter, and, while the adopted mother did not like to part with her son, they were in hopes to persuade her to peacefully deliver the lad. The chief visited the old lady, who appeared obstinate, while De Velie the more vehemently renewed his demands. Three times the deputation waited upon the obstinate old Indian woman, without success. The excited and well-wined Frenchman, now losing all patience, drew up his gun and shot the leading chief dead. His gun was reloaded by his servant,

*Ibid.

then De Velie took it and shot down another chief, and finally a third one. Ma-Kan-Ta-Pe-Na-Se, a young Sac, only twelve years of age, afterwards known as the celebrated Blackbird,* shot and killed the enraged Frenchman. The recollections of Grignon do not in every respect bear the imprint of sound reason, as it is not reasonable to suppose that the Indians would allow De Velie, after shooting their leading chief, to hand his gun to the negro servant to reload, then shoot another chief, then reload and shoot a third.

In four states, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, they were followed, besieged and massacred. Two thousand died from starvation in one winter. Twenty-five hundred were burned at the stake. It seems incredible, but the truth of the story is founded on the boasts of the French. The other side of the story has never been told. In 1736, only one hundred warriors were left, making in all about eight



FORT BEAUHARNOIS ABANDONED BY THE FRENCH.

hundred persons. The French dominion in the west had received a blow from which it never rallied. By all manner of promises and cajolery, the French had tried to gain control of the various tribes of Indians. In this, up to 1712, they were successful. The Fox nation's treatment had disenchanted the Indians, and they quickly saw through the faults and weaknesses of the whites. The whites had sealed their own doom, when they had tried to drive the Foxes from Wisconsin. The Sioux, who dwelt beyond the Mississippi, were the first nation that became restless and discontented. In 1736, they put an end to all

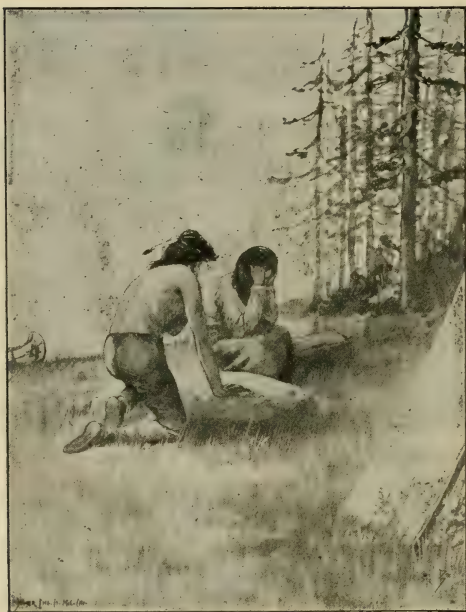
*According to Laurent Fily, an old fur trader, Blackbird became a distinguished chief among his people, and lived at the Sac village, at the mouth of the Rock river, and there in his old age, died.

explorations in the far west, by killing a part of the French party. They next began to molest the Chippewa allies of the French, and, before the next year had passed away, they became so quarrelsome at and around Fort Beauharnois on Lake Pepin, that the post had to be abandoned by the French.

At this time in the south, the Indians were also becoming discontented. Next the flames of revolt turned eastward. The Hurons and Ottawas, the firm allies of the French, now arose against their former associates, and for three years made ceaseless trouble. The governor of Canada became much discouraged, and complained loudly to the French authorities of the Indians' insolence.

Although peace had been made with the Foxes in 1737, it could not have lasted long, as we again find the French making peace, in 1739, with this warlike tribe. This also was but a pretense. The Foxes

joined themselves with the Sioux, their staunch adherents of olden times, and, in 1741, both nations were at war with the French allies, the Chippewas in the north and the Illinois in the south. The Chippewas began to form settlements in northern Wisconsin. Many of them settled around the Chippewa and other rivers. Tradition hands down a pathetic story in relation to the settlement of one of these new villages. A party of Indians, on the hunt, at one time stopped to rest on the shore of a lake



CHIPPEWAS MOURNING FOR THE DEATH OF
THEIR CHILD.

in the forest. While here one of the little children died, and was buried at the edge of the waterside. Then they went on. The father and mother of the dead child were, however, overcome, and

bitterly mourned for their much-beloved child, who had gone before them to the Happy Hunting Ground, where all was well. The next summer their grief was such that they returned to the spot where their little one lay buried, and, upon arriving at the place, were unable to tear themselves away, so built their hut there, alone in the forest, in the path of their enemies, but close to their beloved child's grave. Here they dwelt in peace for some time. Other Chippewas came and settled from time to time, and thus began a village which still exists. We know not whether this story is true or only fiction, but it shows us that the nature of an Indian is not so much different from a white man's as we might suppose.

In 1747, Marin, who was commander of St. Joseph, in Michigan, reported that the friendly Indians were being debauched by the English. The same year, there was a revolt in the region of the Detroit. In 1748, the Miamis, who were the most powerful nation east of the Mississippi, plundered a French fort and committed many other acts of violence. Rumors were heard to the effect that all the western Indians were conspiring among themselves to drive the white men from the country. Even the Chippewas, who had been such staunch adherents of the French, now joined their lot with that of the enemy.

In 1750, the fury of the Miamis again broke forth. They even went so far as to urge the Illinois to join them. This slavish tribe betrayed the plot, and warned the French. After 1737, the French had only one tribe left—the Illinois,—that was friendly. All their other associates had turned against them. Virtually, the ruin and downfall of the French dominion was close at hand. Other causes were interwoven with the foregoing. The colonial government had reached the lowest state of corruption. Millions of dollars were being stolen from the king, soldiers, and the Indians. Under these disastrous circumstances the fur trade sank lower and lower. The goods of the French were inferior and their prices wonderfully high. Liquor was freely given the Indians, in order to the more readily swindle them. The savages tried all in their power to break loose from these daring robberies. Many of the tribes opened trade with the English. Green Bay had become the center of the corrupt officials, who were robbing both the government and the Indians. In 1750, Marin went to Green Bay with the intention of acting as governor of the northwest, and to search for a passage to the Sea of the West. This, however, was merely an excuse. His real object was to manage a partnership which was to try and control the fur trade of the northwest. Besides this source of revenue they had various other schemes for making money. Their unlawful gains must have realized millions. Marin struck many blows at his enemies, but injustice must not be done him—he was a wise, courageous and faithful servant of France. DuQuesne admired him greatly, and, when he died, wrote to the king that “the death of Marin is an irreparable loss to the colony.”*

*Hebberd's "Wisconsin Under French Dominion," 158.

The Sacs, upon being driven from the vicinity of Green Bay, settled on the banks of the Wisconsin river, near where the present city of Prairie du Sac is situated. The Foxes, after their almost endless wanderings, built a town near the mouth of the Wisconsin, where now stands Prairie du Chien. With their accustomed keenness they selected their location, which, after a little, became the great center of the north-west. The Foxes also swelled their prosperity by mining as well as trading. Their work in smelting ores was carried on with such secrecy that no stranger was allowed to come near their mines, much less to enter them.

The Sioux, their firm bystanders, had given them horses, so that, after a few years, their warriors were all superbly mounted. The prosperity of these barbarous people has been the wonder and admiration of ages. The other Indian tribes, the Chippewas and Illinois, who had always been friendly to the French, were degraded and cowardly, while those who had openly opposed and defied any overtures of the whites were progressive and prosperous. Through this we can readily see. The Indian allies of the French were subservient to such a degree that all their old-time spirit was lost, and, in consequence, they became debased and cowardly. Everywhere their vile habits were commented on. The hostile Indians, on the other hand, always had devoted themselves to their own interests, therefore were far superior to the French Indian allies.

Notwithstanding the French conception and the boldness of the projects they entertained of connecting their settlements in New France, by a chain of fortifications from the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi, the western parts of New York and Pennsylvania, the state of Ohio, and what was known as the territory of Michigan, still exhibit the monuments of their labor. Agriculture was the only sure basis upon which to support and encourage distant settlements. The French relied upon the military ardor of their nation, and neglected the principal causes and sources for permanent preëminence in New France.

The French system of policy was so narrow and illiberal it was impossible for her to raise in her settlements strong agricultural interests, which were alike necessary in peace, as well as their defense in times of war.

Among the early French land-grants is the grant of De le Mothe Cadillac, to an inhabitant of Detroit, Francois Faford de Lorme, in the year 1707, the conditions of which are similar to those of the grant given by the Marquis de Beauharnois, governor and lieutenant-general of New France and Louisiana, and are also similar in substance to all grants issued under the French regime, which are as follows:

I. To pay a reserved rent of fifteen livres a year to the crown, forever.

II. To begin to clear and improve the concession within three months from the date of the grant.

III. All the timber is reserved to the crown, whenever it may be wanted for the fortifications, or for the constructions of boats, or other vessels (that is to say when reduced to plain language, it may be taken at the pleasure of any military officer who may happen to have command of the country).

IV. The properties of all mines and minerals, if any be found, does not pass by the grant.

V. The privilege of hunting hares, rabbits, partridges and pheasants does not pass.

VI. The grantee is to come and carry, plant or help to plant, a long may-pole before the door of the principal manor-house, on the first day of May in every year.

VII. All the grains of the grantee are to be carried to the *moulin bannal*, or mill of the manor, to be ground, paying the tolls sanctioned by the *coutume de Paris*.

VIII. On every sale of the land a species of duty is to be paid, termed the *lods et vente*; which in the English law might bear the name of a *fine of alienation*, but it is more intelligible to an American ear under the appellation of a *tax on the sale of the land*. This tax, by the *coutume de Paris*, forms no inconsiderable proportion of the value of the whole.

IX. Previous to a sale, the grantee is to give information to the government, and if the government is willing to take it at the price offered to him, it is to have it.

X. The grantees cannot mortgage it without the consent of the government previously obtained.

XI. For ten years the grantee is not permitted to work, or cause any person to work, directly or indirectly, at the profession and trade of a blacksmith, locksmith, armorer or brewer.

XII. All effects and articles of merchandise sent to or brought from Montreal, must be sold by the grantee himself, or other person, who, with his family, is a French resident, and not by *engagees*, or clerks, or foreigners, or strangers.

XIII. The grantee is not to sell to a foreigner, without special permission.

XIV. If he sells to a foreigner with permission, the rent reserved is greatly increased; and the duties of the *coutume*, in such cases, are to be paid.

XV. He is not to sell or trade brandy to the Indians, on pain of confiscation.

XVI. The public charges and servitudes, and royal and seigneurial rights of the *coutume de Paris*, are reserved generally.

XVII. The grantee is to suffer on his lands that which may be thought necessary for the public utility.

XVIII. The grantee is to make his fences as it shall be regulated.

XIX. He is to assist in making his neighbor's fences, when called upon.

XX. He is to cause his land to be *alienated*, that is, surveyed, *set apart*, at his expense.

XXI. He is to obtain a brevet of confirmation, from Europe, within two years.*

In 1752, the revolt broke loose which scattered death through many an Indian village. The Miamis and other tribes threw off the French yoke entirely. To overcome these desperate savages, Charles Langlade was sent out with a party of faithful Ottawas. Langlade was a young man, but twenty-three years of age. His father was French, but his mother was of Indian parentage. Because of his low birth, Langlade was looked down upon by the French authorities, and while his success as a soldier was admired, personally he was disdained. He started out with thirty Frenchmen and two hundred and fifty Indians, and soon reached western Ohio, where the Miamis dwelt. The grand chief of the Miami confederacy resided at Piqua, a town containing four hundred families. This place he and his band reached on the morning of the 21st of June, 1752. The inhabitants, unprepared for an attack, after a fierce but short resistance, gave up. The conquering party burned the town, killed one English trader, and took five prisoners. This was indeed the last straw. The inevitable had come. We next see Langlade pitted against Braddock, where his military skill soon won for him many laurels. He first acted in the capacity of lieutenant, afterwards of captain. He possessed great energy, was active and persevering in all enterprises which he undertook, and the utter obscurity of his last years seems almost improbable. No man took a more active interest in his country than did Langlade, and, when the downfall of the French dominion was carried into execution at the fall of Quebec, none could have felt more keenly the transfer of the reigning power, than Charles Langlade.†

The Fox wars, twenty years before, had proven the utter impossibility of the French despotism governing America. After the defeat of the French by the English, and the departure of the French authorities, Langlade sinks into oblivion. In April, 1763, Major Etherington gave Langlade authority to reside at Green Bay permanently. Here he established a little village of French traders—the first permanent white settlement in Wisconsin—the relic of a fallen empire.‡

*Smith's "History of Wisconsin," Vol. I., 429-430.

†De Langlade died in January, 1800, at the age of seventy-five years, after an illness of only two weeks, and was buried in the cemetery at Green Bay, close to the spot where his father lay buried. He was said to have been a fine appearing man, and the remarkable purity and elegance of his French was wondered at by all France.

‡Hebberd's "Wisconsin Under French Dominion," 167.





POPE LEO XIII.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WISCONSIN UNDER ENGLISH RULE.—1763-1796.

British Supremacy in the West.—Land Grants.—Pontiac's Conspiracy.—Military Posts Captured.—Decline and Downfall of English Rule.

BRITISH supremacy was founded upon the ruins of the French empire, upon the downfall of Quebec. The capture of Quebec in 1759, and the capitulation of Montreal in 1760, extinguished the French dominion in the St. Lawrence basin, and by the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1763,* all of the possessions and claims of the French nation to the vast countries watered by the Ohio and Mississippi were ceded to Great Britain. Thus a new era in the history of the west commenced with the year 1763. England now held the sovereignty of Nova Scotia, Acadia, Canada, and, in fact, the whole of New France, including the country from the Gulf of Mexico to the sources of the Mississippi, then designated as Louisiana. Of all the power that France once held over those vast regions not an iota remained, except the deeply-seated affection and enduring friendship of some of the Indian nations.

The transfer of the dominion from the French to the English government, and the occupancy of the military posts by the new masters, did not in any great degree alter the social condition of the inhabitants. By the terms and conditions of the capitulation of Montreal, the French subjects were permitted to remain in the country, in the full enjoyment of their civil and religious rights. The great fur trade, which had been prosecuted upon the lakes and rivers with such success by the French, was now pushed forward with great energy by the English company, who employed French agents, *voyageurs*, and *courriers du bois*, to conduct their trading transactions with the Indians. Agriculture was not pursued by the English to any greater extent than by their predecessors, as but few of their nation had yet come into this country, except for the purpose of trade. The French settlements were along the principal streams of the lakes, and in the immediate vicinity of the military posts.† The farms were scattered along the banks of the rivers in a narrow form, surrounded by pickets.

At the time of the surrender of the post to the English, there were about fifty cottages on the Straits of Detroit,‡ with small orchards by their side. The cottages were constructed of logs, with roofs of bark or

*The articles of the Treaty of Paris were signed on the 3d day of November, 1762, but were not concluded. On that day, a secret treaty between Spain and France was entered into, wherein France ceded to Spain all Louisiana west of the Mississippi, together with the island of Orleans. The Treaty of Paris was concluded on the 10th day of February, 1763, by the terms of which Great Britain became possessed of the whole of New France, and all that portion of the province of Louisiana east of the Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island on which it was situated, which was reserved by France. The navigation of the Mississippi was to remain equally free to the subjects of Great Britain and France.

†Lanman's Michigan.

‡Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. I., 129.

straw thatching. Wheat was then sown in rows, and about this time corn was introduced under English jurisdiction. Peltries were at that time the chief circulating medium.

England, previous to the war, had affirmed that the discoverer and occupant of a coast was entitled to all of the country contiguous to it. She had carried her colonial boundaries from sea to sea, but, as against France, had maintained the original charter limits of her colonies. But now that France had retired vanquished, the situation was materially changed, and she now began to see things in a new light.

His majesty, George III., issued a royal proclamation on October 7th, 1763, wherein he congratulated his subjects upon the great advantages that would naturally accrue to their trade, manufactures, and navigation, from the newly-acquired territory. His majesty then proceeded to constitute four new governments, three of which were on the continent, and one in the West Indies. His territory on the Gulf he divided into East Florida and West Florida. The boundary line being the Appalachian river; separating them from their possessions in the north by the 31st parallel from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochee, by that stream to its confluence with the Flint, by a straight line to the source of the St. Mary's, and then by the St. Mary's to the Atlantic ocean. The other government established by his majesty was the government of Quebec.

Among the first acts of England was the protection of the eminent domain of the government, and the restriction of individuals to acquire title to Indian lands. By his majesty's proclamation of 1763, the British governors were prohibited from issuing land grants, except within certain prescribed limits, and all private persons were forbidden the liberty of purchasing lands from the Indians, and of making settlements, without these prescribed limits. Notwithstanding this proclamation, and within three years after its promulgation, a tract of country nearly one hundred miles square, including a large portion of northern Wisconsin, was claimed to have been purchased from the Indians by Captain Jonathan Carver,* and a ratification of his title solicited from the British crown.

Similar to the "Carver Grant" was the purchase made by William Murray, in 1773, from the Illinois Indians, of several parcels of land, amounting to double the quantity of land embraced in "Carver's Grant," and known as the Illinois and Wabash Company's purchase. For these several purchases the Indians were paid more than £50,000 sterling, while the deeds were executed at places where solemn treaties were held, and every detail pertaining to the transfer of title was conducted in good faith between the contracting parties. Three noted crown lawyers,

*It appears that the claims of Captain Jonathan Carver were not conceded by the king and council, and were finally rejected by the United States, when the claims were presented to congress asking for their confirmation.

Pratt, Yorke, and Dunning, two of whom afterwards became lord-chancellors, gave their opinions in favor of the purchase. Notwithstanding the numerous attempts of the Illinois and Wabash Land Company to have their claims ratified by congress they were unsuccessful, as the king's proclamation of October 7, 1763, prohibiting individuals from purchasing lands from the Indians, has always been maintained by congress.

As early as 1806, the United States instituted inquiries into the nature of the claims of the inhabitants of the northwest to lands in the territory of Michigan, of which Wisconsin is now a part. The able report of the commissioners on this subject embraced the titles to all the farms in six classes:

The first class consisted of grants made by the French governors of New France and Louisiana, and confirmed by the king of France.

The second class consisted of grants made by the French governors, and *not* confirmed by the king of France.

The third class consisted of occupants by permission of the French military commanding officers, without confirmation or grant, and without written evidence of any permission, but accompanied by long and undisturbed possession.

The fourth class consisted of occupancies while France possessed the country, without permission, but accompanied by undisturbed possession.

The fifth class was composed of similar titles, together with distinguishments of native right by individuals, while the country belonged to Great Britain.

The sixth class was composed of occupancies and extinguishments of native right by individuals, since the country belonged to the United States.*

Of the latter class United States commissioners reported that there were Indian grants generally for a few hundred acres, though some were for five, ten, thirty, fifty, and even as high as one hundred thousand acres, but the policies and principles of the celebrated royal proclamation of 1763, and adopted by the United States government, determined all such grants and claims invalid.

Another class embraced claims based on *actual settlements* and improvements, without other pretended title. This class included all the old claims to lands and lots at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, which were afterwards approved and favorably reported on by the United States commissioners, and finally confirmed by the general government.

After the Canadian provinces had been wrested from the crown of France, and the English power had extended over the west, a change came over the happy and peaceful homes of the French in New France

*Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. I., 127.

and Louisiana. The inhabitants were repugnant to English submission, their ancient and natural enemy, and many preferred to leave their quiet homes and fields, and seek new dwelling-places under the dominion of France, which was still maintained west of the Mississippi. In consequence the French settlements began to decline, and in order to prevent an almost abandonment of them, the English government assured the inhabitants that their religion, rights, and property, should be protected and remain inviolate under the dominion of Great Britain. Although many consented to remain, yet many retired to western Louisiana, and French settlements began to extend on the west side of the Mississippi, principally within the limits of the present state of Missouri. Here, under the Spanish authority exercised by the mild and paternal government of Spain, which differed not in many respects from that of France, their tranquil lives were not again disturbed, until the Americans began to approach the Mississippi. In 1803, a total change was effected in their social and political life, by the ceding of Louisiana to the United States.*

In October, 1765, under orders of General Gage, Captain Sterling, of the British army, arrived by way of the Ohio, and established his headquarters at Fort Chartres, as commandant of the Illinois country, and commander-in-chief of the British forces in America.†

At this time the French population of the whole Illinois country, from the Mississippi eastward to the Wabash, was about five thousand persons, including about five hundred negro slaves. Subsequent loss by emigration was not replaced by English settlers, and, in consequence, ten years later, the population of Kaskaskia was estimated at but little over one hundred families; that of Cahokia, fifty families; and of Prairie Dupont and Prairie du Rocher, each fourteen families; these were the principal points of settlement in the country. Fort Chartres, afterwards called Fort Gage, was a stockaded fort, opposite the town of Kaskaskia, on the east bank of the Kaskaskia river. Cahokia was a small post on the bank of the Mississippi, about three miles below St. Louis.

Puttman, who visited the Mississippi country in 1770, in speaking of the soil and productions of this region, says that a man in the Illinois country could have fed and lodged the year around for two months' work; one month in seeding time, the other in harvest. In 1769, one man furnished the king's stores from his crop, eighty-six thousand pounds of flour;‡ and, the same year, one hundred and ten hogsheads of wine were produced from the native Illinois grape.§

This highly productive portion of the northwest, under the new masters, for a series of years we find hardly or any account of improvements in Illinois, and still less in that portion of the country lying imme-

*Stoddard's Louisiana. Martin's Louisiana. Monette, and authorities.

†Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. I., 154.

‡Puttman's State of Eng. Sett. on the Miss., 43-55.

§Hutchin's Top. Descr., 43.

diately west of Lake Michigan, as Green Bay in those days was sparsely settled, while the mythical fort and fortifications of Prairie du Chien were not then dreamed of.*

The succession of authority to the English over the northwest did not bring with it the friendship of the Algonquin tribes in that quarter. The English were regarded by the Indians as intruders, and the long-cherished affection which the numerous tribes had for the French produced an opposite feeling in them toward their new masters, the enemies of the great French father, which quickly ripened into the bitterest of hatred.

The ink with which the celebrated Treaty of Paris was written was scarcely dry ere the hatred of Pontiac became manifest. Pontiac had conceived the great design of driving the English effectually from the country, by the destruction of their forts, which would deprive them of their possessions in the west, as well as be a great obstacle to their future advance on the waters of the northwest. His plan was to unite all the tribes in one grand confederacy, and simultaneously attack all the English posts, massacre the garrisons, take possession of the British strongholds, drive the British from the land, and secure the return of their old friends—the French.

Abbé Raynal, commenting on the characteristics of Pontiac, says: "A hundred traits of equal elevation had fixed upon Pontiac the gaze of the savage nations. He wished to reunite all his tribes for the purpose of making his territory and independence respected, but unforeseen circumstances prevented the project. The terrible drama got up by this son of the forest stamps his name with greatness. The living marble and the glowing canvas may not embody his works, but they are identical with the soil of the western forest, and will live as long as the remembrance of its aboriginal inhabitants—the Algonquins."†

Without doubt, the league formed by Pontiac in his great undertaking was the most extensive which was ever formed upon the continent by any Indian chief. A large majority of the tribes inhabiting the region extending from the lakes, on the north, to the southern limits of California, thence west of this great frontier, back as far as the Mississippi, were engaged in it, through the influence of this great chief, who exercised the power of an absolute dictator, with all the magnetism and influence of an inspired leader.

Pontiac had evinced great judgment and clearness of discrimination in his interviews with the astute Major Rodgers. He not only sought to inform himself of the discipline of the English forces, but inquired into the mode of manufacturing cloth and iron, and expressed a desire to visit England, and even offered a part of his country to the English

*The old French fort and fortifications were not at Prairie du Chien or within the county of Crawford, but were a short distance below the mouth of the Wisconsin. Wis. Hist. Col., Vol. X., 307-320.

†Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. I., 143.

commander if he would take him there. He also stated to the English that he was willing to be in subordination to Great Britain, to pay an annual tax and call him *uncle*. In a mild way he intimated that he was also ready to encourage the settlement of the English in this country, so long as they treated him with due respect. But if they failed in this, he would "shut up the way," and exclude them from the country.

After Pontiac's plans had been well matured, he called a grand council of the warriors of the western tribes, the Miamis, Ottawas, Chipewas, Wyandots, Pottawatomies, Missagas, Shawanese, Outagamies, and the Winnebagoes. He made a powerful and eloquent appeal to them against the advance of the British power, and showed them the mystic belt, which he pretended the king of France had sent him. Taking advantage of the superstition characteristic of the Indians, he stated that the Great Spirit has appeared to a Delaware Indian, in a dream, and had mapped out the course which the Indians at this crisis should pursue. He further told them that the Great Spirit had forbidden them to use ardent spirits; to cast away the manufactures of the white men; to return to the use of the skins of the wild beasts for clothing, and to resume the use of their bows and war-clubs. He described the Great Spirit as having said, "Do you suffer those dogs in red coats to enter your country, and take the lands I have given to you? Drive them from it—drive them, and when you are in trouble, I will help you."*

The speech of Pontiac had its immediate effect, for he had appealed to the pride, interest and superstition of the savages. Belts of wampum and messages were sent to the Indians along the whole line of frontier, stretching more than a thousand miles on the lakes and rivers in the northwest, in order to secure their coöperation. No military commander ever displayed more skill, nor their troops exhibit more determined courage, than those red men of the wilderness in the prosecution of their plans for the recovery of their beautiful country from the possession of the English. It was a war of extermination on a large scale, where a few almost-destitute savage tribes arrayed themselves in defense of their country and their homes against the colossal power of the nation that was then mistress of the world. This was a contest where human nature, in its plainest state, was the antagonist of wealth and civilization, and where the red man was obliged, through necessity, to call to his aid stratagem, treachery, revenge, and even cruelty against the innocent, the helpless and the unoffending. Such has always been the stern method of savage warfare, which knows no mercy to the feeble, the aged or the infant. All alike are doomed to the fate of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife.

Shortly prior to the breaking out of the war, Pontiac secretly visited Wisconsin, and formed an alliance with the Milwaukee band, which was

*Lanman's Michigan. Cass's Discourse.

composed of many different tribes, who were at all times refractory and turbulent. Before suspicion had been excited in the part of the English, the bloody frontier Indian war was upon them, in all its demoniac fury.

In the month of May, the attack was made almost simultaneously on all the British posts, nine of which were captured or surrendered, namely: Ouatennon, Green Bay, Michilimackinac, St. Joseph's, Miami, Sandusky, Presqu'isle, Le Bœuf, and Venango. Some of these were taken by open attack, others by stratagem and treachery, and in nearly all the people of the garrisons shared the usual fate of Indian victory. The taking of the posts at Presqu'isle, St. Joseph's and Michilimackinac was attended by a general slaughter of the garrison. Besides these posts which were now in the hands of the savages, not less than six other posts were beleaguered for many weeks, and some for months, until they were finally relieved by reinforcements from older settlements and from England. The principal beleaguered towns were Detroit, Cumberland, Maryland, Legonier, Bedford, and London; the last three were Pennsylvania posts. Most of these posts were reduced to the greatest extremities before relief reached them. Niagara was not attacked nor besieged.

At the time of the Pontiac war in 1763, Tomah, the great chief of the Menomonees, was said to have gone to the commander at Green Bay, at the British fort, and told him of the great conspiracy of Pontiac, formed to take possession forcibly of all the British garrisons. He further said that if they (the English) would abandon their post and give up their arms, he would convey them in safety to Montreal. There were only about twenty men at the post in Green Bay, and these all surrendered their weapons to Tomah, with the exception of one Sergeant Nobles, who was obstinate, saying that never would he yield up his gun to an Indian. This caused considerable parley, but Sergeant Nobles remained firm, and was finally permitted to retain his gun. Tomah then, in canoes, carried quietly and safely the white men to Montreal.

Sergeant Nobles was highly praised for his dauntless courage, and although promotion was impossible, because of his family, his discharge was granted, and he settled down at his old trade of shoemaking, and in a short time became immensely wealthy.*

*This tradition, judging from Gorrell's Journal and Parkman's History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, cannot be regarded as reliable. It is certain that Lieutenant Gorrell and his men made no surrender of themselves or arms, and that the Menomonees, and others, conducted them to the village of L'Arbre Croche, in the region of Mackinaw, whence the Menomonees returned to Green Bay. But this tradition serves to confirm us in the belief that Tomah, or Carroy, was much older than represented by the inscription on his tombstone, and that he was a man of consequence during the border wars of 1755 to 1763. In Gorrell's Journal, referring to the events of May 18, 1763, he speaks thus: "The chiefs (of the Menomonees) were much displeased at Carroy's getting a present from Mr. Gorrard of a fine suit of embroidered clothes. This Carroy was much thought of by the French." This refers undoubtedly to the noble Tomah, or Carron. His nobleness and generosity of character reflect real honor on the Indian race, and on the Menomonees especially. Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. II., 177.

Shortly prior to Pontiac's great plan of attack, suspicions of the hostile intentions of the Indians were entertained, and in some instances information of the impending danger was given. Such information was given to Major Etherington, the commandant at Michilimackinac, by several Canadians who were not hostile to the Indians. Mr. Laurent Ducharme informed the major that a plan had not only been matured for destroying him and his garrison, but all the English in the upper country. The commander, believing that such reports had a tendency to do mischief, and that they were conceived by ill-disposed persons, expressed great displeasure against Mr. Ducharme, and even threatened to send the next person who should bring him a like story a prisoner to Detroit. At this time the garrison consisted of ninety privates, two subalterns, four English merchants, and the commandant. With this strength they entertained little anxiety concerning the Indians, who had no weapons but small arms. In the meanwhile the Indians were daily assembling at and in the vicinity of the post, in unusual numbers, but with every appearance of friendship, frequenting the fort every day, and disposing of their peltries in a manner not to create any suspicion.

During the preceding year one Alexander Henry, who lived near the fort, was visited by a Chippewa, named Wa-wa-tam, who had previously visited his house, showing strong marks of personal friendship. At one time he visited him accompanied by his whole family, bringing many presents of skins, sugar and dried meat, and begged Henry to accept of them, as he had dreamed of adopting an Englishman as a son and brother, and from the moment he first saw Henry he had recognized in him the person whom the Great Spirit had pointed out to him as a brother, and that he would always regard him as one of his family. The presents were accepted by Henry, who gave the Indian a present in return, and thereby cemented the tie of friendship and brotherhood between them. Wa-wa-tam then went on his winter hunt, and was not again seen by his adopted brother until the next year, two days before the time of the massacre at Michilimackinac, which occurred on the second day of June, 1763.

Wa-wa-tam came to Henry's home, looking melancholy and thoughtful, and when Henry asked after his health, his Indian brother, without answering the question, told him that he was sorry to see that Henry had returned from Sault Ste. Marie; that he intended to go at once from Michilimackinac to the Sault, and wished Mr. Henry and his family to start with him the next morning. He also inquired whether the commandant at the fort had heard *bad news*, remarking that he himself had, during the winter, frequently been disturbed with the noise of "*evil birds*," and suggested that there were a great many Indians around the fort, many of whom never entered it. Henry told him that he could not go the Sault at that time, but would follow him there after the arrival of his clerks. Wa-wa-tam withdrew, but returned again the next morning, accom-

panied by his wife, and bringing a present of dried meat. He again expressed his fears concerning the numerous Indians around the fort, and earnestly urged Henry to depart with him for the Sault, stating as a reason that all the Indians intended to come in a body that day to the fort and demand liquor from the commandant, and that he wished to be gone before the Indians became intoxicated. Upon Henry's failing to comprehend the numerous hints, through the figurative speech of his Indian brother, and upon declining to go with him, Wa-wa-tam and his wife departed with dejected countenances, alone, after each had expressed their bitter disappointment.

The next day, the 4th of June, was the birthday of King George III., made more memorable as the day on which the fort was surprised by stratagem, contrived by the restless and sagacious Pontiac, though he himself was near Detroit. In order to honor the occasion, and add to the festivities, it was proposed that an Indian ball play, called baggatiway, should be played between the Chippewas and Sacs, for a large wager, and in order to make the game more exciting Major Etherington, the commandant, was to bet on the side of the Chippewas. Mr. Henry at this time expostulated with the commandant, and suggested that the Indians might have some sinister object in view. His caution and advice, however, were alike disregarded. The game of *le-jeu-de-la-crosse*, or baggatiway, is played with bat and ball, two posts being planted in the ground, each about a mile apart, each party having its post. The object is with a bat to propel the ball, which is placed in the center, toward the post of the adversary. During the contest, if the ball cannot be driven to the desired goal, it is struck in any direction by which it can be diverted from the direction designed by the opposite party. In order to view this exciting game, Major Etherington and most of the garrison were outside of the palisades. This celebrated ball game soon developed the stratagem of the Indians, which resulted in the slaughter of the garrison. The ball game now opened, with the usual display of Indian hilarity, which was vastly appreciated by the British visitors from the garrison. Shortly, the ardor of the game became so great that the ball was batted over the pickets, and into the grounds of the fort, which occasioned the immediate and promiscuous rushing of the Indians within the palisades of the fort, in pursuit of the ball. In an instant, the great transformation scene burst forth with all its fury.

Hardly were the Indians within the palisades, ere the war yells were heard, and the Indians were seen furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman within reach. Within a few moments heaps of dead and dying lay within and without the fort, scalped and mangled; while the dying were shrieking and writhing under the tomahawk and scalping-knives. The infuriated Indians then drank the blood of their

victims, from the hollows of their hands, amidst demoniac yells.* No less than seventy soldiers, together with Lieutenant Jemette, had been killed, while but twenty Englishmen, including the soldiers, were still alive.†

Those who escaped the general slaughter were within the fort, together with nearly three hundred Canadians, who belonged to the canoes. The Canadians around the fort at the time of the massacre did not oppose the Indians, nor did any of them get injured in the general slaughter.

The Green Bay fort had received an English garrison in 1761, consisting of seventeen men, under the command of Lieutenant Gorrell. The garrison of Green Bay was saved from the fate of Michilimackinac, through the prudent conduct of the commandant, who had secured the good will of all the surrounding Indian tribes. This fort was abandoned by orders of Major Etherington. The garrison, with Lieutenant Gorrell, was, upon its abandonment, escorted by a band of friendly Menomonees to L'Arbre Croche, where they joined Major Etherington and the remnant of his command, who were still detained as prisoners. On the 18th of July they were liberated, and the whole party reached Montreal about the middle of August, by way of the Ottawa river.

While Pontiac's plans and orders were being executed in the west, he was near Detroit devising a stratagem by which to get possession of Detroit, the accomplishment of which was only prevented by a gossiping Indian woman. La Mothe Cadillac founded Detroit in 1701. At the close of the French war, the military colony had grown to the number of about twenty-five hundred inhabitants. Within the limits of the settlements there were three large Indian villages; one a little below the fort on the west shore of the Detroit river, which at this point was nearly one-half mile wide; this was the village of the Pottawatomies; nearly opposite on the eastern shore were the lodges of the Wyandots, while on the same side, nearly two miles higher up, Pontiac's band of Ottawas had fixed their abode. Detroit was the most important of all the north-western posts, as it commanded an extensive region of navigation and trade upon the upper lakes, and stood almost at the gate of the western waters.

The wily Pontiac well knew that the possession of this post would break the allegiance of the French inhabitants on the river, which was not strongly cemented in favor of their new masters, and form a chain of operations for the savages, from Lake Michigan to Buffalo and Pittsburgh. Pontiac's forces consisted of two hundred and fifty Ottawas, one hundred and fifty Pottawatomies, fifty Wyandots, two hundred Ojibways under Wasson, and one hundred and seventy under Sekahos, in all eight hundred and twenty warriors.‡

*Lanman's Michigan. Henry's Travels.

†Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. I., 138.

‡Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. I., 139.

At this time Detroit was garrisoned by one hundred and twenty-two men and eight officers, and commanded by Major Gladwyn, who had succeeded Captain Campbell.*

The cunningly-devised stratagem of Pontiac was to gain admission to the fort for the pretended purpose of holding a council with the commandant. His chiefs and a few selected warriors were to accompany him to the conference, with their rifles concealed beneath their blankets, and at a given signal, which was a belt of wampum to be delivered by Pontiac, during the course of his speech, to Major Gladwyn. At this critical moment, the Indians were to open fire on the officers in the council chamber, rush upon the troops, and open the gates of the fort to the warriors on the outside, who were to coöperate with those within. In order to carry his plan into execution, he camped at a short distance from Detroit and, on the 8th day of May, 1763, sent word to Major Gladwyn that he and his chiefs were desirous of holding a council with him, in order to "brighten the chain of peace." Major Gladwyn appointed the next day for the council meeting. In the meantime, Pontiac had his warriors file off their gun-barrels, so as to readily conceal them under their blankets.

It was during the evening of the 8th of May, that an Indian woman, who had been making moccasins for Major Gladwyn, brought to him her work, and by her unwillingness to depart from the fort, excited the curiosity of Major Gladwyn, who called the woman to him and asked her the object of her strange conduct. The Indian woman, feeling grateful to the major for his kindness to her, disclosed to him the details of Pontiac's stratagem, and how he desired to surprise the fort and massacre the garrison. The woman was assured of her safety, and a reward promised her for her fidelity, then permitted to depart. On the following day, at ten o'clock, Pontiac and his selected warriors, with their weapons concealed beneath their blankets, were admitted to the grounds of the fort and conducted to the council room by Major Gladwyn, who had taken the necessary precaution to frustrate the Indian stratagem. When Pontiac, in the course of his speech, arrived at that point when the belt of wampum should be delivered, Major Gladwyn and his officers half drew their swords, while the soldiers within and without the council room made a "martial clatter with their fire-arms." This so disconcerted Pontiac that his signal of attack was not given, while his chiefs and warriors looked at each other with amazement. Major Gladwyn then addressed Pontiac, and reproached him for his premeditated treachery, and informed him that the English could not be surprised by the Indians, as they had knowledge of all things. While Pontiac was attempting to deny the charge of treachery, Major Gladwyn raised the blanket of the warrior next to him, and exposed the hidden rifle with its shortened barrel. The council was then broken up,

*Cass's Discourse.

and Pontiac and his chiefs left the fort. As soon as safely out of the palisades, they instantly set up their yells of defiance and fired at the stockades.

The savages now stationed themselves behind the buildings, which were scattered outside the pickets, and from these places kept up a continual fire on the British within the grounds and fortifications. The fort was now regularly invested, and Pontiac demanded the British to surrender it; to lay down their arms and march out, as the French had previously done. Upon the English refusing to surrender, Pontiac renewed his attacks with increased vigor, and so persistent were they that, for weeks, neither the officers nor men within the fort were allowed to take off their clothes to sleep, being almost constantly engaged about the ramparts. Every Indian stratagem that was possible was devised and put into operation to take the fort, while small detachments scoured the country in every direction and intercepted all aid intended for the garrison. The strong detachment sent from Niagara for the relief of the fort was entirely cut off, while the provisions, arms, and ammunition which they brought were captured by the Indians. Floating fire-rafts were also constructed and sent against two English vessels lying in the river, which were only saved from the flames with the greatest difficulty. Scenes of unparalleled barbarity were daily perpetrated in the vicinity of the fort, and it was a matter of frequent occurrence for the garrison to see the dead and mangled bodies of their countrymen floating past, as every family and individual in the neighborhood, without the palisades, were murdered in a horrible manner, and their habitations destroyed by fire.

In July, Captain Dalyell, with a reinforcement of three hundred and sixty regular troops, arrived in safety at the fort from Niagara. These reinforcements arrived on the 29th of July, and in the evening of the 30th, a sortie was made by two hundred and forty-seven chosen men from the fort, commanded by Captain Dalyell, against the Indian fortifications, about a mile from the fort. They were met by a concealed fire from the Indian breastworks, which was accompanied by a furious assault, and notwithstanding the bravery and resistance of the troops, and their determined charge against unforeseen foes, in the darkness of the night, they were compelled to retire to the fort, fighting their way as they retreated.

During this short contest nineteen men were killed, among whom was Captain Dalyell, while forty-two of the brave soldiers were wounded. In August, some of Pontiac's allies became disheartened by the fruitless length of the siege, and retired to their homes, but Pontiac perseveringly remained, and continued to annoy the garrison until the spring of 1764.

General Bradstreet arrived at Detroit* in the month of June, 1764, with a force of three thousand men, for the purpose of compelling peace,

*The post of Detroit was environed by three rows of pickets forming nearly a square. At each corner and over the gates there were erected blockhouses; and between the houses and pickets there was a circular space, called *le chemin du ronde*,

and forming alliances with the various tribes of the northwest. Bradstreet had already concluded peace, at Niagara, with twenty-two tribes, eleven of which were northwestern tribes. Upon the arrival of the English forces at Detroit the tribes of Pontiac, with the exception of the Delawares and Shawanese, concluded a treaty of peace. Pontiac, however, took no part in the peace negotiations. The stubborn old chief soon after retired to the Illinois, where, in 1767, he was killed by a Peoria Indian.* The Ottawas, Pottawattamies, and other northern tribes, united to avenge his death, and nearly exterminated the Illinois tribe.†

Captain Jonathan Carver entertained projects and views which, if they had been carried into effect, undoubtedly would have been beneficial to the early colonists, as well as the mother country. His ambition was to acquire, by close observation and exploration, an accurate knowledge of the vast territory in the northwest which had so recently come into the hands of Great Britain. He proposed to correct all inaccurate maps and charts of the country, and gain a knowledge of the manners, customs and language, of the people that inhabited the country west of the Mississippi. He also contemplated ascertaining the breadth of the vast continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in its broadest part, between 43° and 46° north latitude. To accomplish these highly-commendable results, he proposed to assume the character of a trader, as well as traveler. In September, 1765, we find him at the post of Michilimackinac, entering into his great enterprise. At this place he was supplied with the proper assortment of goods by Colonel Rodgers, the commandant, and proceeded by way of Green Bay and the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, to Prairie du Chien, where he arrived on the 15th of October, 1766.

At the time Carver was at Fort La Baye, at the mouth of the Fox river, which was on September 18, 1766, there was no garrison there, nor had it been maintained since its abandonment by Lieutenant Gorrell, in 1763. A few families were living in the fort, while opposite, and on the east side of the river, there were a few French settlers who cultivated the land and lived in comfort.‡

Carver, while proceeding up the Fox river, arrived at what is now known as Doty's Island, at the east end of Lake Winnebago. Here he which formed a place of deposit for arms. Anchored on the river, in front of the town, were two armed vessels, one called the Beaver, for the purpose of its defense; and the fort was protected by three mortars, two six-pounders and one three-pounder. These, however, were badly mounted, and seemed to be better calculated to terrify the Indians than for substantial defense. In the limits of the town there were about forty-two traders and persons connected with the fur trade, who were provided with provisions and arms, besides the few families who were settled within the palisade. Most of the houses were inclosed within the pickets, for the purpose of securing them by the protection of the fort, while only a few French farms were scattered along the banks of the river. Cass's Historical Discourse.

*Monette, Vol. I., and authorities.

†Parkman, Lanman, Nicollet. Cited by Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. I., 143.

‡Carver's Travels.

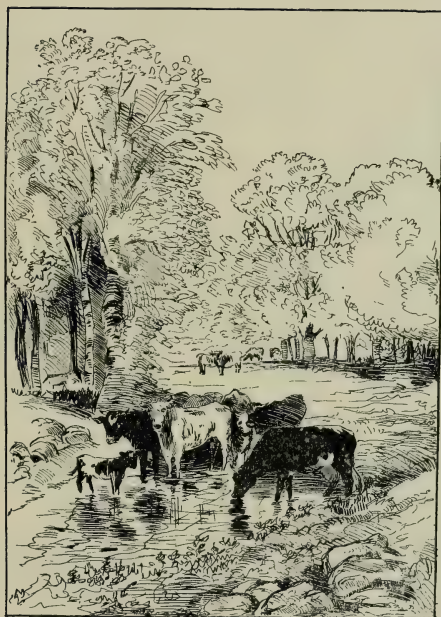
found the great town of the Winnebagoes, over which tribe an Indian queen held the chief power. The island and land adjacent to the lake were exceedingly fertile. The Indians raised great quantities of Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, squash, watermelons, and some tobacco. The Indians treated Carver with the greatest hospitality during the few days he remained with them. Their town at this place contained about fifty houses, strongly built and palisaded. Another town, belonging to the same nation, but smaller, stood about forty miles higher up the river. At this period the Winnebagoes could raise about two hundred warriors. Carver, while going down the Wisconsin river, stopped at the great village of the Saukies, situated where Prairie du Sac is now located. He extravagantly describes the Indian town as a great mart for furnishing provisions to traders, and that lead was so plentiful that large quantities of it were lying about the streets. He also states that he visited a lead region about fifteen miles to the south, and ascended one of the mountains, where he had an excellent view of the surrounding country. This was at the Blue Mounds evidently, as the locality is described with considerable accuracy.

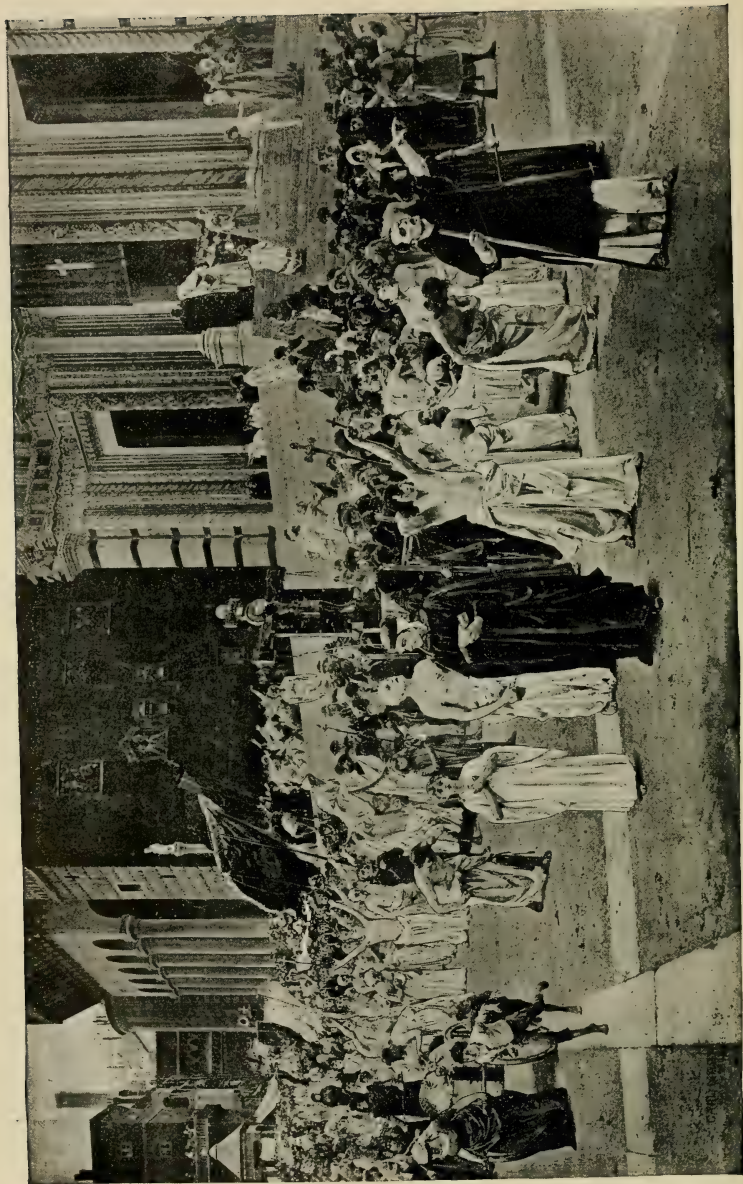
On September 3, 1783, the second Treaty of Paris was signed, wherein the United States was acknowledged free, sovereign and independent.

At the end of the war, which led up to this treaty, England was unwilling to surrender all of the northwest. The Revolutionary War, which followed, was succeeded by Indian disturbances and riots, which were kept up until Wayne's victory of the Fallen Timbers, in 1794.*

Thirteen years had passed, since the treaty of 1783, before the stars and stripes were raised over Detroit and the adjacent country. This was at last accomplished on the 11th of July, 1796, although some authorities claim that it was not until 1815 that the United States was triumphant, by the Treaty of Ghent.

*Hinsdale's Old Northwest, 184.





THE FLAGELLANTS.

FROM CARL MARX'S FAMOUS PAINTING.

Origin of the French Nation,

HISTORICAL NUGGETS.

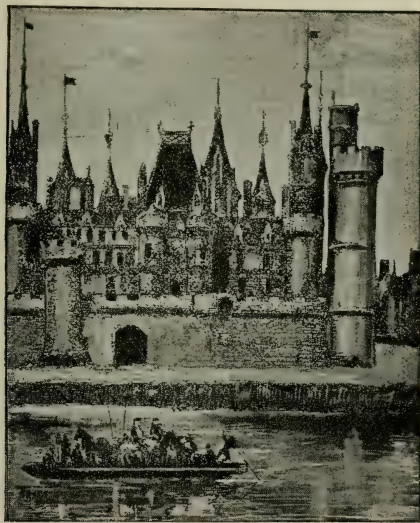
BY
CLARK S. MATTESON.

CHAPTER II.

THE Merovingian dynasty* takes its name from its earliest ancestor, Meroveus, the Frankish chief, and grandfather of Clovis. One of our great historians, speaking of the Merovingian kings, says, "save two or three, a little less insignificant, or less hateful than the rest, the Merovingian kings deserve only to be forgotten."

We will dispose of this dynasty in the language attributed to Virgil:
"Non ragionam di lor, ma guarda e passa."

"Waste we no words on them; one glance, and pass thou on."



THE LOUVRE IN THE 14TH CENTURY.

Upon the death of Clovis, the Frankish kingdom was divided among his four sons,† and thus the Merovingian dynasty commenced only to end in 752, in the insignificant person of Childeric III., who was shorn and put away in the St. Sithiu monastery at St. Omer, and in March,

*Twenty-eight kings reigned during the Merovingian dynasty.

†In A. D. 558, the four kingdoms were consolidated into one.

ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH NATION.

the same year, Pepin was proclaimed king of the Franks by St. Boniface, "With the assent of the general assembly of 'leudes' and bishops at Soissons."

Pepin came of good old Frankish stock. His father was the famous Charles Martel, the Frankish general and warrior, and who was known as the "Savior of the Franks,"* on account of his having organized an army of warriors, Franks, Burgundians, Gauls, Romans and Germans from beyond the Rhine, and who repelled and conquered the Arabs, who had spread over the whole country between the Gironne and the Loire, and into Burgundy.

Charles Martel, though not wearing the crown, was *de facto* king of the Franks from A. D. 715, up to the time of his death, which occurred on the 22d day of October, A. D. 741.

At a general council of Franks, held at Braine in 754, the Franks, through the influence of Pope Stephen, approved of war against the Lombards, who were continually encroaching on and occupying places in the immediate vicinity of Rome. In the fall of the same year, Pepin and his army marched into Italy and defeated the Lombards, under King Astolphus, who retreated and shut himself up in Pavia, but who, shortly after, through deceptive promises, persuaded Pepin to return home. Scarcely had the Franks crossed the Alps, before the Lombards again commenced to occupy places in the vicinity of Rome; upon which the pope "sent to the king, the chiefs, and the people of the Franks, a letter written, he said, by Peter, Apostle of Jesus, son of the living God, to announce to them that if they came in haste he would aid them, as if he were alive according to the flesh amongst them; that they would conquer all their enemies, and make themselves sure of eternal life."

Pepin and his army immediately re-crossed the Alps, and in a short time King Astolphus again found himself shut up in Pavia. Astolphus purchased his liberty and permanent peace by recognizing the supremacy of the Franks, promising not to make war against the pope or the people of Rome, and by ceding to Pepin, "the towns and all the lands belonging to the jurisdiction of the Roman empire, then occupied by the Lombards."

Pepin then by the famous deed of gift ceded to the pope the Romagna, the Duchy of Urbino, and a portion of the marshes of Ancona, which have since nearly formed the Roman states, "and which founded the temporal independence of the papacy."

This great man did that which none of the Merovingian kings did; he reunited the Franks, and extended and solidified their dominions. He died at St. Denis, September 18, 768, leaving the kingdom to his two sons, Charles and Carloman. Three years later, Carloman died, and the grandees and ecclesiastics assembled at Corbeny, declared Charles (called Charlemagne or Charles I.) sole king of the Franks.†

*Charles Martel, son of Pepin of Héristal, was proclaimed Duke of Austrasia, A. D. 715; another title was also granted him, that of "mayor of the palace."

†Guizot's "History of Civilization in France."

ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH NATION.

Taking all things into consideration, Charlemagne was the greatest of all the great kings that ever sat upon the Frankish, or French throne.

During the greater part of his reign his horse was his throne; yet, he found time to promote education, art, manufacturing, agriculture, and commerce. He also established an academy at the palace, wherein were taught grammar, rhetoric, logic, astronomy, geometry, and theology. He also surrounded himself with more than twenty of the ablest scholars in Europe, who were his constant and confidential advisers.*



CHARLEMAGNE'S SCHOOL OF THE PALACE.

Charlemagne was not only a warrior of steel, and a great general, but he was a wise law-giver, a profound scholar, an able statesman, a conscientious Christian, and one of the greatest promoters of Christianity.

His first great military achievement was to subdue and conquer the Saxons. This was in reality a religious war between the Christianity of

*Charlemagne's scholarly associates frequently acted as ambassadors.

ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH NATION.

the Franks and the paganism of the Saxons, the accomplishment of which required more than thirty years of bloody warfare.*

At the same time that Charlemagne was pushing the conquests in Saxony,† he crossed into Italy with an army, and after eight years of warfare, succeeded in subduing the Lombards, under King Didier,‡ who had been invading the dominions of Pope Adrian, and took King Didier home a prisoner, where he was shorn and put into a convent. Charlemagne, having conquered the Lombards, and made a devotee of their king, had his son Pepin anointed king of Italy, in the year 781.

We next find him in Spain, conquering and subduing the Arabs, who were overrunning and devastating the whole country. Then we find him back again in Rome, consulting and advising with Pope Leo, upon matters of state, and upon this occasion he was crowned emperor of Rome, and dubbed Charles Augustus, by Pope Leo, December 25, 800.§

Charlemagne was not a religious bigot, but a man of broad sense, and liberal views, as the following moral precepts will show, which were addressed by him "not to ecclesiastics alone but to the faithful, the Christian people in general."

"Hospitality must be practiced."

"Beware of venerating the names of martyrs, falsely so-called, and the memory of dubious saints."

"Let none suppose that prayer cannot be made to God, save in three tongues, for God is adored in all tongues, and man is heard, if he do but ask for the things that be right."

Aix-la-Chapelle had been for many years the grand political and social center for Charlemagne and his court, and it witnessed in August, 813, the scene of the crowning of Louis, by his father, who declared him co-emperor with him, at the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, in presence of the assembled bishops, abbots, grantees and the people, whose assent had been given.

The next year, on Saturday, January 28, 814, Charlemagne died from the effects of a fever contracted while hunting in the forest of Ardenne. He was buried in the church built by himself, and above his tomb was this inscription:

"In this tomb reposeth the body of Charles, great and orthodox emperor, who did gloriously extend the kingdom of the Franks, and did govern it for forty-seven years. He died at the age of seventy years, in the year of the Lord 814."

*Guizot's History of France, Vol. I., 168-173.

†Life of Charlemagne.

‡King Didier was the father-in-law of Charlemagne, he married Didier's daughter Desiree, and repudiated and sent her home to her father because she bore him no heir. Charlemagne then married Hildegard, a Suabian princess.

§Eginhard, the historian, says that Charlemagne had great aversion to that hollow title.

ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH NATION.

During the reign of Charlemagne the French language was unknown, or in a very imperfect state. Charlemagne, the bishops, ambassadors and grandees, spoke in three languages—Greek, Latin and Germanic, and possibly in English, as the vulgar tongue was then beginning to be spoken. It is held by good authority that, in 842, the French language commenced to be spoken, and was at first nothing but a coarse and irregular mixture of German and Latin; the former still in a barbarous, and the latter already in a completed state.* Prior to this time, the Franks, in general, spoke a Germanic patois.

The conquests of Charlemagne extended from the Elba to the Ebro, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, which comprised nearly all Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, and the north of Italy and Spain.†

At the time of Charlemagne's death, his only surviving heir to the empire was his son Louis, after whose death in 840,‡ the empire was divided between his three sons by the treaty of Verdun, in August, 843, into three *independent* kingdoms, known as the kingdoms of France, Italy and Germany; so, henceforth, we will only deal with the French kingdom.

The Carolingian dynasty commenced with Charlemagne in 768, and ended in 987, during which time France was alternately blessed and cursed under the reign of her thirteen kings. This dynasty went out with Louis V., who died without issue, and the French crown, through the Church of Rome and with the assent of the grandees of France, was, on July 1, 887, placed upon the head of Hugh Capet, the illustrious Duke of France and Count of Paris.

When the curtain rose upon the Capetian dynasty, in 987, the prospects were brighter for a more glorious dynasty than any of the preceding ones had been; but, three hundred and forty-one years later, when the curtain went down after the death of Charles the Handsome, each line in the history of this dynasty was written in blood.

Political ambition and religious fanaticisms made France, during the fourteenth century, the stage upon which the most terrible of tragedies were daily and nightly performed, in the name of God and the Church of Rome.

Pope Innocent III.§ summoned, in 1208, the king of France, the lords, grandees, clergy, and knights, "to assume the cross and go forth to extirpate from southern France the Albigensians," and promised the chiefs of the crusaders the dominions they should win by conquest from the princes, who were heretics.

The result was that during the next fifteen years southern France and northern Spain were overrun with an immense, cruel and fanatic

*Guizot's History of France, Vol. III., 15.

†Guizot's History of France, Vol. I., 185.

‡For three years, nearly, the brothers were contending for their respective rights prior to the Verdun treaty.

§Guizot's History of France, Vol. I., 404-409.

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army of all nations, and from all lands. Says William, of Tudela, the poet chronicler, "Never did God make scribe who could set them all down in writing in two months, or in three, twenty thousand horsemen, armed at all points, and more than two hundred thousand villians, and peasants, not to speak of the burghers and clergy."

The abbot of Citeaux, Arnould Amanry, when asked by the conquerors of Béziers how they should distinguish the heretics from the faithful, made answer "Slay them all, God will be sure to know his own."

Two heretics were brought before Simon de Montford, the pope's friend, and a hero of the crusade; one was willing to recant, the other was steadfast. "Burn them both," said the count, "if this fellow means what he says, the fire will serve for expiation of his sins, and if he lie, he will suffer the penalty of his imposture."

During this period most of the towns and castles between the Rhone, the Pyrenees and the Gironne, and even the Dordogne, were taken by the crusaders, and given over to pillage, the people massacred, and many of the palaces burned.

Charles the Handsome left no male heir, only daughters; therefore, the succession to the crown, under the Salic law, fell to the nearest male heir, which was Philip of Valois, eldest son of Charles Valois, a branch of the Capets. Philip was crowned at Rheims, amidst great pomp, on



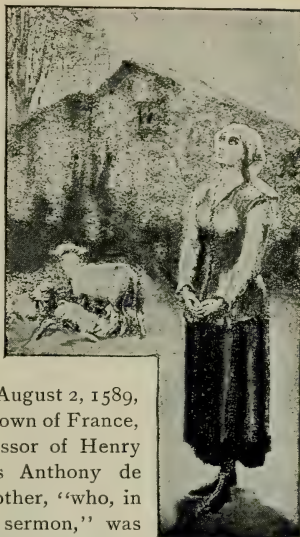
STORMING A CASTLE.

May 29, 1328. Edward III., of England, claimed the French crown, through his mother, Isabel, the daughter of Philip IV., and insisted that the Salic law did not prohibit the succession of the crown to females. Edward, thereupon, assumed the title of the king of France, and undertook to maintain it by the sword. This brought about the Hundred Years War, which was brought to a triumphant close by the young girl from Lorraine, called "Joan of Arc," and thus was established the independence of France from foreign rule.

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When Henry III. was assassinated by a religious fanatic, in 1589,* the dynasty of the house of Valois closed, through failure of male heirs, the male line, proceeding from Philip III., also being extinct.

The Valois monarchs, during the reign of two hundred and sixty-one years, with few exceptions, were both wise and competent sovereigns. They saved the French crown from usurpation, and quieted internal dissensions, by the establishment of their sovereign authority over the wealthy and turbulent nobility.



JOAN OF ARC.

The Bourbon dynasty commenced August 2, 1589, by the accession of Henry IV. to the crown of France, through the Capetian branch, as successor of Henry III. The father of Henry IV. was Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, and his mother, "who, in her youth, was as fond of a ball as a sermon," was Jeanne d'Albert. Henry was educated in the protestant faith, and maintained it for many years, but, on account of religious dissensions, which kept the kingdom in a state of agitation, and the many attempts of the so-called emissaries of the pope† to assassinate him, he renounced his faith as a protestant, and was received into the Church of Rome in July, 1593.

Henry IV. was assassinated by a religious fanatic on May 19, 1610, and was succeeded by his son, who became Louis XIII., and upon whose death, in 1643, the crown went in its regular order, first to Louis XIV., then to Louis XV., and upon his death, in 1774, to Louis XVI.

During the Bourbon dynasty, Paris was the stage upon which actors from all parts of the globe played their respective parts, in drama, farce, and tragedy, for the period of two hundred and four years, from the crowning of Henry IV., in 1589, up to the time the head of Louis XVI. rolled into the basket, on January 21, 1793.

While the Bourbon monarchs, with the exception of Henry IV., were mediocre, and inefficient figure-heads, the monarchy of France was preserved through the efforts of men of genius, such as Cardinal de Richelieu‡, Chancellor Sillery, Albert de Luynes, the great Condé,

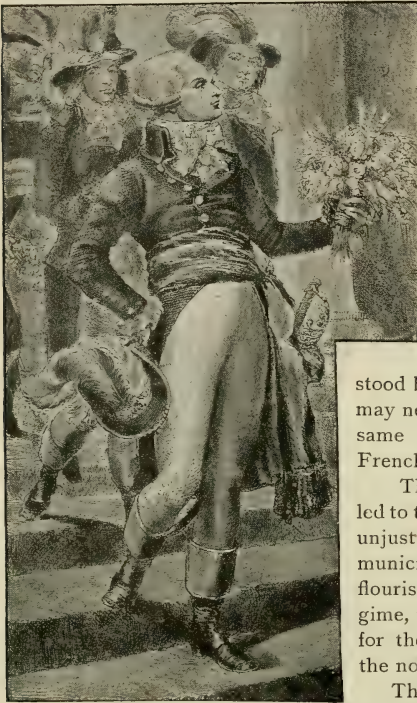
*Henry III. died on the morning of August 2, 1589, from the effects of a wound received the day before, from an assassin.

†Some authorities hold that nineteen unsuccessful attempts were made to take his life, and that most of them originated with the pope.

‡Memoirs de Richelieu.

ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH NATION.

Fouquet, Cardinal Mazarin, Louvois, and the great financiers, Colbert and Necker.*



ROBESPIERRE.

The French republic was a dream which preceded a horrible but realistic nightmare, called the Reign of Terror. The horrors of the Reign of Terror cannot be depicted by the pen, any more than an April shower or an electric storm can be painted by an artist, yet it is well that the history of those great uprisings be carefully read and under-

stood by us all, in order that we may not, in the future, make the same errors that led up to the French revolution.

The principal causes which led to the French revolution were, unjust taxation, the abolishing of municipal institutions which flourished under the Valois regime, the sale of the public offices for the benefit of the crown and the nobility.

The revolutionary tribunal was in operation, under the dictatorship of Robespierre, from

March 17, 1793, to July 27, 1794, during which time thousands of the most illustrious men and women died in France under the guillotine, among which are such historical names as Danton, Marechale de Noailles, Duchesse d'Ayen, the poets Roucher and André, Chénier, the famous Baron Trenck, Comtesse de Narbonne, Marechale de Armentieres, Marquis de Crussel, General Beauharnais, and M. M. Trudaine, counselor of the parliament of Paris.

Robespierre's thirst for blood was so great that he erected the guillotine in the hall of the tribunal, and had the prisoners condemned without trial. This great travesty on justice was conducted by Dumas, the president of the tribunal, in this manner:

*On account of the interference of France in America's war for independence, Necker proposed the taxation of the privileged classes, which led to his resignation. He was afterwards reinstated by Louis XVI.

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"Dorvæ, do you know anything of this conspiracy?"

"No."

"I expected you'd make that reply, but it won't succeed. Bring another."

"Champagny, are you an ex-noble?"

"Yes."

"Bring another."

"Grendreville, are you a priest?"

"Yes."

"Bring another."



TAKING THE BASTILLE.

Robespierre's friends finally became jealous and suspicious of this great king of assassins, and the result was, that Robespierre and one hundred and three of his co-assassins ended the Reign of Terror by making their last and final trip to "Saint Guillotine."

The greatest tragedy the world has ever known was the Reign of Terror, which was followed by the celebrated drama, the Directory.

Then, after four years of the farce called the Consulate, the curtain went down upon the first French republic.

France, who through centuries of despotic rule, had shed her best blood to secure a better and more substantial government, rallied with enthusiasm around the standard of that brilliant young Corsican, Napoleon Bonaparte, after the downfall of the republic; and when Napoleon crowned himself emperor of France, and Josephine empress, on December 2, 1804, the French nation was happy in the belief that her future would be the reverse of the past.



DANTON AT THE GUILLOTINE.

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While Napoleon was a great general, he was not so great a man, and no greater general than Jean Victor Moreau*, who was offered and refused the dictatorship of France; nor was Napoleon sufficiently great to love France better than himself. Napoleon regarded France as the foundation, and his generals and soldiers the stairs, upon which he could mount to a more exalted position than was ever known to mortal ruler.



NAPOLÉON I.

Napoleon's great military success, both before and during the days of the Empire, should be extensively given to the bravery of his soldiers, "who died but never surrendered," and to the ability of such generals and marshals as Moreau, Ney, Sault, Duroc, Davoust, Kleber, Berthier and Grouchy.

The fate of Europe, the empire of France, and of Napoleon Bonaparte, was decided on June 18, 1815, by the battle of Waterloo. Napoleon, who had been emperor for the short period of ten years and six months, was, by the loss of this most celebrated battle, sent into exile at St. Helena, where he died May 5, 1821.*

After the French defeat at Leipsic, which was followed by the retirement of Napoleon to Elba, the provinces acquired under the empire were restored to their former rulers, and France reduced to her former limits.

The Bourbons, under Louis XVIII., established a new regime on May 3, 1814. In 1824, Louis died without direct heirs, and was succeeded by his brother, who was crowned as Charles X., whose short reign was terminated by the revolution in 1830, and the election by the people of Louis Philippe as king of France.

The reign of Louis Philippe for eighteen years was progressive, and the development of the



JOSEPHINE (EMPRESS OF FRANCE.)

*Bourrienne's Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte, Vol. IV., 394.

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country was marked and extensive, and the country enjoyed the results of peace from abroad, which had been maintained without loss of either honor or reputation. Yet Philippe was opposed to electoral reforms, and the people in open insurrection compelled him to abdicate his throne on February 24, 1848.

In December, 1848, Louis Napoleon was elected president of the new republic, but on December 2, 1851, remembering the celebrated "*Coup-d'état*" of Napoleon I., he followed his example, and violated his honor and his oath, by setting aside the constitution and assuming the dictatorship. The next year, on December 2, 1852, by fraudulent elections, he established the second French empire, with himself at its head as Napoleon III.

France, during the absolute reign



MOREAU.

of Napoleon III., made rapid progress in her manufacturing and other internal resources, yet the people had been dreaming of constitutional liberty, or monarchy circumscribed by a constitution, ever since the American war of independence had shaken off British fetters; so when the national desire for reform became so strong that revolution and abdication were about to close Napoleon's career, he, as

"*Vox populi, Vox Dei.*"

Where, centuries ago, we found France in a wild and barbarous condition, man and beast equally ferocious, we now find vast fields in a high state of culti-



MARIE LOUISE
(EMPRESS OF FRANCE.)

of Napoleon III., made rapid progress in her manufacturing and other internal resources, yet the people had been dreaming of constitutional liberty, or monarchy circumscribed by a constitution, ever since the American war of independence had shaken off British fetters; so when the national desire for reform became so strong that revolution and abdication were about to close Napoleon's career, he, as



NEY.

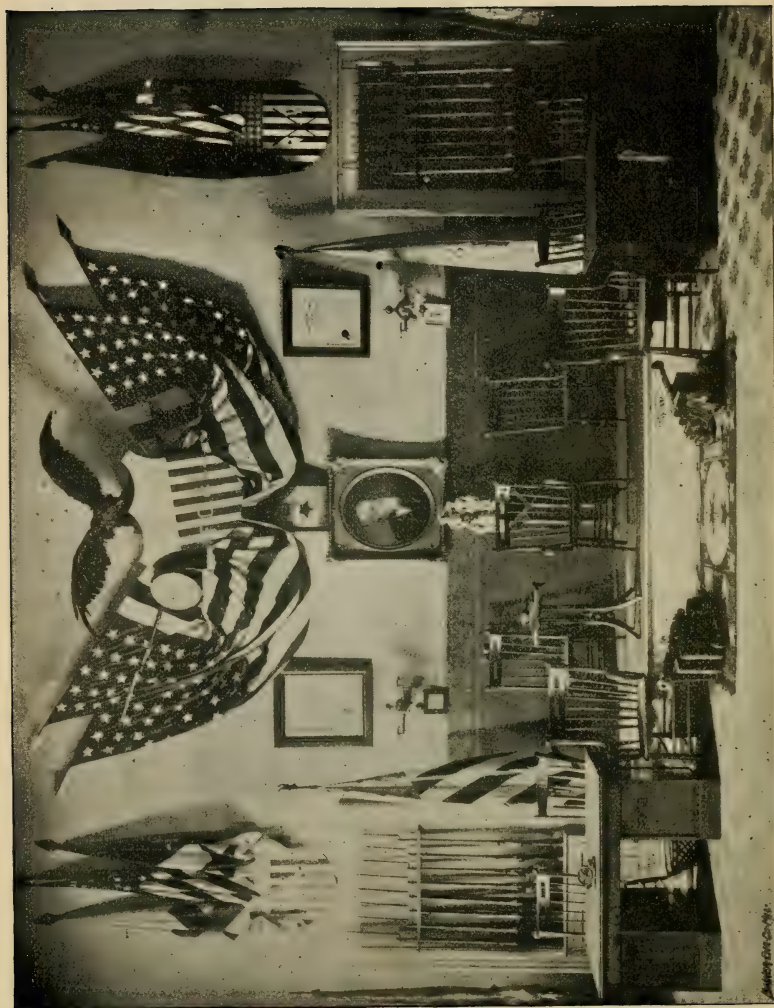
ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH NATION.

vation, enchanting valleys, immense vineyards, beautiful gardens and orchards, picturesque and quaint villages, magnificent cities, wherein are renowned seats of learning, the great centers of art and science; the country populated by nearly forty millions of industrious, thriving and happy people, all living under one of the best forms of government known to civilization.

Vive-la-republique.



BONAPARTE AT THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLA.



E. B. Wainwright Post Hall

Amey Co. N.Y.

SIRE AND SON.

By J. A. WATROUS.

I have often been asked this question: "Do you think it was wise to create the order known as the Sons of Veterans?"

I have seldom failed, when asked that question, to respond by asking another—by asking, "Do you think it was wise to create the order known as the Grand Army of the Republic?" Very few patriotic, loyal American citizens, who have always been steadfast in their belief that our form of government is the best in existence—people who have never turned their back upon that form of government, never left it to swear allegiance to another government, and fight against it, under another flag, are quite well agreed that the creation of the Grand Army of the Republic was wise, and that it has resulted in good to the country in many respects, as well as having served a noble purpose in cementing, rendering stronger, firmer, the ties of friendship which were welded in the heat of battle. That organization has been the means of lending invaluable aid to tens of thousands of worthy veterans of the war. It has undoubtedly given assistance to some who were not worthy, but what society is perfect, and what society has not done something that had better been left undone? For nearly a quarter of a century the Grand Army of the Republic has been a constant educator in patriotism. Every camp-fire has been a school that has taught patriotism to the young, the middle-aged and the old, who have been present and heard the earnest, country-loving talks, and joined in the songs of war days. The great meetings that have resulted from National Encampments and State Encampments have called attention to the work from '61 to '65, done by the Grand Army of the Republic and their equally good brothers, the hundreds of thousands of ex-soldiers, not members of any organization. Through the means of the Grand Army of the Republic there has been collected material out of which there will come the only just and complete history of the great struggle that gave us a Nation with a big N,—a Nation that will never be duplicated in the world.

Each year, in thousands of cities, villages and hamlets, there are heard beautiful, touching, educating exercises over the graves of men who gave their lives that our starry banner might not be trailed in the dust, that our republic might live and prosper; and all of these ceremonies, no matter how simple, nor how grand, how artistic, how impressive through the ability of those who participate in them, are well calculated to make better American citizens of all who witness them, and fit the people of this republic for any duty they may be called upon to perform



COL. GEORGE W. WING, PAST DIVISION COMMANDER.

in looking after its interests, its safety, in defending it from attacks from within and from without.

Now let me come to the question, "Was it wise to create the order known as the Sons of Veterans?" My answer is "Yes," and the yes is emphasized.

It was as wise as it was to create the order known the world over as the Grand Army of the Republic. The reasons can be given in a few words, without taking much space. The work of the Grand Army of the Republic in educating in patriotism, in holding impressive ceremonies at the graves of dead soldiers, in carrying on reunions and camp-fires, in holding state and national encampments, will soon be over, and there will be no Grand Army of the Republic, and the work that they have been doing for more than a quarter of a century would stop were there not an order to take its place. I believe that every sincere Grand Army man, and every worthy ex-soldier, rejoices that there has been organized a society that will perpetuate the memory of the Grand Army of the Republic as an organization; that will perpetuate the memories of the war; that will strive as hard and work as earnestly, in the work of educating in patriotism—in the work of bringing all classes of citizens, whether born here or in foreign countries, to a realization of the value of this country, and the honor that is conferred upon them by being American citizens, born so, or by adoption. The Sons of Veterans will see to it that for a half a century to come the beautiful, impressive, and valuable services on Memorial Day are religiously kept up, and the good results from those ceremonies for the half-century to come cannot fail to be of as much value to the people and the nation as they have been since the organization of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the introduction of that ceremony by the lamented Logan, in 1868.

Yes, it was wise to organize the Sons of Veterans. They have gone to work in a quiet way to lay a good, broad, safe foundation, and have done excellent work in constructing the building. They have worked at great disadvantage. For one reason or another, there have been many members of the Grand Army who have given the new order no encouragement. That is a mistake. The people have had their eyes and their minds upon the older order, upon the veteran soldiers of the Grand Army, and have given but little attention to their legitimate successors in the great work assigned to them, or taken upon themselves. But, as stated, only a few years must pass ere there is no Grand Army of the Republic, and then the eyes and the hearts of the people will be upon the new order—the successors of the old—and the Sons of Veterans will soon come to be as much thought of, or nearly as much, as their predecessors, and because the Sons of Veterans will carry forward all of the work left undone by the Grand Army of the Republic, and carry it forward with that zeal and energy and patriotism that will mark the order and its members for good citizenship, valuable to town, village, city, state and nation.

The Sons of Veterans have inaugurated a service that has already taken a strong hold upon the affections of the whole people. I mean Lincoln Day. The celebrations on Lincoln's birthday have attracted widespread attention. The young men have brought out the best talent in the country to render valuable and interesting their celebrations of the birth of one of the greatest men the world has produced. That they will go on introducing grand features in connection with their order—features that will be well calculated to enlighten, inspire and instruct—need not be doubted, for among the Sons of Veterans will always be found a large army of as good, loyal, able, progressive American citizens as the nation possesses.



H. S. FULLER, PAST DIVISION COMMANDER.

ROMANCES OF A BRIGADE.

By J. A. WATROUS.

Author of "Our Friend's Story," "Richard Epps," "A Great Battle," "The Johnny Girl and Her Prisoner," "Corporal Ben," and other War or Semi-War Stories.

BOTH were young men, about the same age, and Damon and Pythias were not more attached to each other. This was true of Samuel S. Fifield and Rollin P. Converse, the winter of 1861. They passed many evenings together. They went to parties together. They rode and walked and hunted together.

In May of 1861, when Captain Daniel J. Dill, of Prescott, called for volunteers to make up Co. B, of the Sixth Wisconsin, these two young men enlisted together, and for a few days drilled and marched and slept together; the other boys called them "the two lovers." And the boys were not very wide of the mark, for they surely loved each other and each loved a sweet girl—mind you, I do not say they both loved a sweet girl. Each had his eye and heart fixed upon a lovely young woman—not the same one.

The medical examination resulted in the separation of these two young men. The surgeon said Mr. Fifield would not live three months, consequently he would not certify him as a suitable member for Co. B. How these lovers sorrowed at parting, one to return to a printing office, the other to win renown as a soldier.

Before the war closed Fifield's health had improved and he had married his sweet girl.

Who in the old Sixth Wisconsin does not remember corporal, sergeant, lieutenant, captain, Rollin P. Converse? A handsome man he was, a true soldier, a brave man. I wonder if there was a member of that regiment who did not admire him. He was always good-natured, always kind, always just, and yet there was not a better line officer in the regiment, one who maintained stricter discipline. His promotions were won by soldierly conduct—by bravery in battle and a capacity to command and to lead. There was a shout in old Co. B every time promotion came to this gallant soldier, and there were days of mourning in May, 1864, over his death—the heroic young captain of Co. B.

Captain Converse was mortally wounded the first day in the Wilderness, May 5th, 1864, the major of the regiment, Phillip W. Plummer, falling at the same time. They were near each other in death.

The confederate surgeon decided that Converse must suffer the amputation of his right leg. Converse promptly decided that there would be no amputation. He knew he was mortally wounded; he knew that death was near; he knew that nothing would save his life. But the

confederate surgeon was determined upon amputation. Converse, while the surgeon was getting ready for the amputation, quietly drew his revolver, holding it in his right hand, resting it on his left, and said to the doctor as he approached, "I have told you, sir, that I am about to die and do not want my leg amputated. You make a move toward cutting off that leg and I will kill you." The surgeon knew the young captain meant what he said.

An hour later poor Converse crossed the dark river. If you want to see a tear and hear a trembling voice, speak to Governor Sam Fifield about glorious Rollin P. Converse.

This true story would hardly be complete did I not say that up in northern Wisconsin lives a woman in whose once black hair are many silver threads, and whose face brightens and then saddens at the mention of Rollin P. Converse, whose wife she would have been had he returned from the war. She has never married.

That S. S. Fifield would have made a brave and successful soldier no one who knows him doubts. He belongs to a family of soldiers. His ancestors participated in the war of the revolution, and his brother H. O. Fifield, now editor of a Michigan paper, was a gallant member of that grand First Minnesota, whose record for bravery and losses at Gettysburg was not equaled by any other regiment, on either side, at that battle.

"LIEUTENANT, we would be pleased to see you at our tent this evening."

The remark was made by the colonel of a Wisconsin regiment, and was addressed to one of the officers of his command.

The invitation was gladly accepted. The colonel's wife and daughter were visiting him, and the daughter and the lieutenant met that evening for the first time.

A month later, by previous arrangement, they went from the camp, just back of the Lee mansion, on Arlington Heights, Virginia, to Washington. When they returned that evening the colonel's daughter was the lieutenant's bride.

The young people made no sign, and the colonel and his wife had no suspicion whatever that their only daughter had married without their knowledge and consent, and they did not learn of the romantic marriage until early spring, 1862. Then there was a cloud-burst. The colonel was furious and the situation was painful and exciting. After meeting his son-in-law, and giving him what is supposed to have been one of the bitterest denunciations one officer ever gave another, he refused to look at or speak to the lieutenant for a year or more, and yet they remained in the same regiment, fought together in several hard engagements, both winning distinction. The colonel was a thorough soldier. He was forced to acknowledge that his son-in-law was a brave

and valuable officer, and when there was a vacancy in his company he was fair enough and manly enough to recommend him for promotion. By-and-by the colonel became commander of the brigade, and his son-in-law was made major and then lieutenant-colonel, and commanded the regiment his irate father-in-law had converted from a band of wild western men into one of the best drilled and best fighting regiments in the Army of the Potomac. At the end of three years the colonel resigned and went home, and at the end of the war his son-in-law was colonel of the Seventh Wisconsin and a brevet brigadier-general. He is now one of the well-known lawyers of Chippewa Falls—General Hollon Richardson—and his honored father-in-law, Colonel W. W. Robinson, respected by everybody who knows him, resides in the same city.

THE robins and bluebirds were singing their inspiring songs, and the violets in the fence-corners were modestly nodding a welcome to spring, in April, 1861, when a commission as captain was sent to George H. Stevens, of Fox Lake, by Governor Randall. At that time there resided in the quiet, pretty village, and about it, a sturdy class of citizens, nearly all of whom were native Americans. Captain Stevens had only to make known that he was ready to receive recruits for a company to go the war, to have his office promptly crowded with eager, patriotic, country-loving young men, some of them mere boys, who elbowed their way to the little pine table to sign their names to the roll and swear into the state service. Captain Stevens' company was soon filled up, and early in May he reported to Adjutant-General W. L. Utley that he was ready for rendezvous. In due time it was ordered to Camp Randall, to be a part of the Second Wisconsin Infantry, which regiment was the first troops to enter that famous and now memorable military ground.

Among the first young men who offered their services to Captain Stevens was a quiet, earnest, thoughtful, finely-built fellow, a substantial citizen of the village, who in enlisting made a sacrifice that was much greater than that made by most of his fellow-soldiers of that company.

He had a devoted wife and a sweet little girl of two or three summers, but he felt that it was his duty to enlist, and no argument could dissuade him from doing what he deemed his duty. He was among the first to sign the roll of honor.

Old residents of Fox Lake recall, to-day, nearly thirty-two years after the event, the tearful parting between the patriotic husband, his young wife and their little girl. The wife and mother, after a fond farewell, blinded by scalding tears, sat upon the steps of a neighbor's house, with the little one in her lap, while the company marched past to the station, and took the train for Madison.

Nothing could have been heavier than the young husband's heart as he glanced over his shoulder and saw his dear ones sitting on the door-step, filled with sorrow too great to be spoken. The wife was

broken-hearted over his departure. What an afternoon and night of gloom for that soldier's wife!

The next day found the Fox Lake company at Camp Randall. Most of the boys, after their first camp breakfast, were homesick enough to engage in writing letters to mothers, wives, sisters and sweethearts.

I can see thoughtful Captain Stevens as he sits on an old-fashioned kitchen chair, with a shingle for a table, writing his first army letter to the wife he never saw again, telling her of their trip, of that first army breakfast, and how bravely his men bore up under the terrible trial of parting with the dearest of earthly friends.

Sitting with his back against the high board fence, on the north side of Camp Randall, his portfolio for a table, is our hero, writing to a heroine—his wife.

His name? It makes but little difference what it is, but we will call him Bennett—Archie Bennett, though that may not be his real name.

The love and affection he poured out in that letter was pure and grand. There was no dross in it. Three days later he received his first letter from home, and that evening his name was read out as a corporal. The new office, though not a high one, gave him additional duties to perform, and helped him to pass the time that otherwise would have been one of the greatest tasks of his life.

No one can tell how great a hardship it was for him to leave family and business—no one who did not have a like experience—to sacrifice everything he had in the world and give himself to his country.

Great as his sacrifice was, there were tens of thousands of brave men in that war, on both sides, who made equally great sacrifices. No word of complaint was heard from him. He knew his country was in danger; he knew that he was strong and abundantly able to do duty as a soldier, and he felt that it was his place to do just what he had done—to enlist at the first opportunity.

We will not follow Corporal Bennett through the early stages of the school of the soldier. The days of great danger to the national capital came in June, and the Second Wisconsin was ordered to move to Washington.

The order came so suddenly, and the movement must be made so promptly, that there was no opportunity for visiting the dear ones at home, nor for having them visit their friends at Camp Randall. Almost before the friends knew of the order, the Second Wisconsin was on its way south. It will be remembered that the Second Wisconsin was the only regiment from this state that participated in the battle of Bull Run, July 21st, 1861. What excitement there was throughout Wisconsin when the report of that battle reached here. Camp Randall then contained two regiments in preparation for active service. Every member of these regiments hastened to buy Madison papers giving accounts of what was then one of the greatest battles that had been fought on the

American continent. How excitedly, eagerly, the new soldiers ran through the list of killed and wounded, and what sober faces there were among those young men who had sworn to aid in crushing a great conspiracy to destroy their country. What sorrowing and anxiety there was throughout the state, in hundreds of homes from which there were representatives in the Second regiment.

Corporal Bennett distinguished himself in his first battle. He acted as sergeant, giving invaluable aid to the line officers, besides using up his own forty rounds of ammunition.

Nothing unusual occurred to this model soldier at Gainesville, Second Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Fitzhugh Crossing or Chancellorsville, in all of which engagements he was an active and brave participant, but at Gettysburg he was wounded, and quite seriously. Before he would allow the surgeons to dress his wound, or take nourishment of any kind, he insisted upon writing a brief dispatch to be sent to his wife in far-away Wisconsin. These are his exact words:

"We have had a great battle and won a great victory. I received a little scratch. Don't worry."

That "little scratch" disabled him for some time—until the following fall.

When his regiment was afforded an opportunity to reënlist for three years more, at Culpeper, Virginia, early in 1864, Bennett, as had been the case at Fox Lake nearly three years before, was well at the head of the roll of reënlisted men, indicating that he was ready to make still greater sacrifices for the country so dear to him.

What happy days those reënlisting days were. The men who had served nearly three years, and then reënlisted for three years more, were conscious that they had done something out of the ordinary—that they had said, while they knew the hardships of war, the horrors of battle, the pains of the hospital, they were ready to risk their lives for three years more.

What a glorious example they gave the country. Who can blame them for feeling a pride in such a step, and who does not, even to-day, honor the men who reënlisted, or, as some of the boys say, veteranized, when the government was in such great need of their continued services?

Besides this consciousness they were made happy in the thought that they were to have a month at home—in the thought that they were soon to meet wife and children, father, mother, sisters, and sweethearts, and all of the other old home friends.

Something comes into my throat as I recall the return of the survivors of that company to Fox Lake—those who reënlisted. The gallant Captain Stevens, who had won his way to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of his regiment, was not with them—he had fallen at Gettysburg. Another captain, whose arm had been shot away, was absent. More

than half of that gallant band of brave boys and young men, who had left Fox Lake nearly three years before, were sleeping on Pennsylvania, Maryland or Virginia battlefields, or were lingering and suffering in hospitals. But what a reception the survivors were given by the people of the quiet old village. Every one of the inhabitants extended both hands in welcome. Nothing was too good for the men who composed the first company to leave that part of the state.

Sergeant Bennett was content to devote his entire time to his wife and little girl, the little girl who did not know her soldier father, but who loved him as well as though she had recognized him among the hardy, brown-faced soldier lads who marched into Fox Lake on that January afternoon, in 1864.

And how quickly those thirty days passed away—the furlough days. They say a cyclone sweeps over a city like a flash. Those thirty days given to the reënlisted soldiers passed more quickly, seemingly, than a rushing, roaring, hustling cyclone, and the day of the second departure to war, hardship, danger, suffering, and mayhap death, had arrived.

How hard it was to part the second time. I will not attempt to describe it; I will not attempt to picture the sorrowful scenes.

Soon after the reënlisted men returned to Culpeper, Virginia, Grant, who was at the head of all of the armies of the Union, came to the Army of the Potomac to join Meade in what was to prove the most memorable campaign known in the military history of America—the battles from Wilderness to Appomattox—during which time, from May 5th, 1864, to April 9th, 1865, the Army of the Potomac was not out of hearing, a single day, of booming cannon and cracking muskets.

Do you recall those terrible scenes in the Wilderness, the balmy spring days, the bird songs and the fresh new leaves, when both armies almost fell into each other's arms and slaughtered each other by the thousands? The Wilderness will always be remembered as a very hell by all of the soldiers who were in those memorable engagements.

It was on that first day, the 5th of May, 1864, that a bullet struck First-Sergeant Bennett in the head. He fell prostrate and his captain, next day, entered his name on the roll as "killed in battle."

The news of her great loss was sent to the young wife in a letter full of sympathy and sorrow, by a lieutenant of his company.

The day the letter was received by Mrs. Bennett her little girl was stricken with a fever, and ten days later was sleeping near the village church in the little country graveyard. A widow and childless, clad in mourning and broken-hearted, this poor woman felt that her load was heavier than she could bear, and for two months her life was despaired of. Then she gradually began to improve in strength. In September she was able to take up life's duties again, and bravely she bent to her work. The little home had been sold on a mortgage. She had no reserve fund. Most of her furniture had gone. Two rooms, up stairs,

were rented, and each day found this mourning widow, mourning the death of a loved husband, weeping over the new made grave of her sweet little girl, going somewhere, each day, to wash, for which service she never received more than seventy-five cents, and most of the time only fifty cents a day. Her pension as a widow was applied for and granted in due time.

Young mothers and wives of to-day, let me ask you to take this poor woman's unfortunate situation into careful account. Did she make a greater sacrifice for her country than you would be willing to make? Can you ever cease to honor her and praise her courage and devotion to family and country? Can you ever, under any circumstances, sneer at the war widow, or think lightly of her, as you see her or hear her name mentioned?

Very soon after Bennett was killed the Union army was driven back in confusion, and our dead and wounded fell into the hands of the temporarily victorious confederates.

I have said that First-Sergeant Archie Bennett was killed. Everyone who saw him fall, and knew that he was hit in the head, supposed that he had been killed, and reported accordingly; but he was not killed.

After remaining on the field where he fell thirty-six hours he was conveyed to a confederate field hospital, where a rebel surgeon examined him and pronounced his case hopeless. Within three days Bennett was able to move and could make known his desire for nourishment, and his wound was dressed. Within two weeks he was walking about the narrow confines of the hospital grounds, and within a month he was on his way to prison with many thousands of the Army of the Potomac, captured in the great campaign from Culpeper to Petersburg.

Sergeant Bennett was conveyed to Andersonville. The wound in the head made a great change in the man's conduct. It stunned him, and he never recovered from its effect. While his associates at Andersonville planned for comforts in that hell on earth, looked out for their full share of rations, poor Bennett, who was no longer himself, seemed content to take whatever was offered. Night after night he slept in the damp air, on the ground, with nothing under him but mother earth and nothing over him but the blue sky of heaven, when it was clear. Every day added to his already enfeebled state. He could scarcely walk when he reached Andersonville; after he had been there two weeks he could not walk a step, and day after day he sat vacantly staring at his associates in misery, scarcely uttering a word, never making a complaint.

One morning when the dead wagon passed through the camp, gathering up the bodies of unfortunate Union soldiers whose spirits had crossed the dark river the previous night, confederate attendants picked Bennett up and were about to swing him into the wagon, as they had a score of other poor emaciated, half-naked bodies, when his eyes

opened, and he wanted to know what they were doing. Of course they dropped him, and then his comrades besought the surgeon to have him taken to the hospital, which was little better than a dead house.

There he received a little better attention than some of his fellows who had gone there before him, and he partially recovered and regained some of his strength; enough so that when a batch of prisoners was transferred to Salisbury, N. C., Bennett was included.

He fared no better at Salisbury than he had at Andersonville. It is not necessary to go into details, but when men are half starved, poorly clad, have been treated worse than the meanest farmer treats his live stock, it is not at all surprising that they look only to their own comfort; that they become extremely selfish and show but little evidence of caring for anyone else. That is the case with nearly all of the prisoners, in such circumstances. So it happened that this quiet, inoffensive man, this brave, model soldier, who had received a wound in the head that came very near to dethroning his reason, received but scant attention. If he received rations he cooked and ate them, when he was able to cook them. If not able to cook them, he ate such of them as he could, raw.

A wreck he was, weighing less than seventy pounds, when, in 1865, he was exchanged and found his way to Washington, where one of his old company met and recognized him, and took the necessary steps to correct the company record—to correct it so that it would show that Archibald Bennett, First-Sergeant of Co. A, was living instead of dead, as the record had shown for almost a year. The same friend put him in a way to draw a portion of the money that was due him from the government, and then accompanied him to the Baltimore & Ohio depot, at the national capital, bought a ticket for him, and sent him on his way toward his desolate Wisconsin home.

In his half-dazed condition the poor fellow had not thought to telegraph to his wife in Fox Lake, or a friend, to notify them he was on his way home, consequently a great surprise awaited the people of Fox Lake.

He reached the little Wisconsin village one morning just as daylight was appearing, scarcely knowing where he was. He was found sitting on the steps of the only hotel in the place, and was kindly taken into the house and given food and a room. No one who saw him knew who he was. People talked to him, but he could not, or at least did not, answer.

This gives the reader something of an idea of the great change that had taken place in the man. A little more than a year before he had been home on a furlough and mingled with his old neighbors and friends who knew him well; who had known him for many years; yet on that chilly April morning, nearly four years after his enlistment and start for the war, he was a total stranger. Is it not pitiful to reflect upon?

At that time the late Hon. Q. H. Barron was proprietor of the hotel. He had been away from home, but returned about 9 o'clock that morning. He was informed of the presence of the returned soldier and immediately visited his room. The two men recognized each other. Barron drew back in utter astonishment and exclaimed, "Bennett, is this really you?"

In a voice a little above a whisper came the answer, "Yes, all there is left of me."

Twenty minutes from then the news had spread throughout the village that Archie Bennett had not been killed; that he was alive and at that moment in the hotel.

Friends hurriedly found Mrs. Bennett and broke the good news to her. Quickly husband and wife were together. But the meeting was nearly as sad as the parting had been. Bennett, emaciated, with reason tottering, unkempt hair and beard, sunken eyes, looked so little like the robust, fine-appearing gentleman who had parted from his wife after the thirty days' furlough a little more than a year before, that the poor woman could not be made, for some time, to believe that she was looking at and talking to her husband, and what was sadder still was the fact that Bennett did not recognize his wife.

But weeks and months of gentle nursing partially restored him to health. They continued to live in Fox Lake for some years, but more than twenty years ago located in Milwaukee. Bennett engaged in business, but his head troubled him to such an extent that it became necessary to sell out. This was nearly fifteen years ago, and since then he has not been able to do a day's work. Since then he has been almost as helpless as a babe; since then that devoted, patriotic wife, has given him as kind, gentle and loving care as she would have given a child; and during all of these years has had resting upon her shoulders the responsibility of earning all that was necessary to support herself and her unfortunate hero husband.

Through an inexcusable blunder on the part of an agent who made an application for his pension, fifteen years ago, he was granted the puny sum of two dollars, the claim being based on the wound received in the leg, at Gettysburg, instead of the terrible wound received in the head, at the Wilderness, which was supposed to have killed him. It took years to correct that blunder, but in time it was corrected and a generous sum paid his wife, who is his guardian; yet not a tenth as much as it cost him to give his government the service he did as fighting soldier and suffering prisoner for four years, and the years of almost death ever since his return. I see Bennett now and then, tottering along the street, holding the arm of his good wife, but he does not seem any more like to the model Sergeant of Co. A, Second Wisconsin, that I knew in the army a lifetime ago, than black seems like white.

Who can estimate the sacrifice he and his wife made by his service to the government in the government's darkest hour?

Days at a time the old orderly sergeant sits and looks into the street, and when spoken to says, "I am watching for the boys; it is time to call the roll." As first sergeant it was his duty to form the company and call the roll.

He belongs to a Grand Army Post. Sometimes his wife leads him to the hall and waits in a convenient drug-store for the meeting to close, when she as tenderly conducts him back to their home—their own home—a home earned by this heroine wife of a soldier hero.





EARLY VOYAGEURS ON THE WISCONSIN RIVER.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

Conquering the Old Northwest.—Its Gradual Transition.

THE treaty of peace, made in September, 1783, was not accompanied by the immediate surrender of the British posts to the American authorities. Considerable recrimination occurred between the two governments, each accusing the other of flagrant violations of certain articles of the treaty. More than ten years of diplomatic controversy intervened, on both sides of the Atlantic, before the disputes were settled. This was finally done by Jay's treaty in 1794. In the intermediate, the British retained possession of the posts on the American side of the Great Lakes, which gave their possessors a great influence over the warlike Indian tribes in their neighborhood. The year of 1784 had nearly passed away before the United States government was aware that the British cabinet had determined not to evacuate the western posts. The reason assigned for the detention of these posts on the lakes was the hostile temper manifested by the Indians. It soon became apparent that the cessation of hostilities with England was not necessarily the end of the warfare with the Indian tribes. The government was obliged to submit to the indignity of permitting a foreign power to maintain garrisons within her limits, as well as to ineffectually cope with the horrors of border warfare in the west.

Virginia, as early as October, 1779, had by law discouraged all settlements on the part of her citizens northwest of the Ohio;* but the prospects of peace, together with the growing spirit of land speculation, soon became stronger than the law, and it now became the great debatable question, in what manner to throw open the great region lying westward of the mountains without making the Indians more desperate. Washington, in a letter to James Duane, who was a member of congress in 1783, writes with reference to the difficulties which were then before that body, in relation to the public lands, and pointed out to congress the necessity for making the settlements compact, and suggested that it should be made a felony to settle or survey lands west of a line to be designated by congress, which line might extend from the Great Miami to the Mad river, thence to Fort Miami on the Maumee, thence northward, so as to include Detroit, and possibly from the fort down the river to Lake Erie.†

Washington also proposed other stringent measures for the preservation and tranquility of the northwest, but before congress could take any effectual steps in that direction, it was necessary that the great measures of cession, which were commenced in 1780-81, should be

*Rev. Stat. of Va.

†Sparks' Washington, Vol. VIII., 477.

from the possession of the United States, were Detroit and Michilimackinac. Great Britain, in order to the more effectually guard against the incursions of the Americans, took immediate measures to garrison the fort at Detroit.

In December, 1786, a grand council of the Indians northwest of the Ohio was held near the Huron village at the mouth of the Detroit river, and was attended by six nations of the Indians—the Hurons, Ottawas, Miamis, Shawnees, Chippewas, Cherokees, together with the Delawares, Pottawattamies, and the confederates of the Wabash. At this council it was determined to call a grand council of the Indians, in which the whole ground of complaint between the Indians and the United States should be discussed and, if possible, determined. The grand council was held, and although no records of the proceedings are extant, yet the belief exists that the records were forwarded to Lord Dorchester, the governor of Canada. It is thought that there was a division among them in their deliberations, because two separate treaties were held at Fort Harmar in January, 1789, which were attended only by part of the Indians. These treaties were held by General St. Clair, first with the Five Nations, with the exception of the Mohawks, and second with the warriors and sachems of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawattamie, and Sac tribes.* These treaties were intended to be in good faith on the part of the savages who made them, but were broken in a short time by the confederacy of northern Indians, which had been formed by the noted Mohawk chief, Thayendanege, or Brant. The confederates exhibited their deeply-seated hatred and hostility to the Americans, and their subsequent defeats of Harmar and St. Clair not only created new confederacies in themselves, but spread terror over the whole frontier, and caused the deepest anxiety in the councils of the nation.

One of the first important acts of Governor St. Clair, upon his appointment to his new position as governor of the Northwest Territory in October, 1787, was the Fort Harmar treaties, consummated in January, 1789. One of these treaties the confederate nations of the lakes especially refused to acknowledge as binding. In referring to the rejected treaty, the great council, held in 1793, used the following language: "Brothers, your commissioner (General St. Clair), after having been informed by the general council of the preceding fall that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding, unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested than as a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or cession whatever. Brothers, how then was it possible for you to expect

* Lanman's Michigan, 149-151.

United States, regarding the lands of the hostile tribes as conquered and forfeited, proceeded to grant them portions of their own land. This produced discontent, and led to the formation of the great confederacy headed by Brant. After the treaty of Fort Harmar, transfers of territory had been made by the Iroquois, Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawnees, which were scarcely objectionable, but the Chippewas, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Weas, Piankeshaws, Pottawattamies, Eel River Indians, Kaskaskias, and especially the Miamis, were not bound by any existing agreement to deliver up lands lying north of the Ohio. The confederated tribes had forbidden the treaty of Fort Harmar, and had warned General St. Clair that it would not be binding on the confederates. They desired that the Ohio should be a perpetual boundary between the white and red men of the west, and would not sell a rod of land lying north of that line. This feeling had grown so strong that the young men could not be restrained from waging warfare upon the invading "*long knives*," and attacking the frontier stations throughout the northwest. It was with reason that Washington expressed great doubts as to the justness of an offensive war being waged upon the tribes of the Wabash and Maumee, and, in speaking of these tribes, he says: "In the exercise of the present indiscriminate hostilities, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say that a war without further measures would be just on the part of the United States."*

In 1785, Brant went to England to solicit aid for his confederacy. He reminded the English authorities of their forgetfulness of their allies, the Indians, the gradual encroachment of the Americans, and the probable consequences—war; and asked England's coöperation in repelling the farther advancement of the Americans. He received from the British minister an evasive and non-committal answer, and returned home, where he met the confederated natives in November, 1786. At the council then convened, he informed them that he had received no distinct assurances of aid from England, but the Indian superintendent, John Johnson, and Major Matthews, the commandant at Detroit, in their correspondence with Brant, gave him flattering assurances of countenance and protection in his hostile movements against the Americans. Major Matthews, in May, 1787, writes to Brant, with the apparent sanction of Lord Dorchester, the governor of Canada, in which he says, "In your letter to me you seem very apprehensive that the English are not very anxious about the defense of the posts. You will soon be satisfied that they have nothing more at heart, provided that it continues to be the wish of the Indians, and that they remain firm in doing their part of the business by preventing the Americans from coming into their country, and consequently from marching to the posts. On the other hand, if the Indians think it more for their interests that the Americans should have possession of the posts, and be established

*American State Papers. Vol. V., 97.

in their country, they ought to declare it, that the English need no longer be put to the vast and unnecessary expense and inconvenience of keeping posts, the chief object of which is to protect their Indian allies, and the loyalists who have suffered with them. It is well known that no encroachments ever have, or will be, made by the English upon the lands or property of the Indians, in consequence of possessing the posts; how far that will be the case, if ever the Americans get into them, may easily be imagined from their hostile perseverance, even without that advantage, in driving the Indians off their lands, and taking possession of them.*¹¹



With such assurances on the part of the British authorities in America, together with the malign influence of such characters as Simon Girty, Alexander McKee, and Mathew Elliot, who had sunk to the lowest depths of humanity, it is not a matter of surprise that the hostility of the confederated natives was engendered and kept alive, and only waiting for a favorable moment to break forth with all its terrible fury. General Washington, in the spring of 1790, being desirous of learning the real sentiments of the northwestern Indians, through Governor St. Clair, sent Anthony Gamelin in April, 1790, to hold conferences with several tribes of the northwest. He arrived at the point where the Miamis, Shawnees and Delawares resided, and, on the 23d and 24th of April, he assembled the Indians into a grand council which lasted many

*Stone's Brant, Vol. II., 271.

days. Gamelin gave each nation two branches of wampum, and made them a speech in the presence of the French and Indian traders, who were invited to attend the conference; but, with all of his sagacity, the council's deliberations amounted to naught, as the Shawnees and Delawares delivered him back his wampum, while Le Gris, the great Miami chief, told him he might go back when he pleased; that he would not give him a positive answer until all the Lake nations, together with the Detroit commandant, had been consulted. On the 8th of May, Gamelin returned to Fort Knox, and, on the 11th of May, news was received that the northwestern savages had gone upon the warpath against the Americans.

The United States government now adopted a course towards the tribes of the northwest which was no longer peaceable. Governor St. Clair, by virtue of authority granted by congress, by the act of September 29, 1789, and in pursuance of an order of the president, dated October 6th, called on Virginia for one thousand, and on Pennsylvania for five hundred militia. The call was made July 15, 1790, and the forces were distributed as follows: Three hundred were to meet at Fort Steuben (Jeffersonville) to aid the troops from Fort Knox (Vincennes) against the Weas and Kickapoos of the Wabash. Seven hundred were to gather at Fort Washington (Cincinnati), and five hundred below Wheeling. The latter two parties intended to coöperate with the troops from Fort Washington, under General Harmar. About the middle of September, the troops began to arrive at Fort Washington from Kentucky and Pennsylvania. They were ill-equipped, destitute of camp equipage, and with arms wholly unfit for service; among them were old men and young boys hardly able to bear arms, many of whom had never fired a gun, while the numbers which came were short of what had been ordered. To all these disadvantages were added numerous disputes, which arose among them in selecting their officers; many of the militia declaring that they would return home, unless certain individuals were elected to command them. On the 30th of September, General Harmar left Fort Washington, with a force of one thousand, four hundred and fifty-three men, and in due time arrived within thirty-five miles of the Miami villages.

On the 14th of October, the detachment pushed forward and, on the morning of the 17th, arrived at the deserted Maumee towns, which they destroyed, together with about twenty thousand bushels of corn. This work of devastation lasted until the 21st of October. General Harmar then designed to push forward and attack the Wea and other Indian settlements upon the Wabash, but was prevented by the loss of pack-horses and cavalry horses, which the Indian had stolen in consequence of the carelessness of the owners. Dropping the plan of the march on the Wabash towns, General Harmar sent Colonel Trotter, with three hundred men, to scour the woods in search of the enemy, as

tracks of women and children had been seen near by; but the want of energy in the officers, and the entire lack of discipline in the army, rendered the expedition fruitless. The party returned to camp in the night, after having discovered and killed two mounted Indians, who were thought to be sentinels. The next day, General Harmar sent out another expedition in search of the enemy, under Colonel Hardin. This force found where the Indians camped the night before, and, shortly before dusk, the enemy's camp-fires were seen in the distance. The same inefficiency, on the part of the commanding officer, as well as his force, made success a **failure**; as they were easily drawn into an ambush, and only escaped after a heavy loss, and were compelled to retreat. The jealousy existing between the regular troops and the militia became so great that success was an impossibility, and the army commenced its homeward march late in October, 1790.

Colonel Hardin, not feeling easy after his defeat, prevailed upon General Harmar to send a detachment of three hundred and forty militia back to the villages, under the belief that the Indians had returned. The detachment under Colonel Hardin, consisting of militia, and the regulars, commanded by Major Wyllys, reached the banks of the Maumee, early in the morning of the 22d of October, where the spies reported that the enemy was discovered. According to the plan of attack the enemy was to be surrounded, and the battalions were to support each other, or to mass as occasion required, but in no case to separate. The attack commenced with unusual vigor. The Indians fled in different directions, while the militia, in disobedience of orders, pursued them in the various directions. The regulars, being thus unsupported, fell an easy sacrifice to the Indians. Thus General Harmar's disastrous campaign closed. A campaign from which was expected so much, and resulted in so little. The failure of General Harmar's expedition, immediately followed by the attack of the Indians on the new settlements on the Ohio, prompted the government to take decisive and strong measures whereby a peace should be obtained by force of arms, or secured by prudent negotiation.

The plan adopted by the general government was threefold. (1) to send a messenger to the western Indians, to be accompanied by Iroquois chiefs, with offers of peace; (2) to organize expeditions in the west to strike the Wea, Miami, and Shawnee towns, in case that the peace messenger should fail in his mission, and (3) to prepare an overwhelming force with which to take possession of the country of their enemies, and build forts in their midst.*

Colonel Thomas Proctor was selected as the peace commissioner, and left Philadelphia on March 12, 1791. At Corn Planters' settlement he secured the services of certain Iroquois chiefs to accompany him on his mission. The mission proved a failure, as the British commandant

*American State Papers, Vol. XIII., 36.

at Niagara would not allow any English vessel to be hired to convey the ambassadors up Lake Erie. General Scott, of Kentucky, was commissioned to make war upon the Miamis; Governor St. Clair was to invade and take possession of their lands, while Colonel Pickering was to hold a peace council, for the purpose of burying the hatchet, and establishing permanent peace.*

The policy adopted by the United States is fully explained in the instructions of President Washington, through the secretary of war, General Knox, which is in the following language: "An Indian war, under any circumstances, is regarded by the great mass of people in the United States as an event which ought, if possible, to be avoided. * * * The sacrifices of blood and treasure in such a war far exceed any advantages which can possibly be reaped by it. The great policy, therefore, of the general government is to establish a just and liberal peace with all the Indian tribes within the limits and in the vicinity of the territory of the United States. * * * But if all the lenient measures taken, or which may be taken, should fail to bring the hostile Indians to a just sense of their situation, it will be necessary that you should use such coercive means as you shall possess for that purpose. * * * If the Indians refuse to listen to the messengers of peace sent to them, it is most probable they will, unless prevented, spread themselves along the line of frontiers, for the purpose of committing all depredations in their power. To avoid so calamitous an event, Brigadier-General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, has been authorized to make an expedition against the Wea or Ouiatanon towns, with mounted volunteers, or militia, not exceeding the number of seven hundred and fifty, officers included. * * * It is confided to your discretion whether there should be more than one of the said expeditions of mounted volunteers, or militia. * * * All captives are to be treated with great humanity. It will be sound policy to attract the Indians by kindness, after demonstrating to them our power to punish them on all occasions. * * * If no decisive indications of peace should have been produced, you will commence your march for the Miami village, in order to establish a strong and permanent military post at that place. * * * The Indians continuing hostile, you will seek the enemy, and endeavor by all possible means to strike them with great severity."

No news of peace being received, General Scott's command moved on the Wabash towns, and arrived on June 1, 1791. The Indian villages were abandoned upon the approach of the army, although slight skirmishing occurred at several points. The village of Ouiatanon, wherein lived many French settlers in a state of civilization, was destroyed. This place was in close connection with and dependent on Detroit. Scott's expedition only succeeded in destroying the settlements of the enemy, together with a half-dozen warriors, and took fifty or sixty pris-

*Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. I., 191.

oners. They returned without having reached the higher towns on the Wabash, which occasioned Governor St. Clair to dispatch a second expedition, under Colonel Wilkinson, against the villages on Eel river. This expedition was devoid of any greater results than the Harmar and Scott expedition. A few Indian villages were burned, growing corn cut up, settlements destroyed, a few Indians killed, and some taken prisoners. No victory had been gained over the Indians, no strong posts had been established in their midst, while the tranquility of the frontier was apparently as far distant as ever.

Governor St. Clair, having received instructions from the general government, proceeded to organize his army, and, on the 15th of May, 1791, he arrived at Fort Washington. At this time, the whole United States troops in the northwest amounted only to two hundred and sixty-four non-commissioned officers and privates, fit for duty. By the 17th of September, the army had been increased, by the arrival of recruits, to twenty-three hundred strong, exclusive of the militia. The army then commenced its march, and at the Great Miami built Fort Hamilton, the first fort in that great chain of fortifications. After its completion, they moved forty-four miles farther, and commenced Fort Jefferson, on October 12th. The troops again resumed their march on the 24th of October, and, on November 3d, they were on a branch of the Wabash, which General St. Clair thought to be the St. Mary or the Maumee. Upon the banks of this creek, the army, now reduced by desertion and sickness to fourteen hundred strong, encamped in two lines.*

Early upon the morning of the 14th of November, just as the men had been dismissed from parade, the Indians made an attack on both of St. Clair's lines, driving the militia into camp, thereby throwing the regulars into disorder. The general ordered a bayonet charge, which drove the Indians back for a time, but they soon rallied and renewed the attack with increased vigor. St. Clair's camp was entered by the left flank, and the troops driven in. Successful charges on the enemy were repeatedly made, with a loss of many men and officers. The artillery was soon silenced, all of the officers except one being killed, while half of the army had fallen. A retreat was now ordered, which soon became a flight. The camp and artillery were abandoned, as not a horse was left with which to draw off the guns. Arms and accoutrements were thrown away by the retreating army, even after pursuit had ceased. The Indians followed the fleeing army about four miles, while the fugitives continued their flight until they reached Fort Jefferson, a distance of twenty-nine miles, which place they reached a little after sunset.

St. Clair's defeat was exceedingly disastrous. It was in its effect a second Braddock's defeat. The hopes of Washington, Knox, and St. Clair were overthrown in this unfortunate, but brief campaign. The causes which led to so fatal a termination of the expedition were at a

*American State Papers, Vol. V., 136.

subsequent period fully inquired into by a committee of the house of representatives, which expressly declared General St. Clair free from all blame, both before and during the flight. The true causes of the defeat appeared to be that the militia and soldiers were surprised and out-generaled by the savage forces, who were led with ability and valor, and in no recorded battle did the savages ever show themselves better warriors. It is said that one thousand Indians were engaged in this battle,* while St. Clair's forces did not exceed fourteen hundred. Thirty-eight commissioned officers were killed during the battle, and five hundred and ninety-three non-commissioned officers and privates were slain and missing; while twenty-one commissioned officers and two hundred and forty-two non-commissioned and privates were wounded, many of whom died.

The exigencies of the times demanded that a new army be immediately raised, and from the list of general officers recommended to command the army, President Washington selected Major-General Anthony Wayne. It was the desire of Washington, that before the government resorted to the last extremity, every effort should be made to prevent bloodshed. Authorized agents were sent into the Indian country, and extended invitations to the different nations to send their representatives to Philadelphia, to meet the congress in session, and shake hands with their newly-adopted father. The great Mohawk chief, Brant, visited the federal capital, and was received with marked attention, as were also the fifty Iroquois chiefs who visited the City of Brotherly Love, and, although the United States commissioners, Lincoln, Randolph, and Pickering, met the confederated tribes of the northwest with their English friends at the rapids of the Maumee, still conciliatory measures were found to be impracticable. The Indians ever insisting that the Ohio should be the boundary between themselves and the encroaching Americans, and strenuously and rightfully maintained that the treaty of peace between England and the United States gave the latter no title to the Indian lands north of the Ohio. The last great council, held at the suggestion of Washington and his advisers, before General Wayne commenced operations, was at the foot of the Maumee rapids, on August 13, 1793. There were present the chiefs of the following tribes: Seven Nations of Canada, Wyandots, Pottawattamies, Senecas, Shawnees, Cherokees, Miamis, Ottawas, Messasagoes, Chippewas, Munsees, Mohicans, Connoys, Delawares, Wantakokies, and Creeks.

The assurance that England gave to her confederates was the sending of Governor Simcoe, during the month of April, 1794, to erect a fort at the rapids of the Maumee, within the acknowledged territory of the United States, which was not only built and fortified, but its commander afterwards nearly came to hostilities with General Wayne. General Wayne had been using all exertions to bring an army into the field,

*Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. I., 195; Perkins, 371.

qualified to grapple with the British, its Indian allies, and their Spanish sympathizers.

General Wayne's army, having passed the winter of 1792-93 at Legionville, moved down the river in May, 1793, to Fort Washington, where it encamped and engaged in drilling. It was here that General Wayne waited for the result of the pending negotiations between the American commissioners and the Indians, which took place on the 16th of August, at the mouth of the Detroit river. General Wayne received information, from three distinct channels, that the peace negotiations were a failure, and accordingly, on the 7th day of October, with his army, left Cincinnati, and on the 13th encamped at a strong position, selected by him, about six miles in front of Fort Jefferson. This camp he fortified and named Fort Greenville. This place was afterwards noted for the great peace treaty that was concluded there. At Fort Greenville the army wintered, and while there performed the solemn and humane duty of taking possession of the field of St. Clair's defeat. They arrived on this unfortunate spot on Christmas day, and gathered up and buried, it is alleged, six hundred skulls, and when they went to lie down in their tents at night, "we had to scrape the bones together and carry them out, to make our beds,"* said an eye-witness. At this place, Fort Recovery was built and garrisoned.

Previous to Wayne's going into winter-quarters at Greenville, one attack only had been made by the savages. This was on the 17th of October, when a detachment of ninety men, commanded by Lieutenant Lowry and Ensign Boyd, who were conducting a quantity of military stores, was attacked by a large force of Indians, seven miles from Fort St. Clair. After a severe skirmish, during which both officers were killed, the detachment retreated to Fort St. Clair, leaving thirteen of its dead on the field, and abandoning seventy horses and the stores in twenty-one wagons to the mercy of the Indians.

During the early part of 1794, General Wayne was steadily engaged in making preparations to strike a decisive and effectual blow at the proper time. He organized a spy company, which was very efficient and performed valuable services, keeping him continually informed of the plans and movements of the savages. The British were still encouraging their red friends with the promise of aid and assistance, as appears from the testimony of two Pottawattamies, who were taken prisoners by Captain Gibson, of the spy company, in June, 1794. Their answers to various questions asked them, are as follows: "The British had sent three chiefs—a Delaware, a Shawnee, and a Miami—to invite the Pottawattamies to go to war with the Americans. The British were on their way to war against the Americans: the number of their troops at Roche de Bout, for that purpose, was four hundred, with two pieces of artillery, exclusive of the Detroit militia. They had made a

*Dillon's Indiana, Vol. I., 360; Am. State Papers, Vol. I., 458.

fortification around Colonel McKee's house, and stores in which they had deposited all their stores of ammunition, arms, clothing and provisions, which they promised to supply to all the hostile Indians in abundance. The British troops and militia that will join the Indians to go to war with the Americans will amount to fifteen hundred, agreeably to the promise of Governor Simcoe, who will command the whole. The British and the Indians will advance against the Americans about the last of this moon, or beginning of next."*

Little Turtle, at the head of one thousand or more warriors, made an assault on the 30th of June, on Fort Recovery, the advanced American post, and, although repelled, the assailants repeatedly returned to the charge, and kept up a continual attack the whole of that day and a part of the following. Nor was this attack made without the encouragement and assistance of the British, as General Wayne, in his dispatch, says, "that his spies report a great number of white men with the Indians; and that they insist there were a considerable number of armed white men in the rear, who were frequently heard talking in our language, and encouraging the savages to persevere in the assault; that their faces were generally blacked, except three British officers who were dressed in scarlet, and appeared to be men of great distinction, from being surrounded by a large body of white men and Indians, who were very attentive to them. These kept at a distance in the rear of those that were engaged." In this attack, the American loss was reported at twenty-five killed and missing, together with thirty wounded.

General Wayne was joined at Greenville, on the 26th of July, by General Scott, with sixteen hundred mounted men from Kentucky. The united forces moved forward on the 28th of July and, on the 8th of August, the army was near the junction of the Au Glaize and the Maumee, and proceeded to build Fort Defiance, where the rivers meet. While engaged in this work, Wayne received daily full and accurate accounts of the Indians and their maneuvers; he learned the nature of the ground, the strength of the enemy, as well as the spirit and disposition of his troops, both officers and men, and determined to march forward and settle matters at once. On the 13th of August, he sent Christopher Miller, who had been adopted by the Shawnees, and taken prisoner by Wayne's spies, as a special messenger, offering terms of friendship and peace.† Two days later, the troops moved forward, and met Miller returning with a message requesting that the Americans would wait ten days for the Indians to decide for peace or war. Wayne continued his march without regard to the message, and, on the 18th of August, the little army had advanced forty-one miles, and were now in the vicinity of the long looked-for foe. Here they threw up light works, called Fort Deposit, wherein to place their heavy baggage during the

*Am. State Papers, Vol. V., 489.

†Am. State Papers, Vol. I., 490.

expected battle. Early in the morning of the 20th, the American forces moved down the north bank of the Maumee, with Major Price's battalion of volunteers in the advance. When they had proceeded about five miles, Price's forces received a severe fire from a concealed enemy, which compelled them to retreat and form in two lines in a thick woods. The enemy now formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, their left flank resting on the river, while the main line extended nearly two miles at right angles, resting in a dense thicket of brushwood. The extended front was intended by the enemy to outflank the left of the American line. General Scott was ordered to advance with trailed arms, drive the Indians from their cover with the bayonet, and when routed, to deliver a well-directed fire upon their backs, and follow it up with a brisk charge. The orders were obeyed with alacrity. The impetuosity of the charge was so great that the Indians and Canadians were driven from cover so rapidly that only a part of the second line of General Scott's mounted battalion could gain their position, in order to take an active part in the battle. The Indians were driven through the thick woods and fallen timbers for a distance of more than two miles, in the course of an hour. The Indian force and their allies was estimated at about two thousand, while the troops under General Wayne, who were actively engaged, did not exceed nine hundred. The woods for a considerable distance were strewn with the dead bodies of the Indians and their white allies, the latter being armed with British muskets and bayonets. The loss of the American army in this decisive battle was comparatively small. The total loss of killed and missing, including eleven who died of their wounds, was forty-four. The whole number of wounded was one hundred. This battle was fought in view of the British post, and was the most decisive battle ever fought with the western Indians. The Americans camped for three days on the banks of the Maumee; the troops burned all of the houses, and destroyed all property of every kind belonging to the Indians and Canadians, together with the house and store of the British agent, McKee. General Wayne reconnoitered the fort and defenses, and even advanced with his staff within range of the British guns. This gave rise to the heated correspondence between Major Campbell, the British commandant, and General Wayne. General Wayne's name, the "Black Snake," as the Indians called him, became a terror to the western Indians, for they looked upon him as "a chief who never slept, and whom no art could surprise."

The army returned to Fort Defiance, having laid waste all the adjacent country, where it arrived August 27, 1794. The fort defenses having been completed, the line of march was taken up for the Miami villages. At the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Mary rivers, forty-seven miles above Fort Defiance, General Wayne erected another stockade fort, which was completed by the 23d of October, and named Fort Wayne, in honor of the brave commander-in-chief of the expedi-

tion. The cavalry and a greater portion of the infantry set out, on October 18th, from Fort Wayne to Greenville, and on their way a detachment was left at Loramie's Creek, seventy miles from Fort Wayne, where it erected Fort Loramie. On the 20th of November, the regular troops went into winter-quarters at Greenville.

The campaign of 1794 put a close to the Indian hostilities in the northwest. The spirit and power of the savages had been greatly subdued by General Wayne's vigorous campaign; their country had been ravished with fire and sword, their homes and fields destroyed, and their supplies consumed. Numerous chiefs of the various tribes were now inclined to sue for peace, and, within a short length of time, the peace sentiment was almost general among the nations. Contributing to this long-looked-for and desirable result, may be considered the fact that the red men were disappointed at the conduct of their white allies—the British—after their defeat on the 20th of August by General Wayne. Even the old-time British friend, Brant, said a fort had been built in their country with the pretense of giving them a refuge in case of necessity, but when that time came, the gates were closed against them as though they were enemies. The fertile fields of the savages having been devastated by Wayne, the savages were wholly dependent on the mercy of the British, who did not half supply them; their cattle and their dogs died, while they themselves were nearly starved. Thus they lost faith in the British, and, by degrees, made up their minds to sue for peace. The savages exchanged prisoners with General Wayne during the winter, and made preparations to meet him, in June, at Greenville.

Peace messengers from the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawattamies, Miamis, Delawares, Wyandots and Shawnees, met at Greenville on the 24th day of January, 1795, and entered into preliminary articles with the commander-in-chief to enter into the great council to be held during the following summer.

At the treaty of Greenville, held on the 3d of August, 1795, there were present 1,130 chiefs and warriors of the several tribes and nations of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Miamis, Weas, Eel Rivers, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias. This great peace document was signed by eighty-four chiefs, representing these various tribes, and by General Wayne, the sole commissioner on the part of the United States. These articles of peace were laid before the United States senate, on December 9th, and were ratified on December 22d, and thus terminated the old Indian wars of the west.

“By the third article of this treaty, certain lands were relinquished to the United States by the Indians, and among them the only portions west of Lake Michigan are: one piece of land six miles square at the mouth of the Chicago river, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood; one piece twelve miles square at

or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi; one piece six miles square at the old Peoria's fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois lake on said Illinois river."

"By the fourth article of the treaty, in consideration of the cessions and relinquishments aforesaid, the United States relinquished their claims to all other Indian lands northwestward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the great lakes, and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed on by the United States and the king of Great Britain in the treaty of peace made between them in the year 1783. But from this relinquishment was excepted 150,000 acres near the rapids of the Ohio, which had been assigned to General Clark for the use of himself and his warriors; the post of Vincennes on the river Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished; the lands at all other places in possession of the French people and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished, as mentioned in the third article; and the post of Fort Massac, toward the mouth of the Ohio; to all the above the tribes relinquish all their title and claim."

"By the fifth article of the treaty, it was provided: That, to prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States in the fourth article, it is now explicitly declared that the meaning of that relinquishment is this, the Indian tribes who have a right to those lands are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any part of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands, against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and no other person whatever."

Great Britain, by the treaty of 1783, relinquished to the United States all of the territory on the east side of the Mississippi, from its source to the 31st parallel of north latitude, which was to be the north boundary of Florida. This treaty relinquished all the previous rights of Great Britain to the free navigation of the river to its mouth, which she had derived from previous treaties with France and Spain. The United States, therefore, justly claimed the free navigation of the river to its mouth.

Great Britain had ceded to Spain all the Floridas, comprising the territory east of the Mississippi, and south of the southern limits of the United States. Spain, therefore, possessed all of the territory on the west side of the river, and Florida on the east. Consequently, the

Mississippi river for the last three hundred miles flowed wholly within the dominions of Spain. His Spanish majesty, therefore, claimed the exclusive right to the use of the river below the southern limit of the United States. The United States, in reference to the free navigation of the Mississippi, claimed a natural right independent of any claims derived through Great Britain. The American people occupied and exercised dominion over the whole eastern portion of the Mississippi valley, including all of the country drained by its great eastern tributaries, together with the east bank, as far south as the northern limit of Florida. This gave them the natural right to follow the current of this great river to the sea, a right which has been established by the laws of all civilized nations. Such was the status of affairs between the Spanish government and the United States, which meant concession on the part of Spain, or war the only alternative. For the whole west there was but one outlet, and that was through the province of Louisiana, by way of the port of New Orleans. The western people had, after the treaty of 1783, begun to command as a right the free navigation of the Mississippi. Spain, during her occupancy of both banks of the Mississippi river below the Ohio, in 1786, maintained at least four military posts on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, and exacted and collected heavy duties on all imports by way of the river from the Ohio region. These duties were both arbitrary and unjust, and every boat descending the river was compelled to land and submit to exorbitant revenue exactions. Governor Miro, upon entering upon the duties of his office as governor of the province of Louisiana, in 1787, resolved, with the approval of Don Gardoqui, the Spanish minister to the United States, to relax the import and transit duties on the river trade from the western settlements. Governor Miro, however, only succeeded in granting privileges of free trade to favored individuals. By virtue of this treaty, signed October 20, 1795, the boundaries, as defined between the territories of the United States and Spain, were as follows: The middle of the Mississippi river was to be the western boundary of the United States, from its source to the 31st parallel of north latitude. It was also agreed that the whole width of said river, from its source to the sea, was declared free to the people of the United States. The people of the United States, according to the terms of the treaty, were permitted for the term of three years to use the port of New Orleans as the place of deposit for their produce and merchandise, with the privilege to export the same, free from all duty.

The treaty of Madrid, made March 21, 1801, between France and the king of Spain, ceded Louisiana to France, with all of her interests therein. The consideration for which was the establishment of the Prince of Parma, son-in-law of the king of Spain, as ruler in Tuscany. In January, 1803, President Jefferson sent a message to the senate, nominating Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe ministers to the

court of France, and Charles Pinckney and James Monroe ministers to the Spanish court.

Our ministers were instructed to secure, if possible, the cession of New Orleans and the Floridas to the United States. On the 10th day of January, 1803, Mr. Livingston proposed to Napoleon's minister to cede to the United States, not only New Orleans and Florida, but all of Louisiana above the Arkansas river. On the 11th of April, Talleyrand suggested the cession of the whole of the French dominion in North America, and asked how much the United States would give for it. Napoleon I., in an interview with the American minister, frankly confessed his inability to retain Louisiana. Bonaparte further declared, "he was compelled to provide for the safety of Louisiana before it should come into his hands, and he was desirous of giving the United States a magnificent bargain—an empire, for a mere trifle." He suggested that a fair consideration would be 125,000,000 francs.

James Monroe arrived at Paris on the 12th of April, 1803, and negotiations were immediately renewed for the purchase of that vast territory. The American commissioners had, in good faith, exceeded their instructions, and although unauthorized, the president at once acquiesced in the purchase, and accordingly convened congress, which met on the 17th of October. The treaty was laid before the senate and ratified on the 21st of the same month, and, on the 20th day of December, the province of Louisiana was officially delivered over to Governor Cairborne, of Mississippi, and General Wilkinson, who were empowered to assume the government. The consideration for this vast tract of valuable country was that the United States should pay 60,000,000 francs, in interest-bearing bonds, at six per cent. interest, non-redeemable for fifteen years, after which time to be paid in three equal installments annually, the interest payable in Europe. To this transfer, Spain, at first, vigorously objected, as she alleged, on "solid grounds;" but, early in 1804, waived her objection to the purchase.

The United States, in 1803, as we have seen, became possessed of the great valley of the Mississippi to the exclusion of any foreign power, limited, however, by the Spanish possessions in Mexico, on the west and southwest, and in the Floridas on the southeast. The Indian title to the land in this vast region only remained to be extinguished. The British posts in the northwest were evacuated and delivered up to the Americans in 1796, under previous treaties and stipulations. The Northwest Territory, in those days, contained few white settlements beyond the present state of Ohio. The present state of Michigan was within the county of Wayne, which was constituted August 7, 1789, with General Arthur St. Clair as its first governor.

On May 7, 1800, the territory was divided, and excluded the boundaries of Ohio as then defined. The new territory of Indiana embraced all the remainder of the Northwest Territory, including, on

the east side of the Mississippi, the present states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, together with the territory of Minnesota. On the west side of the Mississippi river, the Pacific ocean alone was the limit of the possessions of the United States.





CHAPTER XX.

EARLY SETTLERS AND SETTLEMENTS.

GREEN BAY. 1634-1830.

Green Bay Discovered by Nicollet, and Settled by the Langlades.—French Expeditions.—Rendezvous at the Bay.—De Villiers Shot by Young Blackbird.—Fort Howard Erected.—Prominent Settlers.

DURING the summer or autumn of 1634, Jean Nicollet and his companions beached their canoes on the shores of Bay de Noquet, the northern arm of Green Bay, and it was more than twenty years thereafter before the early fur-traders from Montreal and the Jesuits visited Green Bay. In 1669, Father Allouez established a mission at Green Bay, or Depere,* which was subsequently called St. Francis Xavier. The date of the first fortification at Green Bay, called St. Francis, is unknown.

In 1671, Father Marquette laid the foundations of the fort at Mackinaw, and, shortly after this period, fortified posts were established at Green Bay, Chicago, St. Joseph, Sault St. Mary, and Detroit. Tonti had command of the Green Bay fortifications in 1680, and had a small detachment of men under him. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Du Lhut, who also had a small troop under his command. This post was a dependency of Mackinaw, as it was both easily and speedily reinforced from the fort.

It was on May 16, 1673, that Louis Joliet and Father Marquette, with their small retinue, embarked from Green Bay on their voyage up the Fox, and down the Wisconsin, which resulted in the discovery of the upper Mississippi river. They returned to Green Bay, by way of the Illinois and Chicago rivers, the latter part of September, 1673.

Hennepin and Du Lhut, during the fall of 1680, reached the Jesuit mission near Green Bay, where they passed the winter. It was during the winter of this year that La Salle made his journey on foot from Fort Crèvecoeur, on the Illinois river, to the Green Bay mission.

In 1687, the Foxes, Kickapoos and Mascoutins formed a conspiracy, and plundered the French fort at Green Bay; they burned the French chapel, and carried off or destroyed everything of value.

The first large body of white men that reached Wisconsin was the celebrated expedition headed by De Louvigny, consisting of eight hundred men. They left Quebec on the 14th day of March, 1716, and came to Green Bay for the avowed purpose of exterminating the Foxes.†

The expedition which was organized by M. De Lignery, consisting of four hundred Frenchmen, together with nine hundred Indians, left Montreal on June 5th, 1728, for the extirpation of the Foxes and their

*The authorities indicate that the mission St. Francis Xavier was established at Depere, and not at Green Bay.

†Wis. Hist. Mag., 97.

allies, and reached Green Bay about the 20th of August. Green Bay was made the base of operations, while De Lignery and his allies were devastating the Indian villages in the Fox river valley country.*

In 1746, Captain De Villiers, or De Velie, was in command of the garrison, but about the time he was relieved by a new commandant, he was shot by Blackbird, a young Sac, at the palisaded town of the Sacs, nearly opposite the old fort. The garrison was withdrawn shortly before the breaking out of the French war, in 1754.

In the year 1745, a permanent settlement was established at Green Bay by Sieur Augustin de Langlade and his family, accompanied by a few settlers. With Augustin de Langlade came his son-in-law, M. Souigny, and his wife; they were shortly joined by M. Caron, who spent the remainder of his days there. Lamiot, a blacksmith, shortly after came; then the little colony consisted of about eight persons.

Captain Belfour, of the Eighth regiment of British infantry, arrived at Green Bay on October 12, 1761. He was accompanied by Lieutenant Gorrell, one sergeant, a corporal, fifteen privates, and a French interpreter. They were also accompanied by two English traders, one named McKay, from Albany, and the other Goddard, from Montreal. The post, afterwards called Fort Edward Augustus, was, upon the return of Captain Belfour on the 14th of October, 1761, left in charge of Lieutenant Gorrell, with seventeen men under him, who busied themselves during the winter in repairing the fort.

The Green Bay post was abandoned by Lieutenant Gorrell on the 26th day of June, 1763. At this time Gorrell, his garrison and the English traders, with a strong guard of friendly Indians, joined Captain Etherington, the former commandant, at Mackinaw, on the 30th of June, at an Ottawa village about thirty miles from Mackinaw. During the next forty years Green Bay made no progress in its growth, as in 1785 there were but seven families there, who, with their engagees, traders, etc., did not exceed fifty-six. The heads of these families were Charles de Langlade, Pierre Grignon, Sr., Laqral Baptiste Brunet. At this time all the residences, except those of Brunet, Laqral and Joseph Roy, were on the east side of the river, while all the trading, which was carried on by Mr. Grignon and Marchand, was on the same side.

In 1791, Jacques Porlier, from Montreal, located there. General Ellis, speaking of Green Bay in the early days, says, "Of all men of French origin at the Bay when I arrived there in 1822, Judge James Porlier stood foremost."

In 1792, a very singular and noted character named Charles Raume took up his residence at the Bay. "He long held the office of justice of the peace, and it has often been said that no person could tell when his official duties first devolved upon him, nor from whence his authority was derived. But it appears reasonably certain that his first commis-

*Wis. Hist. Mag., 99-100.

sion was derived from the British authorities at Detroit, before the surrender of that post in 1796, and that he subsequently received a similar commission from General Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory. Many amusing anecdotes are related of the manner in which he discharged his official duties, and it is well authenticated that the only process of the court was the judge's jack-knife, which served at once as the token and authority by which all defendants were brought under jurisdiction. In 1818, he was appointed one of the associate justices of the court, by Governor Cass, and in the same year moved to Little Kaukalin, about ten miles above Green Bay, where he died in 1822."*

In 1794, the trading house of Ogilvie, Gillespie & Co. was established, which gave place, three years later, to the trading house of Jacob Franks, of which the noted John Lawe afterwards became proprietor. Many settlers came here from Canada, during the last decade of the past century, among whom were John Lawe, who arrived in the summer of 1797. In 1812, the total population had increased to about two hundred and fifty.

Among the most prominent families not heretofore mentioned were Duchana, Gravel, Chevalier, Chalifoux, Houlrich, Franks, Brisbon, Vieau, Cardrone, Dousman, Carbounsau, Vaun, Houll, Jacobs, Garriepy, Bauprez, Ducharme, Langevin, Hyotte, Norman, Lavigne, Bonneterre, Boucher, Le Bœuf, Thebeau, Dumond, Fortier, La Rock, Jourdin, and Laurent Solomon Juneau.

The Hon. Moses M. Strong, in his excellent History of Wisconsin Territory, in speaking of the early traders and their dealings with the Indians, says: "It is a great mistake to suppose that the Indians—at least those of any character—took what they pleased and kept no account with the natives. As to Judge Lawe's practice, the Indians, on taking his credit in the fall, high or low, each individual had an account *bona fide*, opened with him on his books; as formal and precise in all respects as the sharpest white man, in which he was debited his blanket, stroud, calico, powder, shot, thread, pipes, tobacco and flints, as carefully as possible. On his appearance in the spring with his peltries, he was duly credited with payment, not in the gross, nor by the lump, but every skin was counted, separating the prime from the poor, and each kind from the other with exactness, with different prices, according to value, so that the Indian knew exactly how his account stood."

The first saw-mill built in Wisconsin was in 1809. This was erected by Jacob Franks, on Devil river, about three miles east of Depere. Shortly after this, he erected a grist-mill with one run of stones. The next mill erected in this vicinity was a saw-mill, built in 1816, by the United States government at Little Kaukalin. The year previous, the government sent John Bowyer, of Virginia, to Green Bay to reside as Indian agent, and Matthew, of Pennsylvania, as factor. At this time

*Strong's History of Wisconsin.

there were no mechanics at Green Bay, except Augustin Thimbeau, a carpenter, and the indispensable village blacksmith.

Major Charles Gratiot, of the United States engineer corps, had previously prepared quarters for officers and soldiers, and on the 16th day of July, 1816, Colonel John Miller, in command of a detachment of troops, which required three schooners to transfer them, accompanied by Major Gratiot, landed with his troops on the west side of the Fox river, at its junction with the bay. The troops pitched their tents near where they shortly after erected Fort Howard. Colonel Miller returned to Detroit during the fall, leaving the post and troops in charge of Colonel Chambers.

Colonel Joseph L. Smith, the commandant in 1820, removed his troops two miles and a half up the river, where, on an eminence on the right bank, he built a stockade and barracks, which was named Fort Smith. Colonel Smith was superseded in command by Colonel Ninian Pinkney, in the fall of 1822. Shortly after taking command he moved the troops back to Fort Howard, which had been fully repaired, and thereafter this was the rendezvous for all the troops and army operations of that portion of the northwest. Colonel Pinkney, in the fall of 1823, was succeeded by Colonel John McNeill, who, the following year, was himself relieved by General Hugh Brady.

"Shanty Town," the little nondescript village, just below and in front of the old stockade, grew and thrived during the time that Colonel Smith occupied the camp. It had three stirring, energetic traders, Robert Irwin, Jr., Daniel Whitney, and William Dickinson. Daniel Whitney, it is said, was the most enterprising trader in the northwest. They each built stores and residences.

The early history of Green Bay would be incomplete without mentioning the names of those sturdy pioneers, Henry S. Baird and Judge James D. Doty. Mr. Baird removed to Green Bay with his wife in 1824, and shortly after erected a dwelling and lived at "Shanty-town." A little later, Judge Doty built a fine residence just above the town. About this time the first jail and courthouse west of Lake Michigan were erected here. Mr. Baird, in his "Recollections," says: "There were, in 1824, at Green Bay but six or eight resident American families, and the families of the officers stationed at Fort Howard, in number about the same. The character of the people was a compound of civilization and primitive simplicity, exhibiting the light and lively characteristics of the French and the thoughtlessness and improvidence of the aborigines. Possessing the virtues of hospitality, and the warmth of heart unknown to residents of cities untrammelled by the etiquette and conventional rules of modern "high life," they were ever ready to receive and entertain their friends, and more intent upon the enjoyment of the present than to lay up stores, or make provision for the future. * * * They

deserve to be remembered, and placed upon the pages of history as the first real pioneers of Wisconsin."*

Another noted character who lived at Green Bay was Laurent Solomon Juneau, who, in 1818, was detailed by the American Fur Company as clerk for Jacques Vieau, an Indian trader located at Mackinaw. From about this time up to 1834, Green Bay became the home of Jacques Vieau and Solomon Juneau.†

In May, 1820, Ebenezer Childs arrived at Green Bay. He was a carpenter, and about twenty-three years of age. The next year this venturesome young man went to St. Louis in a bark canoe, by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and returned by the Illinois and Chicago rivers. In 1825, John P. Arndt and family came to Green Bay. In 1827, Childs and Arndt built a saw-mill on the Oconto river. The same year, Mr. Childs, with a son of Judge Arndt, went to southern Illinois, where they bought two hundred and sixty-two head of cattle, and succeeded in driving two hundred and ten to Green Bay in safety. Mr. Childs held several offices of trust during his residence here. He moved to La Crosse, where he continued to live the remainder of his life.

The Green Bay mission school, devoted principally to the education of the children of the poor, was established in 1829 by the Protestant Episcopal church, and was placed under the care of the Rev. Richard F. Cadle. This was the first permanent resident missionary of the Episcopal church west of Lake Michigan. The legislative council, on October 21, 1829, incorporated the first Protestant church west of Lake Michigan, and it was known as Christ church. The first newspaper printed within the present boundaries of the territory now constituting the state of Wisconsin was published at Green Bay, by J. V. Suydam and Albert G. Ellis, and was called "The Green Bay Intelligencer." It bore date 11th of December, 1833. It was published semi-monthly, and the subscription price was \$2 per annum. It was twelve by eighteen inches, and contained four pages with four columns in each page. After the twentieth issue, there was added to its title the words, "Wisconsin Democrat."

In 1830, a Roman Catholic church was erected here and a school building, which was placed in charge of Father Gabriel Richard. Father Richard was afterwards elected a delegate to congress for Michigan territory. An Indian agency was also fixed at this place, during the year 1830, and placed in charge of Major Brevoort. General A. G. Ellis came to Green Bay in September, 1822. Much of his time was devoted to teaching school, and performing services in the Episcopal church, as a lay reader. In 1827, he was appointed deputy United States surveyor, and for many years was largely engaged in surveying

*Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV., 197.

†Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. XI., 224.

public lands. Ten years later, he was appointed by President Van Buren surveyor-general of Wisconsin and Iowa. In 1842-43, he was speaker of the territorial legislature. In 1853, upon the establishment of the land-office at Stevens Point, he was appointed receiver of public moneys, and removed to that place, where he has ever since resided.

Morgan L. Martin, who was one of Green Bay's most esteemed citizens, came to that town in 1827, and believed then, as he did at the time of his death, which occurred on December 10, 1887, that Green Bay is the most desirable location in the northwest. Mr. Martin became a lawyer of distinction, as well as a judge of local renown. He served as a member of the territorial legislature, as territorial delegate in the congress, a member and the president of the convention which framed the present constitution of the state; he was also a member of the state legislature, and ably served as the judge of the county court of Brown county.

Green Bay has become noted, not only for its being the earliest-settled town in the state, and the great center of early military operations in the northwest, but on account of its being the home of many of the great men who have, during the past century, sat in our nation's counsels.



CHAPTER XXI.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN.

Tradition.—Old French Fort and Fortifications.—Fur Traders.—Fort Shelby Captured by the British.—The Territory of Michigan.—H. L. Dousman and General Joseph M. Street Settle at the Prairie.—Lieutenant Jefferson Davis Becomes Wisconsin's First Lumberman, and Rebuilds Fort Crawford.—Early Reminiscences.

PICTURESQUE Prairie du Chien, situated in the broad expanse of the Mississippi valley, a few miles above the junction of the Wisconsin river, is surrounded by mists of legendary and realistic romances and crimes.

According to tradition, the first settlement at Prairie du Chien was made by Cardinelle, a trader and hunter, who, with his wife, came from Canada in 1726, and cleared a small farm, which became the nucleus of the present prosperous city of Prairie du Chien. Tradition records the fact that after the death of Cardinelle, his wife survived him, attained the great age of one hundred and thirty years, and died in 1827, having been repeatedly married after the death of Cardinelle.

According to Dr. Brunson, the traditional chronicler, the next settler at Prairie du Chien was one Ganier, whose descendants still live at that place. From various authorities, it has been clearly established that at least one French military post existed near the mouth of the Wisconsin. This point was the northern limit of the Illinois tribes, and a general rendezvous and starting point for raids against the Iroquois, established near Chicago. It was, in fact, the starting point for all important expeditions, either up or down the Mississippi. According to Jeffreys' map, of 1776, a line is drawn from Prairie du Chien to Omaha, and is inscribed "French Route to the Western Indians." The governor of Pennsylvania, in 1721, in a report to the king of England, designates this as one of the three great routes from Canada to the Mississippi,* and subsequently it was remarked "that since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the French had greatly increased the number of forts on the rivers which run into the Mississippi." The forts of the early French traders were indeed plentiful. Every trading house was, in fact, fortified to some extent, as the pioneer poem, with reference to the establishment of Solomon Juneau, at Milwaukee, bears witness, which reads thus:

"Juneau's palace of logs was a store and a fort,
Though surrounded by neither a ditch or a moat;
For often this lonely and primitive place
Was sorely beset by that bloodthirsty race
With whom Juneau had mercantile dealings."

Although Marquette was a man of peace, yet his mission-house was palisaded. Even the black-gowned Jesuits generally fortified their

missions, and taught the Indians the manner in which their strongholds could be improved, by changing circles to squares, and adding towers at the corners.

In 1685, according to the narrative of La Potherie, the Miamis, whose villages were a few leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin, went to Green Bay, about forty strong, where Nicholas Perrot had already arrived as governor of the Northwest. "They begged him to set up his establishment on the Mississippi and near the Wisconsin, in order that they could sell their furs there." They brought him presents consisting of beautiful specimens of lead, and each gave him four beaver-skins. The result was that Perrot, shortly afterward, established himself a little below the Wisconsin. "The establishment of Perrot was below the Wisconsin, in a situation very strong against the assaults of neighboring tribes."*

According to Parkman, the most remarkable of all the early maps of the interior of North America was made in 1688, by J. B. Franquelin, for presentation to the French king, and bears this inscription: "*Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale, dressée par J. B. Franquelin, dans 1688, pour être présentée à Louis XIV.*" According to this map, Fort St. Nicholas is located near the mouth of the Wisconsin.

Thomas Jeffreys, geographer to his majesty, George III., published a map in 1762, entitled "Canada and the Northern Part of Louisiana." On this map, at the confluence of the Wisconsin and the Mississippi, are the following words: "Fort St. Nicholas destroyed."

According to a report made to the house of representatives of the United States, in 1818, by the committee on public lands, of which the Hon. George Robertson, of Kentucky, was chairman, it is recorded that in the year 1755, the government of France established a military post near the mouth of the Wisconsin; that many French families established themselves in the neighborhood, and that this settlement founded the village of Prairie du Chien.

It is fittingly suggested by the Hon. Moses M. Strong, in his "History of Wisconsin Territory," page 87, that "it does not appear probable that the trading-post and stockade established in 1755, by the French government, if any was then established or permanently maintained, or that either had any existence as late as 1780. There was a tradition among the old settlers, according to testimony taken in 1820, in relation to the private land claims, that the old fort was burned in 1777."

From numerous facts it would appear that tradition has dealt kindly with the early history of Prairie du Chien, as Captain Carver, in his "Travels," fails to make any mention of there being any white inhabitants at this place, which he visited in 1766. This observing traveler describes with considerable minuteness the large Indian town on the

*Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. X., 60.

Wisconsin, at the present site of Prairie du Sac, and remarks that the traders who accompanied him took up their winter-quarters at a point on the Yellow river, about ten miles above Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi side. Had any settlements of the whites been near the mouth of the Wisconsin river, they would not have located their winter-quarters on the Yellow river, but would have stopped with the whites at the settlement.

Governor St. Patrick, of Mackinaw, at a treaty with the Indians in 1781, purchased their right and title to Mackinaw, Green Bay, and Prairie du Chien. The Prairie du Chien tract was six leagues up and down the river, and six leagues west, and was purchased for and in behalf of the traders, three of whom were Basil Guird, Pierre Antua, and Augustin Ange. The payment for this valuable tract of land was made in goods by these enterprising traders.

One of the early settlers of Prairie du Chien was Michael Brisbois, who came there in 1781, and there resided for fifty-six years. He died in 1837, at the age of seventy-seven years, and was buried, in accordance with his request, on one of the prominent bluffs back of the village of Prairie du Chien. He left numerous children, whose ancestors still live near that place.

According to Dr. Brunson's early history of Wisconsin, there were twenty or thirty settlers at Prairie du Chien when Michael Brisbois came there, and in 1793, twelve years later, there were forty-three farms and twenty or thirty village lots, most of which had been built upon. The majority of these early settlers were hunters, traders and *voyageurs*, who married among the natives, and prosecuted farming only to relieve the monotony of their other employments. M. Brisbois was not only a trader and a farmer on a diminutive scale, but a baker as well. He gave to the inhabitants tickets for fifty loaves of bread for each one hundred pounds of flour they delivered to him, and these tickets, like the Arkansas coon-skins, formed a currency with which they carried on trade with the Indians and with each other. As none of the inhabitants made their own bread, Brisbois' bake-house became an institution of vast importance.

A trader, of the name of Campbell, was appointed by the United States government sub-Indian agent, and justice of the peace by the governor of Illinois about 1807. About a year afterwards, Campbell was killed at Mackinaw, while fighting a duel with one Crawford. Campbell's successor to both offices was Nicholas Boilvin.

Joseph Roulette was born in Canada, of a respectable French family, and was educated for the Roman Catholic church, but not liking the profession, quit it, and served an apprenticeship in the mercantile business, and soon became one of the most noted characters in the early history of Prairie du Chien. Having engaged in the Indian trade with one Murdock Cameron, he came to Prairie du Chien about 1804, where

he resided up to the time of his death in 1841. Roulette was appointed chief-justice of the county court, in 1827 or '28, which office he held with honor and distinction until 1830. He was an active merchant and trader, and exhibited considerable enterprise for the prosperity and improvement of the country. His wife was a woman of culture and refinement, whose influence was so beneficial in those early days. Their daughter married Major Alexander S. Hooe, of the United States army.

The code *Coutume de Paris* was the French laws, which governed Canada and all the territory of the northwest, while under French dominion, and, in fact, to some extent prevailed up to the time the laws of Michigan were introduced, about 1819. These laws were greatly perverted by the usages adopted to suit the convenience of the early settlers in various localities, especially in Prairie du Chien and Green Bay. *I. e.*: Under the marriage contract, the survivor took the whole of the property, especially where there was no issue, and whenever the contracting parties wished to be divorced, they went together before the magistrate, and after making known their wishes, tore up the marriage contract, thus severing the bonds of matrimony.

Lyman C. Draper, in his note to page 126, Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. II., gives a fair illustration of early justice as dealt out by the early connoisseurs of the law, and especially the kind dealt out by Colonel Boilvin, whose justice-office was just outside the walls of Prairie du Chien. It appears that a soldier named Fry had been accused of stealing a calf belonging to one M. Roulette, and the constable, a brickmaker by trade, had been dispatched, without a warrant, to arrest the culprit, and bring him before the dignified court.

Colonel Boilvin was talking with some of his friends when Officer Bell returned with the accused man, and knocked at the door.

"Come in," cried Colonel Boilvin, rising and walking towards the door.

Bell—"Here, sir, I have brought Fry to you, as you ordered."

Colonel B.—"Fry, you great rascal, what for you kill M. Roulette's calf?"

Fry—"I did not kill M. Roulette's calf."

Colonel B. (shaking his fist).—"You lie, you great rascal! Bell, take him to jail. Come, gentlemen, come; let us take a leetle *quelque-chose*."

For many years prior to the war of 1812, the whole Mississippi valley, on the east side of the river, and the surrounding country from Prairie du Chien to Rock Island, attracted the attention of the east as well as the west, and especially those desiring to become western settlers. In 1813, the British meditated the occupation of the whole Illinois territory, and had, at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, several cannon for a fort, the erection of which they anticipated at

Prairie du Chien. For reasons only known to the British authorities, the erection of the fort was not undertaken that year.

The United States government, in the spring of 1814, sent Lieutenant Perkins and one hundred and thirty-five dauntless young volunteers from Missouri to Prairie du Chien. They were accompanied by Governor Clark, who returned to St. Louis during the following June. He reported to the authorities upon his return, that the command under Lieutenant Perkins had taken possession of the house formerly occupied by the old Mackinaw Fur Company, and that the volunteers occupied two armed boats, under command of Aid-de-Camp Kennesley and Captains Sullivan and Yeizer, and that, when he left, the new fort was in progress of erection, and occupied a most commanding spot. The fort was finished during the month of June, and called Fort Shelby. "The site of this fort is nearly opposite the present pontoon railroad bridge, and is where Colonel H. L. Dousman, after the removal of the fort to the east side of the *Marais St. Friele*, built an elegant private residence."*

From the time of the surrender of the northwestern posts by the British to the United States, up to the time of the war of 1812, the Indian traders, as a rule, were in deep sympathy with Great Britain. These traders, having learned of the occupation of Prairie du Chien by the United States government's military forces in 1814, in conjunction with some British officers fitted out at Mackinaw an expedition for its capture. The daring Colonel William McKay, who subsequently became a member of the North West Fur Company,† was placed in command of this expedition.

Joseph Roulette, who had been active in commanding the Canadians at the capture of Mackinaw, in 1812, and Thomas Anderson, another trader, each raised a hardy company of militia at Mackinaw from among their *engages*. Colonel Robert Dickson, who had commanded a large

*Strong's History of Wisconsin Territory, 90.

†"In 1783, several of the principal merchants of Montreal entered into a partnership to prosecute the fur trade, and, in 1787, united with a rival company, and thus arose the famous North West Company which, for many years, held lordly sway over the immense region in Canada and beyond the great western lakes. Several years later, a new association of British merchants formed the Mackinaw Company, having their chief factory or depot at Mackinaw; and their field of operations was south of their great rival's, sending forth their light *perogues* and bark canoes, by Green Bay, the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, to the Mississippi, and thence down that stream to all its tributaries. In 1809, Mr. Astor organized the American Fur Company, he alone constituting the company; and, in 1811, in connection with certain partners of the North West Company, and others, he bought out the Mackinaw Company, and merged that and his American Fur Company into a new association, called the South West Company. By this arrangement, Mr. Astor became the proprietor of one-half of all the interests which the Mackinaw Company had in the Indian country within the United States; and it was understood that the whole, at the expiration of five years, was to pass into his hands, on condition that the American, or South West, Company would not trade within the British dominions. The war of 1812 suspended the association; and after the war it was entirely dissolved, congress having passed a law prohibiting British fur-traders from prosecuting their enterprises within the territories of the United States. Thus we find Mr. Crooks, in 1815, closing up the affairs of the South West Company, preliminary to enlarged individual enterprise on the part of Mr. Astor." Wis. Hist. Coll.

Indian force at the capture of Fort Mackinaw, selected from among his force two hundred Sioux warriors and one hundred Winnebagoes. There was also a small party of eighteen regulars, under Captain Pohlman. With this little army, and a brass six-pounder, Colonel McKay went in boats from Mackinaw to Green Bay, where he tarried sufficiently long to increase his numbers, and make other preparations. The new force now consisted of one hundred and fifty whites and four hundred Indians.* The expedition, piloted by Captain Roulette, now moved up the Fox river, the whites in six barges and the Indians in canoes, made the portage, and descended the Wisconsin to the old deserted Fox village about twenty miles above its mouth, where they halted and sent their spies to reconnoiter and ascertain the situation and strength of the fort. The reconnoiterers were August Grignon, Michael Brisbois, and two Indians, who brought back with them Antoine Brisbois, who reported the strength of the garrison at sixty. The next morning, Sunday, the 17th of July, 1814, Colonel McKay, with his forces, reached the town unperceived, where they made a formidable display, greatly to the terror of the inhabitants, and the consternation of the garrison. The gun-boat, under command of Captain Yeizer, with other boats, were fired upon and forced to move down the stream, carrying with them the provisions and ammunition of the garrison. The garrison was now regularly invested. Captains Roulette and Anderson, with their companies, and the Sioux and Winnebagoes, took positions above the fort, while Colonel McKay, with the Green Bay company, the regulars, Menominies and Chippewas, encompassed it below. The gallant commander of the garrison, Captain Anderson, was asked to surrender the fort, but stubbornly declined. For four days, the brave little force successfully resisted the persistent attack of their combined enemies. Colonel McKay, on the fourth day of the siege, became desperate and ordered cannon-balls, heated red hot in a blacksmith's forge, to be fired into the wooden garrison stockade. Lieutenant Perkins, now believing that further resistance would be useless, raised a white flag. The formal surrender was made on the next day, the 21st of July. The soldiers of the garrison were placed on board a large boat, the "Governor Clark," and sent down the river by Colonel McKay, under the protection of an escort.

The garrison, now called Fort McKay, was placed in command of Captain Pohlman, with two Mackinaw companies, one under command of Captain Anderson, and the other under Lieutenant Graham, while Colonel McKay, the Green Bay troops, and the Indians, took their departure shortly after the surrender of the fort. The British occupied the fort until peace was declared in 1815, during which time the inhabitants were required to do duty in and about the fort.

In June, 1816, Brevet-General Smythe, colonel of a rifle regiment,

*Strong's History of Wisconsin Territory, 90.

came to Prairie du Chien, with a detachment of United States troops, to erect Fort Crawford. "He selected the mound where the stockade had been built, which he repaired and occupied." Upon the arrival of Colonel Smythe and his troops, Michael Brisbois was arrested upon charge of treason, for having taken up arms against the United States. He was sent to St. Louis for trial. Colonel Talbot Chambers assumed command of Fort Crawford, in the spring of 1817, and immediately established rules of despotism. He ordered the houses in front of the fort to be taken down by their owners and removed to the lower end of the village. The officers in particular, under Colonel Chambers, treated the inhabitants as a conquered people, and in some cases arraigned and tried them by court-martial, and sentenced them to degrading punishments.

One Charles Menard was arrested, brought five miles from his residence under guard, and after being tried by court-martial, on a charge of selling whisky to the soldiers, was publicly whipped, and, with a bottle hanging to his neck, marched through the street, with music behind him playing the Rogue's March. Joseph Roulette, charged with some immoral conduct, was court-martialed and banished to an island seven miles above the fort, where he passed the winter. Numerous tyrannical acts were perpetrated by these self-constituted law-makers.

During the fall of 1815, Captain John Shaw went up the river, from St. Louis to Prairie du Chien, with a boat loaded with merchandise, and engaged in traffic. He returned the next year with a larger boat, well stocked with merchandise, and located at that time a water-power site at Fisher's Coulee, four miles above Prairie du Chien, and promised the settlers that he would erect a mill there. He made numerous other mercantile expeditions, and, in 1818, built the grist-mill upon the site which he had selected.

One of the prominent early settlers at Prairie du Chien was James H. Lockwood, who was born at Peru, Clinton county, New York, December 7, 1793. After studying law for about a year, he engaged as a merchant's clerk. In 1815, he occupied the position of clerk in a sutler's store at Mackinaw, and the next year he removed to Prairie du Chien. He occupied, during his eventful life at this place, many positions of trust, both public and private. When Judge Doty went to Prairie du Chien, in 1823, to hold his first court, there were no lawyers; consequently, Mr. Lockwood was induced to practice law, but his principal occupation was that of merchant and trader. In 1830, he was appointed one of the judges of the county court. Judge Lockwood died at his home in Prairie du Chien on August 24, 1857.

Early times and events in Wisconsin are vividly portrayed by the Hon. James H. Lockwood, in an ably-written paper presented to the

Wisconsin Historical Society.* We quote Judge Lockwood: "Tradition says the place took its name from an Indian chief of the Fox tribe by the name of Chien, or Dog, who had a village somewhere on the prairie, near where Fort Crawford now stands. Chien, or Dog, is a favorite name among the Indians of the northwest.

"There were, on the prairie, about forty farms cultivated along under the bluffs where the soil was first-rate, and inclosed in one common field, and the boundaries between them generally marked by a road that afforded them ingress and egress; the plantations running from the bluffs to the Mississippi on the slough of St. Friole, and from three to five arpents wide (35 to 55 rods wide, an arpent is 11 rods). The owners did not generally live upon their farms immediately, but clustered together in little villages near their front. * * * They were living in Arcadian simplicity, spending a great deal of their time in fishing, hunting, horse-racing or trotting, or in dancing and drinking. * * * They had no aristocracy among them except the traders, who were regarded as a privileged class.

"The traders and the clerks were then the aristocracy of the country; and to a Yankee at first sight, presented a singular state of society. To see gentlemen selecting wives of the nut-brown natives, and raising children of mixed blood, the traders and clerks living in as much luxury as the resources of the country would admit, and the *engages*, or boatmen, living upon soup made of hulled corn with barely tallow enough to season it, devoid of salt, unless they purchased it themselves at a high price—all this, to an American, was a novel mode of living.

"Prairie du Chien was at this time an important post for Indian trade, and was considered by the Indians as neutral ground, where different tribes, although at war, might visit in safety; but if hostile they had to beware of being caught in the neighborhood, going or returning. Yet I never heard of any hostile movement on the prairie, after they had safely arrived. * * * *

"At that time, there were generally collected (annually) at Prairie du Chien, by the traders and United States factors, about three hundred packs, of one hundred pounds each, of furs and peltries—mostly fine furs. Of the different Indian tribes that visited and traded more or less at Prairie du Chien, there were the Menomonees from Green Bay, who frequently wintered on the Mississippi; the Chippewas, who resided on the headwaters of the Chippewa and Black rivers; the Foxes, who had a village where Cassville now stands, called Penah, *i. e.*, Turkey; the Sauks, who resided about Galena and Dubuque; the Winnebagoes, who resided on the Wisconsin river; the Iowas, who then had a village on the Upper Iowa river; Wabashaw's band of Sioux, who resided on the beautiful prairie on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, about one hundred and twenty miles above Prairie du Chien, with occasionally a

*Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. II., 98-196.

Kickapoo and Pottawattamie. The Sauks and Foxes brought from Galena a considerable quantity of lead.*

"There was not at that time any Indian corn raised there. The traders for the upper Mississippi, had to send down for their corn which they used, to the Sauks and the Foxes at Rock Island, and trade with them for it. It is believed that the first field of corn raised at Prairie du Chien was by Thomas McNair, an American, who had married a French girl, and settled down to farming.

"The farmers of Prairie du Chien appeared to be a more thrifty and industrious people than those of Green Bay; they raised a large quantity of small grain, such as wheat, barley, oats, peas, and also some potatoes and onions. Every two or three farmers united, and had a horse flouring-mill—the stones being cut from the granite rock found in the country. There they ground their wheat, and sifted the flour by hand. The surplus flour was sold to the Indians for goods, or exchanged with the Indians for venison, ducks, and geese, or dressed deer-skins, as there was no money in circulation in the country. Any purchase made was payable in goods from the traders, or flour from the inhabitants."†

In 1819–20, congress passed an act authorizing testimony to be taken relative to private land claims at Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinaw, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, which were reserved for subjects of the British government, under Jay's treaty. Commissioners were accordingly sent to the different places in the fall of 1820, to take the required testimony. The Prairie du Chien representative, Mr. Lee, came to Prairie du Chien as such United States land commissioner. At a subsequent session of congress, an act was passed giving the settlers who were in possession of land at the date of the declaration of war against Great Britain, in 1812, and who had continued to abide by the laws of the United States, the lands they claimed. Much annoyance and injury resulted from the questionable attitude of some of the settlers towards the government, during the war with England, and, in consequence, the patents were delayed.

The striking difference between truth and fiction is admirably illustrated in the following incident:

Running through a tract of land nearly opposite the old village of Prairie du Chien, in Iowa, was a small stream called Girard's Creek. In 1823, the commandant at Fort Crawford had a party of men detailed to cultivate a public garden on the old farm of Basil Girard, through which the creek flows.

*It is stated by Nicholas Boilvin, in a letter written to the secretary of war, that, in 1810, the quantity of lead exchanged by the Indians for goods was 400,000 pounds. Strong's History of Wisconsin Territory.

†Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. II., 112.

Martin Scott,* then a dashing lieutenant of the Fifth infantry, and stationed at Fort Crawford, was directed to superintend the party. Scott was an excellent shot and, being exceedingly fond of shooting, frequently took his dogs and gun in the morning, got into his little hunting canoe, and spent the day in shooting woodcock, which were so plentiful in the marshes in that locality, and upon his return in the evening would boast of the numerous birds that bled that day. After a time he gave the creek the name of Bloody Run. In after years, an enterprising editor of the village paper published a long traditionary account of a bloody battle which was fought there years ago. Thus, the killing of a few score of innocent woodcock, upon the borders of Girard's Creek, is so transformed by the pen of the able romancer, that visions of a bloody battle, and untold mutilated forms of dead and dying soldiers and Indians, now rise before us.

In 1819, Wilfred Owens, of Prairie du Chien, and the late Governor St. Nair, of Missouri, furnished the capital, and with C. A. Andrews† and one Dickinson built a saw-mill on Black river, but before they had done much business, the mill was burned, presumably by the Winnebagoes, who were then claiming the entire country.

The authorities of Crawford county, in 1820-21, built a jail in the rear of the old village of Prairie du Chien; it was built of hewn oak logs, about one foot square, and was about sixteen by twenty-five feet, and divided into debtors' and criminals' departments. At this old log jail, a sergeant of the United States infantry was hung, in 1828, for shooting Lieutenant McKenzie, of the same regiment. In 1833, or '34, a soldier of that regiment was executed there for shooting Sergeant Coffin, in the new Fort Crawford. This old jail was burned in 1834.

Congress, during the year 1818-19, admitted Illinois into the union, and all that part of the country formerly belonging to the territories of Indiana and Illinois was attached to Michigan, and placed under the government of General Lewis Cass. General Cass, by proclamation, dated October 26, 1818, issued by virtue of the ordinance of 1787, laid out the county of Michilimackinac, the southern boundary being "the dividing

*Scott, at this time, was a young man who had been in the army but a few years. He was born at Bennington, Vermont, and was educated at West Point. In his youth he was famous among the sharpshooters of the Green mountains, who excelled with the unerring rifle. It is said that Scott never shot game in the body, nor while it was standing or sitting, but while running, or on the wing, and he usually shot the game in the head. He would sometimes drive a nail into a board part way with a hammer, then at a long distance would, with his unerring rifle, drive the nail home with his bullet. He served with distinction in the Mexican war, under General Scott, and near the close of that brilliant campaign was killed at the battle of Molino del Rey, on September 8, 1847. Lieutenant Scott saw much hard service, and always conducted himself in a manner that entitled him to great respect, while his integrity of character, and great kindness and benevolence of heart, won for him the love of all his comrades. (Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. II., 119, see note.)

†Mr. Andrews, under date November 10, 1819, writes to Dr. Peters from Falls Black river: "On the 2d day of November, I set a saw-mill running, not much inferior to any in the United States. The Sioux gave us permission to come here. There were seven chiefs in council; the seven gave us five years."

ground between the rivers which flowed into Lake Superior and those which flowed south." Governor Cass, by proclamation bearing the above date, divided into two counties, all of the territory of Michigan, south and west of the county of Michilimackinac. The two counties were separated "by a line drawn due north from the northern boundary of the state of Illinois, through the middle of the portage between the Fox river and the Ouissin (Wisconsin) river to the county of Michilimackinac. The eastern county was called Brown, and the other Crawford, the former in honor of General Brown, the commanding general of the army, and the latter as a compliment to Crawford, the secretary of war. Governor Cass sent blank commissions for the different officers of the counties of Brown and Crawford, to be filled by the inhabitants. The representative inhabitants of Brown county met and made the following appointments, which were inserted in the appointment blanks, and bear date, October 27, 1818. For Brown county, Matthew Irwin, chief justice, commissioner and judge of probate; Charles Reaume, associate justice and justice of the peace; John Bowyer, commissioner; Robert Irwin, Jr., clerk; and George Johnson, sheriff. For Crawford county, Nicholas Boilvin and John W. Johnson, justices of the peace.

The following appointments for Crawford county were made by Governor Cass, May 12, 1819, viz.: John W. Johnson, chief justice; Michael Brisbois and Francis Bouthillier, associate justices; Wilfred Owens, judge of probate; Nicholas Boilvin, John W. Johnson and James H. Lockwood, justices of the peace; Thomas McNair, sheriff; John L. Findley, clerk; Hyacinth St. Cyr and Oliver Sharrier, supervisors of roads; and John P. Gates, register of probate and ex-officio recorder of deeds.

An act was adopted by Governor Cass and the judges of Michigan territory, on the 17th of September, 1821, to incorporate "The Borough of Prairie des Chiens." It gave the wardens and burgesses power to lay out highways, streets and public walks, and to provide for an effective municipal government. The borough was organized with John J. Johnson as warden and M. Brisbois and Thomas McNair burgesses. The organization was only kept up three years, being discontinued in 1825 by non-user. The last warden was Joseph Roulette, and M. Brisbois and James H. Lockwood its last burgesses.

The first court held in Brown county, of which there are any records, was a special session of the county court, held July 12, 1824. The judges had superseded those appointed in 1818, and were Jacques Porlier, chief justice, and John Lawe and Henry B. Brevoort, associate justices. The first term of the county court of Crawford county was held May 12, 1823, with Francis Bouthillier and Joseph Roulette, judges. Little business other than issuing two tavern licenses, and declaring the proceedings of James H. Lockwood "legal and proper," was performed.

On the 17th day of May, 1824, a grand jury was impaneled, and

returned an indictment against J. B. Maynard, who, being called, failed to appear, and, in consequence, the court ordered that "on his arrival at this place he do enter into recognizance for his appearance at the next term of this court, to answer, plead, etc."

Colonel H. L. Dousman, one of Prairie du Chien's most highly respected and esteemed citizens, came to that place in the fall of 1827, in the employ of the American Fur Company. Mr. Dousman accumulated an ample fortune, and used it liberally in the promotion and growth of his adopted home. He died at Prairie du Chien, September 12, 1868, lamented by all who knew him.

General Joseph M. Street came to Prairie du Chien in 1828, having been appointed Indian agent for that locality. The next year, he brought his family and settled there. This was the first Protestant family that had settled at that place. Thomas Burnett was appointed sub-Indian agent under General Street, in October, 1829, and came to Prairie du Chien the following June.

Some of our early historians, through prejudice and hatred suppressed and omitted the name of Jefferson Davis, who afterwards became the celebrated president of the southern confederacy, from our early histories. In July, 1828, Cadet Davis was graduated at West Point, and received the usual brevet of second lieutenant of infantry. After a short furlough, he reported for duty at Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, where he found Lieutenants Gustave Rousseau, Kinsman, Thomas Drayton, Sidney Johnston, and other old friends. Shortly after his arrival, he was sent up to Fort Crawford, and helped to rebuild a larger and more impregnable fortification. General George Jones, in speaking of the early days in Wisconsin, writes: "It was late in the year (referring to 1828) one night, when a lieutenant and a sergeant rode up to my log cabin at Sinsinawa Mound, about fifty miles from Fort Crawford, and inquired for Mr. Jones. I told him that I answered to that name. The lieutenant then asked me if they could remain there all night. I told him that they were welcome to share my buffalo-robies and blankets, and that their horses could be corraled with mine on the prairie.

"The officer then asked me if I had ever been at the Transylvania University. I answered that I had been there from 1823 to 1825.

"Do you remember a college boy named Jeff Davis?"

"Of course I do."

"I am Jeff."

"That was enough for me. I pulled him off his horse and into my cabin, and it was hours before either of us could think of sleeping."*

While stationed at Fort Crawford, in 1829, Lieutenant Davis commanded a detachment for cutting timber to repair and enlarge the old fort. They embarked in one of the little open boats, then the only mode of conveyance, and, accompanied by two *voyageurs*, began their timber-

*In "A Memoir" of Jefferson Davis, by his wife, Vol. I., 53, 59.

exploring expedition. At one point they were hailed by a party of Indians, who asked to trade for tobacco. As the Indians appeared friendly, the little party rowed to the bank and began the parley. The *voyageurs*, however, were familiar with Indian methods and saw that their peaceful tones were only a cloak to hide their hostility, and warned Lieutenant Davis of his danger; the canoes were then ordered to be pushed into the stream, while the Indians, with yells of fury, leaped into their canoes and gave chase. The chance for escape from their experienced pursuers was slight. If taken captive, death by torture awaited them. The wind being boisterous and in their favor, Lieutenant Davis immediately rigged up a sail with one of their blankets, and within a short time they were out of reach of their pursuers. Fifty years afterwards, in speaking of the incident, Mr. Davis said: "The Indians seemed to me to be legion." The little party pursued their way up to the mouth of the Chippewa, one hundred and seventy-five miles from Prairie du Chien, then, leaving the Mississippi, they ascended the Chippewa until they came to the mouth of the Red Cedar river. They worked their way up this stream for about forty miles, when they came to a splendid pine forest, which adorned the banks of the Red Cedar, at or near where the beautiful and thriving city of Menominee now stands. It was at this point where Jefferson Davis became Wisconsin's first lumberman, and from this point "the sound of the white man's ax was first heard in the pine forests of Wisconsin."

It was at Fort Crawford that the early frontiersmen used to bring to the officers wolves for races, which were chased with horse and hound, as foxes are chased in England. This was their favorite game, but sometimes they diversified their sport by fighting their dogs against the wolves. General Harney, a few years ago, with pride was wont to boast of chasing a wolf down, and having what he called a "fist fight," during which he choked it to death by main force. During the winter, their chief amusement was sleigh-rides over the frozen river, notwithstanding they frequently risked the loss of their scalps.





FOND DU LAC IN 1837.

(Sketch by MARK R. HARRISON, Fond du Lac, Wis.)

CHAPTER XXI.

CHICKAMAUGUN, PORTAGE, MILWAUKEE, FOND DU LAC.

CHICKAMAUGUN.

CHICKAMAUGUN, on Lake Superior, was the headquarters for the first missionary laborers within the limits of Wisconsin. The early Jesuits were there already in 1665, but its growth was quite limited, being confined entirely to missionary work. It was during this year that Father Alouez built a rude bark chapel here, and established the first Jesuit mission of Wisconsin.*

Shortly after the conquest of Canada by the English, a company of adventurers from England undertook to work the prehistoric copper mines on Lake Superior, but their success being limited, they soon relinquished their scheme. In some of these prehistoric mines, ancient hammers, chisels, and knives, have been found, which bear evidence of having been made by unknown people. Numerous pits had been sunk by these people, who followed the course of veins, extending in continuous lines. From the earth thrown out of one of the pits, a pine tree had grown to the circumference of ten feet, while upon another a hemlock tree was cut, whose annular growth counted three hundred and ninety-five years.

PORTAGE.

During the summer of 1634, Jean Nicollet penetrated the western wilderness as far as the present city of Berlin, then took up his way southward into Illinois.

In 1658, Radisson and his brother-in-law, Groselliers, spent some time among the Hurons and Ottawas, and passed the winter with the Pottawattamies, who were living on the islands at the entrance of Green Bay. The following spring they visited the Mascoutins, on the Upper Fox river. Here Groselliers tarried, while the infatuated Indians, during the summer of 1659, carried Radisson over hundreds of miles of the water courses of Wisconsin, making the portage, and discovering the Upper Mississippi river. Radisson was the first white man to make the portage. It took Radisson and his companions four months to make this celebrated trip through the unknown wilderness. The next white men who visited the portage were Joliet and Marquette, and their *voyageurs*, five in number, who "made the portage" in June, 1673.†

In 1680, Louis Hennepin, who accompanied La Salle in his exploration tour, at the command of La Salle, explored the Upper Mississippi, and while passing the mouth of the Wisconsin, was, together with his followers, made prisoner by the Sioux, on the 12th day of April. Two months later, they were liberated by their captors, who left them at Rum

* Matteson's History of Wisconsin, 81.

† Matteson's History of Wisconsin, 78.

river, and started on a buffalo hunt. Their captors having supplied them with canoes and other necessities, they continued their journey up the Mississippi, and discovered the great falls, which Hennepin called St. Anthony Falls. Upon their return, they ascended the Fox river and were at the portage. Three years later, La Sueur and his party made the portage while on their way to the Mississippi.

Laurent Barth, a trader at Mackinaw, was the first settler at the portage, having come there in the spring of 1792, with his family, from the St. Croix river, where he, in company with other traders, had traded the previous winter. He purchased from the Winnebagoes the privilege of transporting goods over the portage. The Indian habitations near the portage now increased rapidly, but the settlement by white men did not increase for many years.

In 1798, came the next white settler, Jean L'Ecuyer. Barth had, upon his arrival, a single-horse cart, but when L'Ecuyer came, he brought several teams and carts, one of which was a heavy wagon, and so constructed as to transport barges. In 1803, Mr. Barth sold to Mr. Campbell, who had previously arrived, all his rights in the transportation business. He removed to Prairie du Chien, where he died prior to the war of 1812. Campbell sold his property to L'Ecuyer, and removed to Prairie du Chien, and acted as the first American Indian agent at that point. Campbell is the man who was afterwards killed at Mackinaw, in a duel with one Crawford. The two sons of Mr. Campbell, John and Duncan, staid at the portage, and had several teams to convey goods, and transport barges over the portage. After L'Ecuyer's death, which occurred in about 1805, Laurent Fily was employed by his widow to carry on the business, until about 1812, when Francis Roy, who had married a daughter of Mrs. L'Ecuyer, took charge of the business, which he continued for many years. After the war with England, the transportation business at the portage was carried on by Joseph Roulette, who was assisted by Pierre Marquette. The usual charge for transporting goods across the portage was forty cents per hundred pounds, and ten dollars for each boat. After the advent of Barth at the portage, considerable Indian trade was maintained there.

Barth had brought with him the remnant of his St. Croix stock. L'Ecuyer also kept a large assortment of goods. The widow L'Ecuyer and her son-in-law, Roy, continued in the trade. Laurent Fily, who had clerked for L'Ecuyer, also located there as a trader. He died at Grand Kaukalin in 1846, at the age of forty-three. August Grignon and Jacques Porlier spent two or three winters at this place. The white settlement did not increase to any great extent until after the erection of Fort Winnebago at that point, in 1828.

Previous to the Indian disturbances in 1827, Redbird's band of Winnebagoes had commonly levied contributions on the traders while crossing the portage, which resulted in considerable disaffection. In

consequence of the unsettled state of affairs between the Indians and settlers, and for the better protection of the white population, which was now greatly increasing westward, Major David E. Twiggs was ordered by the government to the portage, in 1828, with three companies of the First infantry, to build a fort. The officers of Major Twiggs' command were Brevet-Major Beall, Captain Spencer, Captain (afterwards general) Harney, First-Lieutenant Gaines Miller, First-Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, who was also quartermaster, First-Lieutenant (afterwards general) Abercrombie, Second-Lieutenant Beall (afterwards general in the confederate army), Second-Lieutenant Burbank (afterwards general), and Second-Lieutenant Lamotte, many of whom afterwards became world-renowned. The site selected for the fort was the beautiful plateau on the east side of the Fox river. This beautiful plateau was about fifty feet above the river, which gracefully curves around three sides of this commanding site. Upon this plateau, Fort Winnebago was erected. The officers and soldiers at first lived in tents until they built temporary log barracks, in which they spent the winter of 1828-29. During the winter the soldiers were sent up the Wisconsin river, cut and floated down pine logs, which were cut into lumber and timber with whip-saws. They made brick near the Wisconsin river, and lime at Bellefontaine, about twelve miles northeast. The fort was not completed until 1832.

Congress, in 1827, appropriated two thousand dollars for the purpose of opening a road from Green Bay to the Wisconsin portage. In 1830, five thousand dollars more was added to this sum, and the proposed route extended to Fort Crawford. In 1832-33, an additional ten thousand was appropriated, making a grand total of seventeen thousand dollars.

James D. Doty and Lieutenant W. A. Center were appointed commissioners and surveyed the contemplated route, which they completed in 1833. The route of the road from Green Bay was on the east side of the Fox river and Lake Winnebago, through the present towns of Depere, Wrightstown, Stockbridge, Brothertown, Calumet, Taycheedah, Fond du Lac, Lamartine, Green Lake, and Bellefontaine, to Fort Winnebago. The route from Fort Winnebago passed through the present village of Poynette, on the railroad from Portage to Madison, and through Cross Plains to Prairie du Chien. Five miles west of Cross Plains, it passed the dividing ridge which divides the waters which flow into the Wisconsin from those which flow southerly, following the ridge to within six miles of the mouth of the Wisconsin river, thence to Fort Crawford. The road was not open for travel until 1835. It was constructed by the United States troops. The route extending from Green Bay to Fond du Lac was constructed by troops in charge of Lieutenant Sanders, while the force in charge of the road from Fond du Lac to Fort Crawford was under Captains Harney, Low, and Martin Scott.

In 1838, another appropriation of five thousand dollars was made by congress for the completion of the road. This appropriation was principally expended between Depere and Fond du Lac. Mr. Henry Merrill, in speaking of the primitive manner of transporting goods up the Fox river, says: "It was necessary for them (the freighters) to assemble a large number of Indians at the rapids, to help them over with the boats. At Grand Kaukalin, they had to unload and cart the goods for about one mile, and the Indians, going into the water, pushed, lifted and hauled the boats over the rapids; then reloading them, poled them up to the Grand Chute, where Appleton is now situated. There they had to unload and carry the goods up a hill and down the other side above the Chute, which was a perpendicular fall of three or four feet. The Indians would wade in, as many as could stand about the boat, and lift it over, while the others had a long cordelle, with a turn around a tree above, taking up the slack and pulling as much as they could. When the boats were over they were reloaded and pushed ahead, and poled from there to Fort Winnebago. Excepting in low water, they would have to make half-loads over the Winnebago Rapids at Neenah, and with a fair wind would sail through Lake Winnebago."

In 1834, Henry Merrill was appointed sutler at Fort Winnebago. He purchased a large stock of goods in New York, which he shipped to Fort Winnebago, and conducted a general mercantile business. Mr. Merrill resided here from that time until his death, which occurred May 5, 1876. He was a member of the senate of the first state legislature, and, as one of Wisconsin's early settlers, made a record upon which there is no blemish.

MILWAUKEE.

Aside from the storm-bound Jesuits who stopped at Milwaukee, Jacques Vieau was the first white man that came to Milwaukee, and the first to engage in the Indian trade. His name originally was DeVeau, but was changed to Vieau, in "self-defense," as Veau, in French, meant calf, or veal. Vieau was a full-blooded Frenchman, and was born at Cour de Neige, in the suburbs of Montreal, May 5, 1757. In 1786, he married Angeline, daughter of Joseph LeRoy, the trader at Green Bay. Mrs. Vieau was the niece of Onongesa, a Pottawattamie chief. Their children were a dozen in number, and named Madeline, Josette, Paul, Jacques, Louis, Joseph, Amable, Charles, Andrew, Nicholas, Peter, and Mary.*

*Madeline became Mrs. Thibeau, and died at Stevens Point in 1877, at the age of seventy-eight.

Josette, the daughter of Vieau by another consort, became the wife of Laurent Solomon Juneau. She was reared in the Vieau family on an equal footing with the other children.

Paul died in Kansas in 1865.

Jacques kept the "Cottage" in Milwaukee, for many years, commencing in 1835. He died in Kansas in 1875.

Jacques Vieau, Jr., the keeper of the "Cottage" or "Triangle" inn, is frequently confounded with Jacques Vieau, Sr., by writers. The son commenced business about the time that the father retired; hence the confusion.

In 1793, Jacques Vieau went to Mackinaw from Montreal as a *voyageur* for the Northwestern Fur Company. He was at this time about forty-two years of age. His first trip in that capacity was to La Pointe, in Chickamaugun bay. The next year, he returned to La Pointe as a clerk for the company, and, in 1795, was sent out as the company's agent, with a supply of goods, to explore and establish posts on the west shore of Lake Michigan. The supply of goods was placed in a large Mackinaw boat, manned by twelve men, while Vieau, with his mother, wife, and children, followed in a large bark canoe, in which was stored the camp equipage. Vieau was also accompanied by his faithful clerk, Mike le Petteel. This expedition, which started from Mackinaw in July, camped where Kewaunee is now situated, and established a "jack-knife post" near there, and left a man in charge of it. This post was located on what was called Jean Beau Creek by the Ottawas. This was the Indian name for Jacques Vieau. He also established a post at Sheboygan, at the foot of the rapids on the north side, and there left a clerk. He also located a post at Manitowoc, near the rapids, and perhaps at other places.

The expedition arrived at Milwaukee on the 18th or 20th of August, 1795,* where he met, at the mouth of the river, a large number of Pottawattamies, intermingled with Sacs and Foxes, and a few Winnebagoes, who had married into other tribes. Vieau was warmly welcomed by the Indians, who told him that he was the first white man they had seen there. A mile and a half up the Menominee river, on the south side, at the foot of Lime Ridge, he erected two log buildings, one for a dwelling, and the other for a warehouse. According to the statement of Andrew J. Vieau, Sr., the site of these buildings was owned by James W. Larkin, during the late civil war. The site of the store and dwelling was plainly visible, and identified from the remains of banks of earth which had surrounded them.

During the winter of 1795-96, and in fact for the next few years, Vieau remained at his Milwaukee post. Each spring, after packing up the winter peltries and buying maple-sugar from the Indians, he would start out with his family and goods, on his return to Mackinaw, after leaving a clerk in charge of the post, to superintend the planting of corn and potatoes and purchase summer furs. Upon his return trip he would stop at his various "jack-knife posts," and collect their furs and maple-

Louis became chief of the Pottawattamies in Kansas, and there died in 1876, after having accumulated a large estate.

Joseph died at Green Bay in 1879, at the age of seventy-five years, leaving a large family of children.

Amable, who became noted among the early fur-traders at Milwaukee, died at his home in Muskego, Waukesha county, on October 31, 1876.

Charles died in Kansas in 1876.

Nicholas was born in 1826, "just opposite the present stock-yards in Milwaukee."

Peter was born at the same place, January 10, 1830.

*According to the History of Milwaukee County, 71, Vieau came to Milwaukee as early as 1776.

sugar, sometimes relieving the men stationed at the posts by substitutes. The return trip to Mackinaw, with fair weather, took about a month. In August, he would set out again, distributing goods to the lake shore posts, and stay at Milwaukee until the next May.

In 1797-9, while still in charge of the various "jack-knife posts" on the west shore of Lake Michigan, he was ordered to the Fox-Wisconsin portage, and there remained in the fur company's behalf, for two or three seasons in the employ of the company. Laurent Solomon Juneau was detailed as his clerk, and thus Juneau, at the age of twenty-one years, arrived at the Milwaukee river in August of that year with Mr. Vieau. The next year, Mr. Vieau withdrew as agent for the American Fur Company, and procured the agency for Juneau, who, in the meantime, had married Josette Vieau, the daughter of the old trader. Juneau's home became Green Bay, until about 1834-35, at which time he settled permanently at Milwaukee.*

In 1819, Vieau was equipped by Michael Dousman, of Chicago, and for several years traded at his old post on the Menomonie river. In 1836, at the age of seventy-four years, he removed to his homestead at Green Bay, where he remained up to the time of his death, which occurred at Fort Howard, on July 1, 1852. His remains lie buried in the French-Catholic burying-ground at Shanty Town. Mrs. Vieau died at the home of her brother Joseph, in the town of Lawrence, Brown county, January 7, 1862, at the age of about one hundred and five years.

Jean Mirandeu came to Milwaukee shortly after Mr. Vieau, and, according to the narrative of A. J. Vieau, he was employed by the elder Vieau to do blacksmith work. Mirandeu married a Pottawattamie squaw, with whom he lived up to the time of his death in the spring of 1819. After his death, Mrs. Mirandeu and her children lived among the Pottawattamies again, except Victoria, who was raised by the Kinzies, in Chicago. In 1822, Victoria married a Canadian named Joseph Porthier, and is said to be still living near Milwaukee.

Albert Fowler arrived at Milwaukee, November 12, 1833, and, thirteen months later, Horace Chase came. Upon the latter's arrival, he found four settlers in addition to the Juneaus.†

In 1834, the Indian population at this place was principally Pottawattamies, intermingled with Sacs and Winnebagoes. They were lazy fellows, and preferred to hunt and fish during the summer months, instead of cultivating corn. They were noted gamblers, principally playing the mocassin game and lacrosse, and were much given to debauchery. During the winter season these fellows divided into small hunting parties, and scattered through the woods, but in the summer the bark wigwams housed from a thousand to fifteen hundred Indians of all ages and conditions.

*Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. XI., 218-224.

†Buck's Pioneer History of Milwaukee, 12-15.

On the old Juneau marsh and adjacent lands, where now are the busy streets of Water, Main, Milwaukee, Jefferson, and Jackson, grazed the Indian ponies in great droves in those early days. At an earlier period, as far back as 1823, a large part of this territory was flooded, and was the home of myriads of water-fowl. On the lime ridge was a large Indian settlement. Some of the most industrious of the Indian families would raise as much as one hundred and fifty bushels of corn and a considerable amount of potatoes. On the west side of the Milwaukee, opposite Juneau's place, lived the Indian chief Kenozhazhum (lake pickerel); on the lime ridge old Pohquaygeegon (bread) held full sway, while on the Kinnikinnick river, Oseebwaism (cornstalk) was the chief of the Kinnikinnick band. Chief Palmaipottoke (the runner), with a small party, was stationed between Walker's Point and the Menomonie.

According to the "Recollections" of Augustin Grignon, one Alexander La Framboise, from Mackinaw, located a trading post at Milwaukee about 1785. He shortly returned to Mackinaw, and sent a brother who managed the business, resided there several years, and raised a family.*

Some of the statements contained in Grignon's Recollections, are somewhat misty and uncorroborated. During the first decade of the present century, several traders established temporary trading posts at this place, among whom were Laurent Fily, who represented the interests of Jacob Franks, of Green Bay, John B. Beaubien, Antoine Le Claire, Sr., and "old" John Kinzie. The Green Bay Intelligencer, bearing date April 16, 1834, contains the following editorial:

"The Milwaukee county is attracting much attention. A settlement has commenced near its mouth; and there can be no doubt it will be much visited during the coming seasons by northern emigrants, and by all who fear the bilious fevers and other diseases of more southern latitudes. Two or three young men from the state of New York have commenced the erection of a saw-mill on the first rapid, about three miles above the mouth of the Milwaukee river."

Among the numerous enterprising men who came to Milwaukee in 1835, were Daniel Wells, Jr., W. W. Gilman, George D. Dousman, Talbot C. Dousman, E. W. Edgerton, J. Hathaway, Jr., Brown, George O. Tiffany, James Sanderson, James Clyman, Otis Hubbard, Daniel H. Richards, Benoni W. Finch, George Reed, Enoch Chase, Horace Chase, William Brown, Jr., Milo Jones, Enoch Darling, Albert Fowler, C. Harmon, B. Douglass, W. Maitland, Alanson Sweet, Henry West, James H. Rodgers, Samuel Hinman, Mr. Loomis, Dr. Clarke, and Mr. Childs.

Laurent Solomon Juneau was of pure Alsatian French parentage. He was born August 8, 1793, at L'Asumption parish, near Montreal, Canada. His certificate of naturalization is signed by Peter B. Grignon, clerk of Brown county, and dated at Green Bay, the 11th day of August,

*Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., 290-292,

1831. Mr. Juneau was one of the most trusted friends of John Jacob Astor, Ramsey Crooks and other members of the American Fur Company. Juneau died November 14, 1856, at Shawano, and was buried at that place by the Indians, but was subsequently removed to Milwaukee and buried in the old cemetery on Spring street, and afterwards at Calvary. Mrs. Juneau died the previous year on November 19, 1855, at Milwaukee.

It has been said that no trader lived on this continent for whom the Indians entertained a more profound respect. The chiefs in solemn council summoned their braves to attend the funeral. In the middle of the night preceding the burial, an old squaw, the wife of a chief, entered the apartment, and kneeling before the body, clasped her hands in silent prayer. Many incidents occurred of Indian homage. These women were Catholics. The order of the funeral was as follows:

"1st. Priest in full canonicals, followed by Indian choir, chanting funeral forms.

"2d. Ten pallbearers, four whites and six Indians (Oshkosh, Carron, Lancet, Keshenah and others).

"3d. The employés of the agency, male and female.

"4th. Indian women and Indians, two abreast, to the number of six hundred or seven hundred."

Solomon Juneau was buried upon an elevation, far above the agency council-house and burial-ground of the Indians. His resting place commanded a view of the Wolf as it defiled away into the wilderness of distant hills, and overlooked the hunting grounds, which, in years gone by, he had so frequently traversed.

FOND DU LAC.

Tradition says that the early French traders were here more than two hundred years ago. It is, however, an established fact that a trading post was established in 1787, at the forks of the Fond du Lac river, by Jacob Franks, of Green Bay, and occupied by his clerk, Jacques Porthier.

In the summer of 1797, John Lawe, the nephew of Jacob Franks, then a young man sixteen years of age, operated for his uncle a trading post at this place. Augustin Grignon had a trading post on the west branch of the Fond du Lac river, near where the shops of the C. & N.-W. R'y were erected. This was shortly subsequent to 1791. One of the earliest traders in this locality was Laurent du Charme. Then came Ace, a Spaniard, then Chavodreuil, and later Michael Brisbois. Subsequently, Peter Grignon, a nephew of Augustin Grignon, passed one winter on the west branch, just below First street. Ace located, as did Laurent du Charme, where Taycheedah is now located. Ace and his clerk were enticed a short distance from their trading posts by some Indians of the Rock river band, and murdered. The Indians now endeavored to enter the house, but were kept at bay until some friendly

Indians arrived from the Taycheedah village. Mrs. Ace was conveyed by her friends to Green Bay, with her family and the goods at the post. An Indian trader, named Chavodruil, selected the post formerly occupied by Ace, for his winter-quarters, and employed a Menomonie Indian to hunt and supply him with meat. This Indian hunter, who lived with his wife in a wigwam near by, became jealous of the trader, and one day shot him.

Joseph Roulette and Michael Brisbois, during the early part of the present century, traded occasionally at this point. In those early days the white traders would sometimes ascend the Fond du Lac river, with their canoes laden with goods, and make a portage of about two miles to the Rock river, then descend that stream to the Mississippi. This was not the usual route to the Mississippi, but it brought them to many Indian villages that they could not otherwise reach. The Indian trade greatly sought for was that of the Winnebagoes, who had a village where Taycheedah now is, the Indian village at Pipe creek, on the east shore of Lake Winnebago, and the various villages along the Fond du Lac and Rock rivers. These trading stations were temporary affairs; the houses of the whites built only for temporary purposes. These early traders would sometimes carry their packs of merchandise upon their backs from Green Bay. Even Solomon Juneau would occasionally leave his home, where Milwaukee now stands, with eighty pounds of merchandise on his back, go to Sheboygan, thence to Lake Winnebago, then return by way of the villages at the head of the lake.

The first white men that came to this place with the view of permanently settling, were Colwert Pier and his younger brother Edward. They started from Green Bay, on February 16, 1836, with a horse and sled, ostensibly with the object of locating at the head of Lake Winnebago, if the country suited them. The first night they stopped at the site where the Stockbridge mission was afterwards established. They staid with a Stockbridge family, named Jordan, who had a small cabin and a shed. The next day they arrived at the spot on the Fond du Lac river which was so long occupied as the residence of George McWilliams, where they camped for the night. They were here met by Doty, Dr. Satterlee, Lieutenant Merrill, and a soldier named Collins. After locating some land, the two brothers started out on their return trip to the Bay, which they reached the second day. At the close of May, Mr. Pier started on horseback from Green Bay, to establish the first settlement in Fond du Lac county. His wife, in company with Mrs. Robean, followed Mr. Pier in a Durham boat, commanded by Captain Irwin, and propelled by Indians and half-breeds. Prior to the arrival of Mrs. Pier and her companion, the "Fond du Lac House" had been erected by the Fond du Lac Company.

A laughable incident is told of Mrs. Pier's early experience at their new home. Upon their arrival, she immediately took hold, helped put

up the stove, and was getting the house in good order, when a squaw came in, and by signs made Mrs. Pier understand that she desired to exchange feathers for flour. Mrs. Pier made the desired trade with the Indian woman, but, within half an hour, her room was literally overflowing with squaws, wishing to "swap" feathers for pork. That afternoon, Mrs. Pier bought sufficient feathers from the squaws to make two good-sized feather-beds, and paid for them in that valuable commodity, pork and flour.

From June, 1836, to March 11, 1837, Colwert Pier and his wife were the only residents in Fond du Lac county. Upon March 11th, Edward Pier arrived at the "Fond du Lac House," bringing with him his wife and two daughters. On June 1st, the same year, Norman Pier, from Vermont, and Albert Kendall, from the same state, arrived. On the 17th of the same month, Miss Harriet Pier, who afterwards became Mrs. Alonzo Raymond, arrived here.

The first great sadness which afflicted this little colony was the death of Mrs. Colwert Pier, who died on the 1st day of March, 1838, after a short illness. The funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Cutting Marsh, missionary to the Stockbridge Indians. The funeral was held on March 3, 1838.





How meet that we garner the rarest of flowers
To honor alway these dead heroes of ours !
No holier shrine on the land or the wave
Enriches the earth than a patriot's grave.
Oh ! bright be the sunbeams and soft be the breeze
Over hill, plain, or valley, or far on the seas,
Wherever the stream of our memory flows,
Wherever his ashes in silence repose.

Ye who have suffered, a nation to save,
Our country's defenders, the strong and the brave,
Receive through the vistas of fast fleeting years
The incense of sighs and the tribute of tears.
The worship of millions shall lighten the gloom
And lift the dark clouds from the soldier's lone tomb,
Bequeathing, as meads of an endless renown,
The symbols of glory, the cross and the crown.

Green be their garlands and bright be their bays,
And hallowed the anthems we chant in their praise.
We who enjoy the rare gems of the free,
Think what they suffered for you and for me—
They who were lost in the wild crush of strife,
In their blossom of youth and their vigor of life.
Their sorrows are over, their labors are done,—
Ah, lovingly yield them the laurels they won !

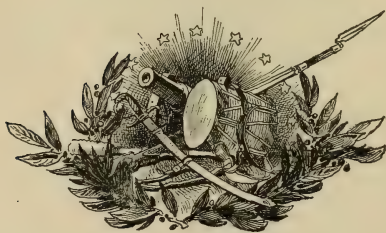
Brave heroes asleep in the sanctified mold,
Surviving companions grow feeble and old,
But affectionate memories ever shall flow
While a comrade remains with a tear to bestow.
The blossoms are bright on the brow of the year
To enwreath the green graves of these dead—ah, so dear!—
And all nature's beauties are out on parade
To deck each lone grave where a soldier is laid.

THE PATRIOT DEAD.

All over the world, let fond echoes ring
Of the love we intone and the praises we sing,
While reverence sweetens the soul with a sigh
And holier grows, as the seasons sweep by.
Chaste birds of the woodlands, come join in the hymn
To heighten their glory that nothing shall dim.
These are our altars. Keep blazing their fires,
Ye patriot children of patriot sires.

Many a brave heart eternity keeps,
And only the angels can tell where he sleeps
Far in the wilderness, drear and alone,—
Not e'en a poor tablet to mark it "unknown."
No monument rises throughout this glad land
Commanding an homage so chaste and so grand,
No grave shall have honor more kingly than he
From ocean to ocean and sea unto sea.

They gave us our country, and glory sublime
Shall be their reward through all annals of time.
Sleep on, ye brave cohorts, in silence to-day,
Wherever the breezes of freedom shall stray.
Your sorrows are over, your victories won,
To glisten forever in history's sun.
But the wreaths of your fame are forever secure
As long as the stars in yon sky shall endure.



OUR FRIEND'S STORY,

OR

HIS TRIALS IN WAR AND PEACE.

By J. A. WATROUS.

CHAPTER I.

It was an intensely interesting story. Did I not know that it was true I would mark it as one of the most pathetic and romantic stories I had ever listened to.

One day last week a gentleman with whom I had been acquainted for more than thirty years, made me a visit. We had not met since 1880. After the greeting and a few common-places my friend said:

"Prepare for a startling surprise."

"What! you have surrendered, have you? Married at last, are you? Let me congratulate you."

"Married? Me? Well, if the court has kept track of herself, no."

"Engaged, then? When were the bans published?"

"No, not even engaged, but a man whom you and I used to know—to honestly love—is married. Guess who it is."

"Now please excuse me from guessing. I'd rather miss a train than guess. I can't take a bit of comfort guessing. Lots of people like to guess. I don't; I despise it."

"Charley Fowler."

"Are you crazy?"

"No."

"Don't you know that Charley Fowler has been dead for fifteen years—that he was slain with Custar?"

"Oh, I heard that report the same as you did. Do you know it was true?"

"I always supposed it was. Have never heard that it was not true."

"Then I can give you some news; I know he was not killed with Custar. I know he was not killed at all; he was not with Custar."

"How do you know?"

"Because I am fresh from a two day's visit with him and Mrs. Fowler. He is rich, has a charming home on Michigan Avenue, in Chicago, and his wife is one of the sweetest, prettiest little black-eyed,

brown-haired, rosy-cheeked women you ever saw. Young, too. Charley, you know, is about our age—fifty-two. His wife is not twenty-five. They are as happy as two lambs in the spring time, in spite of the fact that they have been married over a year."

"Indeed, you have given me a surprise, a startling one. How could Charley have become rich and be in Chicago, without our knowing something about it—without our knowledge at least that he was alive instead of a bunch of crumbling bones out in the Little Big Horn country?"

"It's a long story. He told me all about it. As you know, Charley was broken in spirit when he was mustered out of the service in 1865. He spent a day or two at the old home and then suddenly disappeared and we never heard anything from or about him until the Custar battle, and nothing since, until I ran onto him in Chicago three days ago. I knew him the minute my eyes caught sight of him. That limp our Southern friends gave him at Fitzhugh Crossing, when our brigade charged across the Rappahannock and drove the enemy out of his breast works, could not be mistaken; and the mark put upon his right cheek by a bullet tearing through it at Antietam, also helped me to the courage required in stopping a man I had not seen in almost twenty-seven years, on a busy street and to ask him if his name was Charley Fowler.

"No, sir," was his prompt, but not harsh, answer. I begged his pardon, but walked along by his side. I took another sharp glance at the Antietam scar and again carefully noted the Fitzhugh Crossing limp. It was not much of a limp, just a hitch of the left leg. You remember it, and that he could march with the best of us a year later, when Grant began his wrestle with Lee. Then I looked him squarely in the face."

"Then what?"

"Well, then I knew, beyond all possibility of a doubt, that it was our old tent-mate, lion-hearted Charley Fowler, who came home from the war broken-hearted. What did I do? I angled. I said to him that I had had a soldier friend with a scar on his cheek just like that, pointing to his cheek, and that it was presented to him by a Southern gentleman, at Antietam, where they were stopping temporarily, on the 17th of September, 1862. He also had just such a limp as you have, a limp he had had from the time a chunk of lead was dug out of his leg after a hasty boat ride, early one April morning, in 1863, at a point several miles below the ancient Virginia city, Fredericksburg. Just then we reached his place of business. Turning to me he said:

"Stranger, come into my office. I want to talk with you."

"I followed him to the office, confident that I was right, the more so because I recognized the voice. My three proofs—the scar, the limp, and voice, filled my heart with a gladness I had not known for years. We did not stop in the first room, but passed on to his private office. He closed the door and flew at me as a school boy does at his mother upon his return home from the first quarter at college: 'I'm hungry for

you, Tom, and have been for twenty years.' He clung to both of my hands and looked at me through a pond of tears in each eye, for, it seemed to me, half a lifetime. Both of our voices seemed to have suspended payment. But we resumed. He did no business that forenoon. We talked until lunch time, talked while lunching, and then went back to the office and talked until it was time for him to go home to dinner. I'm prejudiced against stopping at private houses, but Charley would not listen to my going back to the hotel. I must be his guest as long as I remained in the city. The clock noted three o'clock before we retired. We recalled and talked about all of the good souls in the company and many others in the regiment and our brigade. He had not kept track of the boys for the reason that when he left home in 1865 he went to Montana, changed his name and remained there until three years ago, when he brought to Chicago his share of the profits in a mine, and putting half a million into a bank's stock, was made its first vice-president, and virtually president, for the president is an old man in feeble health and spends but little time at the bank.

"How hungrily he asked about the boys. When I told him the old captain died, poor, almost in want, last year, his eyes took another plunge in the tear ponds. 'Brave Captain Bill deserved a better fate,' said he. 'Refused a pension, did he? Just like him. The captain went in as a private in 1861 and because he felt that it was his duty. But he ought to have had a pension. He earned it a thousand times. Saw a good many getting pensions who did not earn them, did he? Well, that was no reason why he should not have the pension the government is anxious should be placed in the hands of such men as our old captain, who did something for it and who needed it. Have the boys placed a monument at his grave?'

"Not yet. But they are raising a fund with which to do so."

"Then Charley took out a pocket check-book, tore out a leaf and handed it to me as his contribution. It was \$100.

"If you want more from me, draw at sight. Dear old Captain Bill, I wish he knew how highly I esteemed him,' ran on this man who had been killed twice and was then with one of his old company for the first time since July, 1865. 'Tell me something about all of the boys you have met and kept track of during the more than quarter of a century that I have been dead to them. Where is Lime Black?'

"Died of heart disease a year or two after the war."

"Poor old Lime, what a genius he was; afraid of nothing, as ready with wit and a reply as an Irishman; full of nerve in battle as Hank Jaycox was of commissary whisky whenever he struck a rich vein of it. Do you remember when Lime stuck a mouldy piece of beef on a bayonet and took it to our first captain, fighting Little Bulger, who afterwards became a brigadier general? 'Look here,' said Lime, omitting the captain's title, 'may be you came down here to eat such damned stuff as

this, but I didn't, and what's more, I won't. Our mess wants something better than this, and it wants it right away."

"Go back to your quarters, Private Black, and I'll see what I can do," said little Bulger."

"Ten minutes latter there was a war of words between our captain and the quarter-master."

"Look at and smell of that," growled Bulger, as he threw Lime's contribution of spoiled meat at the feet of the enraged quartermaster. "My men must have something fit to eat, and it is your duty to see that they have it. I'll give you half an hour to get some decent meat up to company E. If it isn't there when that time's up I'll make it my business to dog you out of the army."

"I can see just how the little under-sized captain, with his head leaning toward his right shoulder, and his homely army cap drawn down so as to almost cover his eyes, swung about and stalked off to his tent. Within twenty minutes a new supply of wholesome meat was laid down at the tent of the ration sergeant. In a minute the whole company of ninety-three men knew what had taken place and how it had been brought about.

"Three cheers for Lime Black and Captain Bulger," bawled red-headed Dick Foster.

"I move that Sergeant Jansen and Private Black be made a committee to go over to the captain's quarters and give him the company's thanks for getting justice and decent meat for us," said Harry Baker. The rest of us followed the committee at a respectful distance, rather expecting to hear a speech from Captain Bulger. Black was spokesman. I can see him, now, as he pulled the tent flap back, touched his hat, and stammeringly said: "Captain Bulger, the boys have sent the sergeant and me over to thank you for doing the right thing about that nasty meat."

"I said the company rather expected a speech from the captain. He made it. I remember it very well, and also what Lime said after he got a few feet from the captain's tent. Bulger stuck his head out of the tent and said, in that slow, penetrating manner I so easily recall: 'Go back to your quarters; when I want you I'll send for you.'"

"When Private Black found his voice and himself out of hearing of the Captain he consigned Bulger to a place too hot for a winter resort. None of us, at that time, had learned much about soldiering, and could not understad why it was not proper for the captain of a company to make a speech to his men telling them how he had forced the quartermaster to make quick time in carrying out his instructions. I am sorry Lime is gone. Do you remember the time Lime went to Bulger when he was commanding the brigade, and made complaint because the paymaster had not been around for four months, and wound up by asking the general to lend him five dollars until payday? There

was not another man in the company who would have dared to do such a thing. Tell me about some of the other boys."

"You will have to excuse me, Charley," said I.

"And why?"

"Life is too short. As soon as I tell you about one of them you take the matter out of my hands and proceed like a prairie breeze, to sweep the whole field, to bring up old memories, to reminiscences, to parade the old scenes so vividly that I sit like a child, open-mouthed, astonished, delighted, captivated."

"There, there, you are forgetting that I have just come to life, and am hearing about the men I loved, tented, growled, marched, drilled, picketed, and fought with, for the first time since I went West—buried myself from them and other Wisconsin friends."

"I told him something about ten or fifteen of the men. The sighs he drew and the 'too bads' he uttered when I spoke of the death of this and that brave volunteer of 1861, moistened my eyes more than once. It was at our second noon day lunch when I reminded him that I must start home the next day, and that he had promised to tell me the story of his life."

"I'll begin after lunch," he replied.

"And he did."

CHAPTER II.

"I will tell the story to you as nearly as possible as Fowler told it to me. My heart ached for him, as yours will, when you hear the recital. He said:

"I shall tell you some things I never mentioned to another living soul. Much of what I say may sound silly to you, but let me say it without protest.

"Like most of the boys in our company, I left a girl behind—a lovely, lovable, loved girl. We had been acquainted but a few months when the war began. I think she was as much in love as I was, but it did not seem right for me to ask her to be my wife under such circumstances. I might never meet her again, or I might not return for years, so we parted without being engaged. When the company marched to take the train for Madison, Lillian joined the throng. While lovers, mothers and sons, brothers and sisters were saying tearful farewells, I took her white, soft hand in mine and told her I would write and asked her to give me the pleasure of hearing from her. Her face was pale, so pale that her big black eyes made their impress upon my mind and my heart. The last moment came. Mothers and girls were sobbing those war-day good-byes, the only good-byes of the kind I ever heard. The train rolled up and the order was given to get aboard. The last kisses were being given. Up to that time I had not dared to kiss my little angel in public, but the trembling good-bye had hardly left our lips when they met—well, met as all lovers know how.

"Amidst the cheers which mingled with unrestrained grief, the flourishing of handkerchiefs and the saucy crack of a double shotted anvil, the train pulled out, crawled through the deep cut and swung around the hill, and the sorrowing throng at the station was out of sight; and the first company from F—— was on its way to war—long, bloody, horrible war.

"That first day in Camp Randall was the longest I had experienced up to that time. I tried to make myself feel that I had done right in volunteering, but every time I thought of that soft, white hand, and those big black eyes, it was dreadfully hard work. I wrote her a long letter and two days later received a still longer one from her. Her words were far more comforting and satisfying than the Camp Randall fare.

"But my story will be too long if I attempt too many details. As often as I wrote came an answer, and such great, fat letters—just the kind that used to do us all so much good. Do you remember that I did a great deal of writing in the army? I guess no man wrote more frequently than I did, and many of them did not do half as much of it. Well, that loved girl was the only one I wrote to. I had no relatives to write to—none I cared to write to—so long as she was willing to send me such an uplifting answer every time I wrote. You know my parents died when I was a little boy in England.

"When I was wounded at Antietam the papers said I was dangerously injured. Two days after the battle, while I was in the Keedy barn, then our hospital, where scores of wounded men were suffering, I heard my name called by an attendant. I raised my hand, for I could not speak with that ragged rip in my face. He placed a dispatch in my hand. It read:

'FOND DU LAC, WIS., Sept. 19th, 1862.—*Charles Fowler, Keedysville, via Hagerstown, Md.*—If you are dangerously wounded, I shall go to you. Answer. I love you.
LILLIAN.'

"The thought of that sweet girl putting in an appearance at such a place, and such a time, fairly horrified me. As best I could I made the attendant see that I wanted pencil and paper. The first telegram I ever wrote read:

"KEEDYSVILLE, HOSPITAL, MARYLAND, Sept. 20th, 1862.—*Lillian Wood, Fond du Lac, Wis.*—Only a little wound. Don't come. And I love you.
CHARLES.

"I remember wondering how they could underscore the words I wanted emphasized.

"I told a big one about that wound. Besides tearing my face in an ugly, painful manner, it knocked out four of my teeth and took a slice from the side of my tongue. It laid me up until the following December. I got back just in time to take a hand in Burnside's Fredericksburg battle, which commenced on the 13th.

"I wish I had kept the letter which came to me in answer to that telegram. It was worth dying for. I wonder if the girls they left behind

exerted as much influence over the rest of the boys as the letters and thoughts of Lillian did over me! She and her blessed words were a constant source of delight to me. I was a happy man all through, until Laurel Hill.

"When that piece of lead which gave me this limp, by which you dug me out yesterday, sent me to the hospital for the second time, I sent my second dispatch. I'll never forget it. There are some things we can't forget, however hard we may try.

"FITZHUGH HOUSE, VIA AQUIA CREEK, VA., April 29th, 1863.—They gave me another spat. Am all right. Don't worry. CHARLES.

"Ten days later a box of good things, prepared by her, reached me in the hospital. As I looked at the delicacies, and thought of the dear one up in Wisconsin who had sent them, it seemed to me that she constituted pretty much everything there was in the world. No man was ever more in love.

"That Fitzhugh Crossing shot kept me out of Gettysburg. I have often wished it had been saved for that, the greatest battle of the war.

"Well, well, I'm making this too long; yet I haven't fairly begun. You insisted upon the story and I must insist upon telling it, painful as a portion will prove."

"I told him to take his own time and not to leave out anything worth telling, and he resumed:

"What a shout of joy there was in the letter she sent in answer to the one I wrote early in 1864, telling her I expected to spend a month in Wisconsin that winter. I did not tell her that in order to have that month for a visit with her I should have to hold up my right hand and swear into the service for another three years, or during the war. I am afraid the shout would have been something else had I done so. Do you recall what a glad time it was for our regiment the cold night we marched to the Culpeper station and took freight and cattle cars for Washington, on our way home to enjoy the veteran furlough—a furlough given to all who re-enlisted for three years more of marching, camping, standing guard, picket, fighting, and suffering? Of course we can never forget the journey to Wisconsin and the happy days with relatives and friends. Nor can we ever forget the tugging at our hearts when the time came for us to assemble at Milwaukee and go back to Virginia. My thirty days in Fond du Lac were about as nearly perfect as days ever were. When we parted that time it was as lovers who had made a solemn bargain. We were engaged, and the marriage was to take place soon after I should come home to stay, which would not be until the war was over.

"We wrote each other twice a week until Grant's great closing campaign commenced in May. I sent Lillian my last letter the night we moved out of camp with our faces Wildernessward. There was no chance to write from that time until Laurel Hill. You know all about my being shot there, and left on the field from which our brigade was forced to retreat

—without burying the dead or carrying off the wounded. You don't know the ten thousand deaths I suffered from two ghastly wounds, from lack of care and medical attendance; from hunger when I got so I could eat; from neglect and hunger at Andersonville. I was more dead than alive from that day at Laurel Hill until I was sent to the Union lines from Saulsbury, in the spring of 1865. But for her I would have died."

"Poor old Fowler stopped talking for some time. You can guess why. You know he was reported dead at Laurel Hill and was so carried on the company roll. We all mourned him as dead. Miss Wood was prostrated. Wisconsin papers said many kind things about him."

"About the first man I saw after reaching Washington was Captain Bill, who was hobbling around on crutches because of a wound received at Hatcher's Run, the February before. He would not believe it was I for some time. For nearly a year I had been counted as dead. That was the first time I had heard of the report. How my heart sank when it dawned upon me that to my company, to Lillian, to the world up North, I had been across the river for almost a year. Dear old Captain Bill did not seem to want to talk about my misfortunes. I thought it was strange, then, but subsequent events made it plain why he desired to keep silent. He knew of the awful shock in store for me. That day I wrote Lillian. No answer came. Then I wrote a newspaper friend at Fond du Lac. He sent me two copies of his paper, one dated May 15th, 1864, in which was my obituary. The editor spoke feelingly of me, said I had been one of the best soldiers in Company E, and that every man in the company deplored my death. The notice closed with an extract from a letter by Captain Bill, and this from General Bulger:

"A braver, better soldier than Charley Fowler never shouldered a musket."

"The other copy contained this piece of information, the reading of which well nigh plucked the spark of life out of my emaciated, prison-marked body:

MARRIED—In this city, April 16th, 1865, by Rev. J. B. Davis, Mr. Harrison K. Smith and Miss Lillian Wood.

"Miss Wood," the editor commented, "will be remembered as the young lady who was so shocked last May, upon hearing of the death of that gallant young soldier, Mr. Charles Fowler, to whom she was betrothed, that her mind was unbalanced. While she was in this unhappy state, the aunt with whom she had a pleasant home, lost all her property through an unfortunate investment, was stricken with a fever and died, leaving the unfortunate young lady homeless and penniless, though not friendless. She was kindly cared for in the home of one of our patriotic, generous citizens, whose daughter and son, the latter a soldier in the same company as her dead lover, but who was discharged two months after reaching Washington, for disability, devoted themselves night and day, in caring for and entertaining the poor girl, and early last winter they were repaid by the return of her reason. Though mental health came back her physical constitution seemed broken and her building up was painfully slow. In March a council of physicians was called. Their decision was that she must travel, find a different climate, new friends, new scenes, enter a new life, or be in great danger of an unbalanced mind again. But how could she travel? No money, an orphan, no well-to-do relatives to call upon—alone in the world with an aching heart. It became more and more apparent that the beautiful young life would pass under a cloud worse than death if she remained here. Now comes the strangest part of this unhappy young woman's eventful life. Her benefactor, a gentleman of ample fortune, was glad to supply the

necessary means for a trip abroad. But what good was money to a weak, invalid young woman, with no one to accompany her? The brief marriage announcement in which her benefactor's son's name figures, is explanation enough. Mr. and Mrs. Smith sailed from New York for Liverpool yesterday."

"The paper fell from my hands, and I fell to the floor. Of course you can't expect me to tell you of my mental suffering. It is better that no attempt be made to describe my feelings. Hope was gone, all gone—for a time—and oh, how I wished night and day, for weeks, that my eyes had closed in the long sleep at Laurel Hill—closed to open at the break of the great day; that I had died, as nearly 15,000 of my fellow-soldiers did at Andersonville; or that I had been shot dead, as Captain Gordon was at Fitzhugh Crossing, or as Captain Brown was at Antietum. How welcome, how delicious death would have been. But it shunned me.

"It was late in May, 1865, when I was mustered out, as a paroled prisoner, and early in June when my worse than funeral march to Wisconsin began. All of the way to Chicago I was recalling incidents of our regiment's trip to Washington in 1861. How vividly it came back to me, when the train rolled into the Pittsburg station, that the editor of one of the papers there had met our regiment with men who supplied us with sandwiches and coffee. The editor himself helped to wait upon us. As he handed me a cup of coffee and a sandwich, I thanked him and told him I was a printer. He sat his pail of coffee on the sidewalk and shook my hand, saying: 'Ten of my printers have already gone. Our craft is bound to do its part in the struggle.' As the train neared Wooster, Ohio, I thought of the army of young women who marched along the train and handed us cakes and bouquets, and cheered and threw kisses as we moved away. At Chicago I thought of the booming cannon as we marched from one station to the other, and the anger of the old colonel when he discovered that there were not passenger coaches enough for his regiment, and how sleepy and tired we were from the early ride from Camp Randall to Milwaukee, the long parade through the streets of that city, the home of the first colonel, and the trip from there to Chicago. Do you remember that we woke up next morning at Fort Wayne, hungry, weary, homesick, tired of war? Then came the heart-breaking part of my journey—from Chicago to Fond du Lac. It took all day, and all that June day she was in my thoughts and tugging at my wounded heart. Do what I might there was no escape—she was in my eyes, on my mind, tearing my heart. I tried to make myself believe that she had wronged me by not waiting a while longer; then I would think of the shock my reported death had given her, a shock which dethroned her reason; of the loss of her home, her poverty, her broken constitution. That would not work; I could not blame her. I closed my eyes and tried to sleep, but sleep was a stranger. I could see her, see her as she was that afternoon when she went with the throng to the station to see our company off; could see

her pale face and big, loving, black eyes, feel her soft, white hand, just as I saw and felt a moment before the train started. I felt that parting kiss and saw the black eyes swimming in tears. I heard her sobbing, trembling good-bye. My God; how could I see that station, live in that town, and she gone—gone from me forever? For one moment I thought of dropping from the train; but that was repulsive when I thought how lacking in courage it was for a sane man to commit suicide.

"By some means unknown to me, word had been sent from Chicago that I would reach F—that evening. Two or three friends went to the station to meet me, and with them a considerable number of citizens who had heard the story of my death and the marriage of Lillian. The friends were very considerate and kind; the other people stared pityingly. At the end of two days I felt that I must go away to escape the fate of poor Lillian when she heard the news from Laurel Hill, a little more than a year before. Without saying a word to anyone I left on the night train, reaching McGregor the next day. There I took the steamer for St. Paul. The next day after reaching the city, then a place of 12,000 or 15,000 inhabitants, I was given cases on a morning paper. Two days after I had resumed work as a printer, after an absence of four years, the foreman called me to him and imparted the not over pleasing information that unless I could do more work he would have to give my cases to another man. I explained that I had been out of practice for four years, and was just recovering from a hard year in Southern prisons. 'In the war, eh?' said the foreman. 'So was I; got plunked at Gettysburg, in Pickett's charge. Our regiment, the 1st Minnesota, lost three-fourths of its men that day. Were you wounded?' I told him four times, twice in one day—that awful day at Laurel Hill.

"Catching my hand, he exclaimed: 'Great Cæsar's goblins—a brother print, four years in the army, wounded four times, a year in rebel prisons and I threatening to take away your cases because you can't stick type faster. I'm a nice man, I am. I ought to have been killed at Gettysburg, I had, instead of having an inch of bone shot out of this leg. Well, I reckon you can have those cases until there's good skating where sinners go, and longer too, if you want them. If you will break my skull with the shooting stick I will be much obliged to you. For the next month you will be paid by the week and if you put up more than a galley a day I'll reduce your wages. Now you take it easy until you get well and strong, and don't forget to come around Saturdays for your two saw bucks. The other week hands get \$16, but \$20 is not too much for you. Nice, brave pair of soldiers we must have been; can't talk over a little business matter like this without more than half crying. Overlook my brutality—pard; guess I'll be as good a friend as you'll find in St. Paul after this. Take a lay off to-day and rest.' "

"And he was. When Captain Fisk organized his expedition for

Helena, Montana, a few months later, he wanted some printers to go along, as he had a printing outfit and proposed to start a paper. Russell, the foreman, and I, were the first to offer ourselves. At that time Montana was months away from St. Paul, instead of a few hours, as now. It was a wild, new country.

"That was what I wanted—to get as far away from sorrowful scenes as I could.

"The journey was a most interesting one, but the party was well worn when we reached our destination. The paper was started, Russell being the foreman, business manager, and associate editor, and I had cases for a few weeks and was then made local editor, in addition to my position as a jour printer. We all worked like slaves and put up with hard fare for a year or more. It was just what I needed—something to keep me busy—to keep my mind from troubles which almost carried me to a mad-house. The foreman and I made money and saved it. Before the end of our second year in Montana we had invested in a large tract of land. It cost us fifty cents an acre. It was a speculation. It might amount to something; and, too, we might have difficulty in giving it away. Russell was also a single man, and our lives were in about the same channel. We were content to earn fair wages as printers, reporters and editors, and there were no papers in the territory that were not anxious to secure our services. Men who could fill any one of half a dozen positions in a printing office, and all of them, if need be, were not over plenty in Montana at that time. I was getting along nicely, rapidly becoming my own old-time cheerful self; but dark clouds seemed destined to linger in my skies. It was my custom to take a bundle of exchanges over to the boarding house, on the days that the mail arrived from the east. Of course I gave Wisconsin the preference when I sat down for an evening's run through the papers. It was in September, 1869, while looking through a Milwaukee evening paper, that my eye fell upon a Fond du Lac dispatch which, for a time, brought back those days of sorrow with a force that was almost maddening. It read like this:

"'FOND DU LAC, Sept. 2, 1869.—Information was received to-day, by the father of the late Harrison K. Smith, from Madison, to the effect that Harrison's insane widow had escaped from the asylum and thrown herself into the lake. Her body was recovered an hour later. It will be remembered that Mrs. Smith was engaged to Charles Fowler, the soldier who was reported killed in one of Grant's battles in 1864. The shock unbalanced her mind, but she regained her reason a few months later and the next spring was married to Mr. Smith, and they went abroad for her health. A year later, when they returned to America, Mrs. Smith heard the story of her former lover. She was dazed, scarcely saying a word. There were no tears; she could not cry. There was no sleep; she could not close her eyes. At the end of a week she was a maniac—hopelessly insane—and was taken to the state hospital, near Madison. Two months ago her husband died from consumption. Young Fowler disappeared four years ago, and has never been heard from. The experiences of these young people make one of the saddest pages of incidents growing out of the great war.'

"For a long time after that I worked harder than ever. Too many duties could not be placed upon my shoulders. That fall Russell and

myself made two or three trips away from town, out among the mountains. On one occasion we spent a week on our own uninviting tract of land, building a cabin large enough for our accommodation. Every spring and fall thereafter we made it a point to visit our possessions, not so much to look over our purchased folly as to meet and learn the habits and observe the customs of the Indians in that part of Montana. Though wild and war-like, they were friendly to us. One old fellow, bent and withered, was quite familiar with our language. His camp had been in that vicinity for many years. When he discovered that we owned a large tract of the land over which he had roamed and hunted for almost a lifetime, he said: 'Much good; you no sell 'im.' There didn't seem to be much danger of our 'selling 'im.' We had offered it for sale all the way from a dollar an acre to what it had cost us—fifty cents—but no one seemed to want it. You will laugh, very likely, when I tell you that when that package of smoked humanity sagely pronounced the land 'much good,' and counseled us to hang on to it, we decided not to offer it for sale again.

"Twelve years ago a company of New Yorkers dropped into Helena one afternoon and apparently settled down for a long stay. Every week they took a trip out of town. After this had been going on for a month or so, a spruce young fellow, a member of the New York party, came around to the office and called for Russel and myself. He wanted to talk about our land. Would we sell? We didn't care to. Would we listen to an offer? He might make an offer if he chose; we would give the matter attention. His first offer was to take the whole tract for \$15,000, or he would select twenty acres, for which he would give us \$10,000, or twice as much for one acre as we had given for the entire tract of a thousand acres. Either sum was more than we had ever expected to possess at one time, but you ought to have seen the two printers and men of all work about a newspaper office assume an air of disappointment and proceed with our work, after telling him it was useless for him to waste his time with us if that was all he could offer. To our utter astonishment he said: 'I'll give you \$50,000 cash for the property.'

" 'You will have to excuse us,' said Russell, 'we don't care to sell. We know it is valuable property and can afford to hold it. 'Will you set a price?'

" 'Look here, chum,' said Russell, as he beckoned me to follow him to a corner out of hearing of the New Yorker, 'this thing is getting blinding. We can't afford to let that fellow go. We must give him a price he will accept. Why, he's already offered us a fortune. What do you say to telling him that we will let him have a half interest in the tract for \$100,000. A man who will jump from \$15,000 to \$50,000 at one leap can't be staggered with such an offer.'

"It was agreed upon and the New Yorker was notified. He whis-

tled, gave a meaning laugh and said: 'Gentlemen, I have met a good many printers in my time, but you two pull more evenly in the traces than any of the craft I ever met. I'll give you \$100,000 for all of your land. Come, now, is it a bargain?'

"We had to have another corner conference. I wanted to accept the offer, but my partner insisted that he saw the cat in the meal; he knew a rich mine, or mines, had been discovered. 'That fellow is a good deal more anxious to buy than we are to sell, and that means that he is mighty anxious to get hold of the property. If there is a mine there, and I am certain there is, a half interest in that land is likely to afford us a good deal of comfort. You had better let me handle the young man. We have struck a rich vein—a fat take, as it were, and you may be sure that he will not climb the hill without taking us along,' I said, 'Go ahead,' and he obeyed.

"'If you want a half interest in that property for \$100,000 you can have it. If not, let the matter drop.'

"Give me an option for two hours; I want to talk with some friends."

"'Yes, but it may be as well to put up something for the option, say \$500.'" He handed over the amount in bills and took his leave. Half an hour later he came back and accepted the offer, stating that the papers would be drawn and the money paid the next day."

"Partner, we have staid by each other pretty well since you took cases under me at St. Paul fifteen years ago. Fifty thousand dollars apiece is a big lot of gelt for a pair of printers, and that is what we shall have to-morrow night when we go to bed, to say nothing of a half interest in that 'much good' land. Let us keep together for a while longer. Take my advice; look out for the \$50,000 you are soon to possess. Put it where it will be sure to grow; risk it on nothing that you do not know is perfectly safe. If you want to make a sudden dash, rely upon your interest in the big track. I don't want you to get dizzy, but it is my opinion that you and I, who came here on foot, with hardly money enough for a week's board, will go back to God's country in a special car, millionaires."

"Russell had a head on his shoulders and a remarkable tongue in his mouth. As promised, the papers were made out and the money paid the next day. That evening Russell and I threw up our various jobs on the paper never to return to printers' cases, counters or desks. Our bargain was a ninety day wonder. Everybody, seemingly, in the territory, knew of our good fortune within a month.

"A stock company was formed. The value was placed at \$2,000,000. It was agreed that the New Yorkers should place half of their stock on sale at par, and that we should do the same; that when it was sold, a certain portion of the proceeds should be used for developing the mines and establishing extensive stamping mills. Russell went to New York to look after our interests and I remained in Helena to see that the firm

myself made two or three trips away from town, out among the mountains. On one occasion we spent a week on our own uninviting tract of land, building a cabin large enough for our accommodation. Every spring and fall thereafter we made it a point to visit our possessions, not so much to look over our purchased folly as to meet and learn the habits and observe the customs of the Indians in that part of Montana. Though wild and war-like, they were friendly to us. One old fellow, bent and withered, was quite familiar with our language. His camp had been in that vicinity for many years. When he discovered that we owned a large tract of the land over which he had roamed and hunted for almost a lifetime, he said: 'Much good; you no sell 'im.' There didn't seem to be much danger of our 'selling 'im.' We had offered it for sale all the way from a dollar an acre to what it had cost us—fifty cents—but no one seemed to want it. You will laugh, very likely, when I tell you that when that package of smoked humanity sagely pronounced the land 'much good,' and counseled us to hang on to it, we decided not to offer it for sale again.

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of Russell & Co. was kept in the main track—in the middle of the right road. The stock was advertised largely in the New York papers and sold rapidly. Owing to an oversight, the company had a pile of trouble. One of the New York papers, a weekly, of limited circulation and little influence, made vicious war upon the company, the mines and the stock. That weekly's opposition seemed to count for more than all the advertising in the widely circulated dailies. The sales almost came to a standstill at the end of a week after the attack. A meeting of the stockholders in New York was called. Various plans were suggested. The young fellow who had forced Russell and me to sell him our mountain tract for a song, thought he had a remedy. His idea was to call upon the publisher of the troublesome paper and buy his plant and set the publication to singing the praises of the company, its mines and the stock.'

"'Yes, and he will step out and start another paper, a better one, and open out on us with a new force, giving you another chance to buy a newspaper plant,' said Russell in his sledgehammer way of putting things. 'I know how to fix that fellow, but I can't undertake it unless the company gives me full charge and what money I need. Once or twice in a life time, if you keep watch, you may discover a real mean specimen in the newspaper business. I think our company has run up against one now. You say you can't imagine what makes the fellow act so. I can. Our advertising man didn't call on him when he made contracts with the dailies; his paper didn't get our advertisement. That's what ails him. Not one in a million newspaper men would make a fuss about such a matter; not one in a million newspaper men is sordid, selfish, grasping and mean enough to make a row about such a matter. That fellow did; he is. And his row is expensive to us. He's giving our mines a bad name; a mine with a bad name is as bad as poor eggs; he's pretty much stopped the sales. He's got to be attended to. You know I'm something of a newspaper man. What do you say—shall I be the walking delegate to show that fellow the error of his ways? Somebody's got to do so, or he'll knock us out of a million, sure, and the Lord only knows how much more.'"

"Russell's arguments prevailed; he was given full power to tame the offending editor."

"I would like to see the proprietor," said Russell, the St. Paul foreman, now a rich mine owner. 'I'm the editor and also own the paper,' said a sallow, hungry looking little man, with a high forehead and stoop shoulders.'"

"I am one of the owners of the Montana mine your paper has been making war on. I don't come here to find fault, but to ask a favor of you. I know you are an honest, fair man, and that you think you are doing the proper thing by the public in warning it against putting money into something it knows so little about. Now, I'm the last man

in the world to attempt to improperly influence a publisher. I've been in the business myself and know all about their sensitiveness when it comes to making propositions for the purchase of their influence in favor of men, measures and things, which they have a suspicion are not just right. The favor I want of you is this: You go or send a trusted reporter to Montana and examine the property. The company will pay all of your expenses, in advance. If you find that the property is not just what we have represented it in our advertisement, why, we want you to pitch into us with new energy. If it is good property—if you find mines there—why, say what you think of them. Isn't that a fair proposition?"

"The little man thought it was, and accepted. Russell gave him \$500 for the trip and said if it cost more he would make it good. The New York editor reported to me at Helena and I sent a good man with him to the mines, giving him strict instructions that he be given a chance to talk to the shriveled Indian who gave us our first impression that there was metal in our mountain. He spent three or four days looking over the property; was shown rich ore from four or five different veins and given specimens from each vein to take home.

"After spending a day or two in Helena the little editor left for home. I sent a verbal message to my partner and hoped he would call upon him as soon as he reached New York, or ask Russell to call at his newspaper office.

"Without first going to his home the editor called at the company's office on Broadway. Russell was there and took him in charge. He imparted to Russell that the company had underestimated the value of the property. It was covered with mines. An old Indian had shown him a dozen places where ore had been picked out to a greater or less extent for forty years. Then he read Russell a three column article on the mines, in which he confessed that he had misrepresented them, stating that he had spent several days in a scientific, critical examination of the property, and closed by predicting that within five years the \$1,000,000 worth of stock offered for sale would be worth \$5,000,000. Russell ordered 10,000 extra copies of the paper, and gave the converted editor as large an advertisement as appeared in the dailies. Within a week all the leading dailies in New York had reproduced the little editor's article—at so much a line, of course—and each in an editorial item, called attention to the article—paid for, of course—stating that it was from the paper which had condemned the company and its mines, and that the article was the result of a personal inspection of the great property by the editor. Ten days later the last of the million dollars worth of stock had exchanged hands, and my partner and I, paying our share of expenses—the advertising being the chief item—had \$490,000 besides the \$100,000 for a half interest, and a half a million in shares, which could have been sold at a premium. It was said, at that time,

that mining stock had never before sold at par, in New York, under similar circumstances.

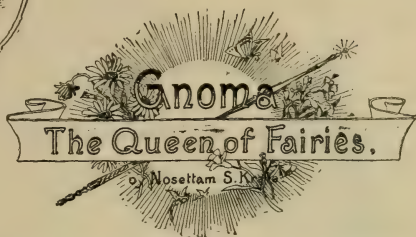
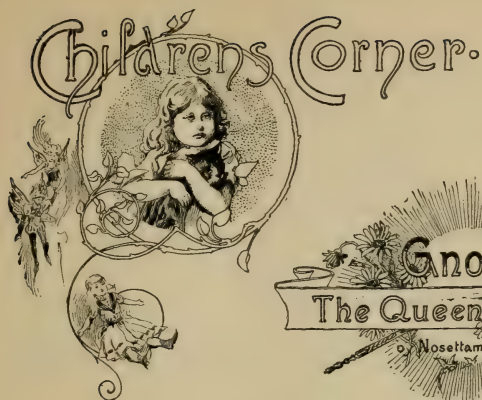
"The work of developing the mines was commenced, as promised. They were better than the most extravagant claims had made them appear. Six years ago Russell and I, after having divided profits to the amount of something over a million dollars, sold out for \$2,000,000.

" 'Old man,' said Russell, after we had closed up our business and divided equally the big receipts, 'I'm ready to knock off; I'm done worrying myself with business from this on; I'm done with hard work; I've got money enough. You go back east, buy a bank, marry and enjoy life, and I'll see the world.'

"The night before we parted he spoke of our first meeting in St. Paul and the narrow escape he 'had from doing the meanest thing of my life—discharge you on the ground that you were slow and black-smithy as a printer.' I have not met him since, though we correspond regularly. He was in Egypt two months ago; does not expect to come back for several years.

"I reached Chicago three years ago. My new name? Oh, that was legalized by the Oregon legislature years ago. It answered the purpose; it made my old name disappear until day before yesterday when you unearthed it and brought me up standing. Two years ago my best stroke of good fortune occurred. I was spending an evening at the home of one of our directors. Living with the family was a young lady, a niece of the director's wife, who had been left without a home in consequence of the death of her grandparents with whom she had lived from her childhood, both of her parents having died when she was little more than a baby. Her black eyes, brown hair, soft hands and marked intelligence reminded me of someone else. Her name was Myra Wood Smith, daughter of Lillian Wood Smith. Now it is Mrs. Charles F. Williams. The F. in my name is for Fowler—Charles Fowler Williams, at your service."

Charley will attend the next reunion of our brigade.



WHEN Fantaze, Mignon, and Marguerite, after gathering flowers one bright morning in early June, went into the edge of the forest and sat down beside a beautiful spring bordered with fern and sweet-smelling grasses, they felt that they must surely be near Fairyland, and so they were, for, hardly were they seated, when the Queen of Fairies came up from the bottom of the spring, with a golden wand in one hand.



After shaking the pearly drops of water from her silvery hair, she thus addressed them: "I expected you, little ones. I am Gnoma, the Queen of Fairies. Anything you wish for shall be granted."

One of the little girls, after whispering a short time with her companions, said, "We would each like to have our own way for one week."

"It will be granted," the Fairy Queen said, "and anything you wish for during the week, shall be granted also, provided that if any of you shall do more harm than good with

the power I give you, she shall, when we meet again at this place one week hence, be turned into a witch, and go to the moon on a broomstick." Gnoma waved her wand, and instantly disappeared in the spring, while the little girls started for home with their flowers.



Mignon lived with her widowed mother, and was the daughter of a poor but talented musician, who had died when Mignon was only eight years of age; but, young as she was, she could play the violin beautifully, and many a franc-piece she earned by teaching the young village girls to play the violin and dance the minuet.

Mignon had longed for a musical education, and, while going home that day naturally said to herself, "Oh! I do wish that I could attend the Conservatory of Music."

Imagine her delight upon arriving home, to find that her uncle, one of the directors of the Paris Conservatory of Music, had come to make the necessary arrangements to take Mignon and her mother back to Paris with him.



Fantaze was the handsome, petted and spoiled child of a wealthy burgomaster, who had died and left willful Fantaze in the care of an aged and nearly blind grandmother. As soon as Fantaze had left her companions that day, she wished for "a coach and four," and, presto! she immediately found a beautiful coach and liveried coachman beside her. She then wished for a beautiful silk attire and a waiting-maid, and instantly she found herself attired in silks, and seated in the carriage beside a French waiting-maid. She then directed the coachman to drive them through the village, and great was the havoc she made. She turned boys into

colts, and girls, that she did not like, into ravens, and, in fact, she had the whole town in an uproar.

After enjoying this sport for a time, she drove up to her grandmother's cottage, and when the old lady saw her, she surely thought her grandchild was masquerading, and when she mildly scolded her, Fantaze turned her into a donkey, and had her driven out on the common.

Marguerite was the only daughter of a brave soldier, who had died while defending his country. She was named by her father, after the wild marguerites that grew so profusely near the country village. Marguerite was unlike her other companions. She was a sweet, full-faced, large-eyed, open-hearted little creature, who had absorbed so much of the natural poetry and tenderness of the flowers she tended in her mother's garden, that it would have been next to impossible for her to be other than a true-hearted, affectionate girl. Marguerite, after leaving her companions, had walked leisurely through the fields, occasionally stopping to pick wild flowers, until considerable time had elapsed; so, when she finally came near the highway she saw several village boys stoning an aged donkey. Her heart melted at once, and she said, "Oh, how I wish that donkey was a little girl, so I could have a companion." At once the donkey changed into a bright-eyed little girl, who went home with Marguerite, while the boys were so badly scared at the transformation, that they scampered homeward. When Marguerite with her companion arrived home, she found her mother in bed, threatened with a dangerous fever. The village doctor had called, bled her, and left leeches.

Poor little Marguerite forgot the Fairy Queen, and at once bathed her mother's head, gave her cooling drinks, and soothed her to sleep; then she got down on her knees, and prayed earnestly that her mother might speedily recover, and that the country her father had died for might recognize his meritorious service by caring for the aged mother. At midnight the mother awoke, and felt so well that little Marguerite went to her room and was soon fast asleep. Long before little



Marguerite awoke in the morning her mother was well and beside her bed. Early that morning the village postmaster had called and left a large government envelope, which contained the news that the dead soldier's widow and daughter had been suitably provided for.

The week passed rapidly enough. Marguerite, her companion and mother visited the sick in the village, and it appeared as though their presence brought health, sunshine and happiness. Upon the morning of the day that the little girls were to meet Gnoma at the forest spring, Mignon and Marguerite met in the fields, and after gathering flowers went to the forest spring. Soon after their arrival, Fantaze drove up in a golden carriage, attended by her French maid. Fantaze was dressed beautifully, and looked as though *she* might be a fairy. Suddenly Gnoma, the Queen of the Fairies, appeared from the depths of the spring, and with a smile and greeting to each, said, "Fantaze, where is your aged grandmother?"

Fantaze hung her head. She had been so busy during the week that she had entirely forgotten to wish her grandmother back again. Gnoma waved her golden wand, and the carriage and servants disappeared, while Fantaze was seen flying through the air toward the moon on a broomstick.

Mignon became a famous musician, and Marguerite was loved and adored by all who knew her, for her loving disposition and good deeds; while it is thought that Fantaze is still taking her flight toward the moon.

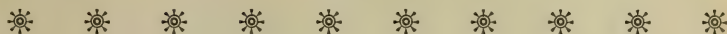




Mount Richmond L.P. Co.



WISCONSIN'S HISTORICAL MAGAZINE FOR 1893.



SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

IN FICTION the May number contains "**Three Premonitions**," written by the well-known writer, Col. J. A. Watrous. This romance is of more interest than any story previously published in the Magazines by that able author.

The historical contents of the May number is, "**Black Hawk—Wars in Which He Participated**." This number is illustrated by Binner, from original oil paintings, and is one of the best numbers of the issue. It is so vividly and graphically written, that the scenes depicted in its pages appear to be actually before one.

Engagements have been made with the most distinguished writers, and several special enterprises of a somewhat different nature are under way. These will make the remaining numbers of 1893 most interesting. The illustrations will continue to be as perfect as the best talent and processes can make them.

The Children's Corner in the May number, as well as all succeeding numbers, will contain the choicest and brightest of fiction. This is what the young people will learn to look for.

The June number, like all other numbers, will be finely illustrated and engraved, and will contain in fiction, a complete story by Col. J. A. Watrous. In history it will contain "**Territorial Days and Indian Disturbances**," which will be sure to interest all readers. **The Sire and Son's Department** will be edited by M. C. Phillips, and will be very fine.

Col. C. K. Pier's "**Wisconsin in the Civil War**," in the July and August numbers, with illustrations of battle scenes, etc., is sure to please our readers. This valuable contribution gives the organization of each Command in all the arms of service who went from the state with their various campaigns and losses until mustered out.



From the original painting by Mark R. Harrison,
Fond du Lac, Wisconsin

CHAPTER XXIII.

BLACK HAWK—WARS IN WHICH HE PARTICIPATED.

Black Hawk's Ancestors.—His Birth.—Early Life.—Death of His Father.—Success in Battles.—Habits of Life.—Dancing and Feasts.—Origin of Corn-Superstition.

MA-KA-TRI-ME-SHE-KIA-KIAK, or Black Sparrow Hawk, who is known in history as Black Hawk, was a chief of the confederation of certain Sac and Fox Indian tribes.

Indian tradition shows that the Great Spirit placed the Sac nation originally in the vicinity of Montreal,* Canada, and that, through jealousy and other causes, the various tribes near Montreal united and drove them to Mackinaw.

After a short time, their old enemies pursued and drove them from place to place on Lake Michigan, until they finally located and built a village at or near the present site of Green Bay. At their new village, a council was held with the Foxes in that vicinity, and an alliance was formed, which united the two tribes as one nation. The united nation, however, was not destined to enjoy the peace but for a short duration, as their old enemies with perseverance and characteristic hatred drove them to the Wisconsin river, upon whose fertile banks they built themselves a model village, near the present site of Prairie du Sac.†

At this point, the united Sacs and Foxes staid and enjoyed their new hunting grounds for a considerable space of time, until finally a party of young men who had descended the Rock river to its mouth, returned with such vivid and richly-painted descriptions of the country near the Rock river, and adjacent Mississippi valley, that they all descended to the Rock river and drove the Kas-Kas-Kias from the country, and built themselves a new village in the midst of a veritable Indian paradise, near the junction of the Rock river with the Mississippi.

*Montreal is built upon the site of the old Indian village called Hochelaga, which was discovered by Jacques Cartier, in September, 1535. The first white men the Sacs ever saw were the French, who gave them guns, powder, lead, spears and lances, and taught them their use.

†Jonathan Carver, the celebrated English traveler, who traveled through Wisconsin in 1776, described a Sac village located at this point in the following graphic manner:

"It contained about ninety houses, each large enough for several families, built of heavy planks neatly joined, and covered so compactly with bark as to keep out the most penetrating rains. Before the doors were placed comfortable sheds in which the inhabitants sat when the weather would permit and smoked their pipes. The streets were both regular and spacious, appearing more like a civilized town than the abode of savages. The land was rich, and corn, beans and melons were raised in large quantities." Possibly only a portion of the Sacs left Prairie du Sac for Rock Island, as Black Hawk's ancestors left that vicinity more than fifty years before Capt. Carver traveled through the Mississippi country.

At this picturesque spot, near the Father of Waters, amidst nature's solemn grandeur, Black Hawk was born in 1767.* He was the last descendant of a long line of Sac kings or chiefs, and inherited the great *medicine bags* of his great-grandfather, Muk-a-ta-quet, which were handed down to his father, Pyesa, by his grandfather, Na-Na-ma-kee, or Thunder.†

Nothing of importance occurred until after Black Hawk had passed his fifteenth birthday. Up to this time, he had not been allowed to paint or wear feathers, but now, in consequence of having wounded an enemy, he was placed in the rank of braves.

Shortly after this event, a leading chief of the Muscow nation recruited a party of Sac and Fox warriors under Pyesa, to go on the warpath against their common enemy, the Osages, who lived beyond the Missouri. Shortly after they got into the enemy's country, an engagement took place, during which Pyesa killed an Osage warrior and scalped him in the presence of young Black Hawk, who, fired with valor, rushed upon an Osage brave and struck him to the ground with his tomahawk, and after running his lance through his body, and before life was hardly extinct, his scalp-lock was hanging in the belt of the young Sac.

After many Osages had been slaughtered, Pyesa and his band returned to their village and held a scalp-dance.

During the next few years, the Osages remained undisturbed in their numerous trespasses upon the hunting grounds of the Sac and Fox nations, and, in consequence of these numerous raids and depredations, Black Hawk raised a band of two hundred picked warriors, and took the trail leading into the Osage country. The Osages, with an equal number of warriors, met them near the Missouri, and a bloody battle ensued, in which more than a hundred Osages were killed and many wounded. Black Hawk's losses were nineteen killed and several wounded. In this engagement Black Hawk killed and scalped five Osage warriors.

Shortly after this engagement, while fighting the Cherokees near the Merimac, Black Hawk's father, Pyesa, received a fatal wound, from whose effects he soon died. Black Hawk now fell heir to the great *medicine bags* of his forefathers. Upon their arrival home, Black Hawk blackened his face and fasted and prayed for a period of five years, out of respect for his dead father.

When Black Hawk's period of mourning was over, he raised 500 Sac and Fox warriors and 100 Iowas, with the determination of extirpating the Osages, who, during the period of his mourning, had committed numerous depredations upon the Sac and Fox and adjacent hunting grounds. After several days of forced marches, they finally struck the Osage trail, and the next night at sun-

*Smith's Wis. Hist., Vol. III., 162.

†Life of Black Hawk.

down they fell upon forty lodges of Osages, and killed all the inhabitants, except two squaws whom they took home as prisoners.

Before many years elapsed, the Chippewas, Kas-Kas-Kias and the Osages confederated and trespassed upon the Sac and Fox hunting grounds. Black Hawk again raised a large force and commenced a long and arduous campaign, during which several hundred of the enemy were killed, thirteen of whom were slain by Black Hawk.

During these times the Indian village at the mouth of the Rock river was well maintained. The hunting, fishing and trapping was good, and they made their periodical trips to St. Louis, where they sold their furs and pelts to the Spanish, who used them well, paid them good prices, and allowed them to camp and dance in the town at their pleasure.

The law and order that prevailed in this celebrated Indian village, for more than a century, would put to shame many of our nineteenth century Christians.

Before the Indians returned to their village in the spring from their hunting grounds, they would call upon the trader that had supplied them with goods in the fall, and, after paying their debts, and bartering furs and pelts, they would return to their village with some of their finest furs and pelts, well knowing that the anxious trader would follow them to their village and pay them higher prices.*

After the last of the furs and peltries were disposed of, and the trader had started away in his canoe, after leaving a keg or two of rum, "the old folks would take a frolic."

Then came the great Medicine dance, the burying of those who had died during the year.† At this feast of the dead, the relatives would give away all their goods and reduce themselves to poverty, in order to show the Great Spirit that they humbled themselves so that he would take pity upon them.

After the feast was over, they would open the caches and take out the corn and provisions stored there the fall before; then they repaired their lodges and rebuilt their fences around their cornfields, while the women busied themselves cleaning the ground ready for planting. When the planting time arrived, the women planted the corn, while the men exchanged adventures and feasted upon venison, bear's meat, fowl, and corn prepared in various ways.‡

After the corn was planted, the Crane dance and a feast was given. In this dance the women joined the men, dressed in their most gaudy attire. It is at this dance that the young brave selects the dusky maiden he desires for a wife.§ After he selects one he desires to marry, he informs his mother, who

*The traders were numerous, and much competition was displayed by the early fur-traders on the Mississippi.

†The Indians were buried shortly after they died, but were exhumed next year, in the spring, and reburied in the village burying-ground.

‡Life of Black Hawk, 59.

§Life of Black Hawk.

calls upon the mother of the girl, and they fix a time for the young man to call at the lodge. At night, when all are supposed to be sleeping, he enters the lodge of his adored, and with a flint and steel strikes a light and soon finds his intended. He then awakes her, and after holding the light to his face, he holds it close to hers. If she blows it out, the ceremony is ended, but if she leaves it burning, he leaves the lodge. The next day the lover places himself in view of the lodge of his intended and plays a love ditty upon a flute. If other maidens come out, he changes the tune, but if the chosen one comes in sight, he again plays his courting tune. That night he again goes through the same ceremony and usually with success, as the dusky maidens, like their white sisters, do not always say yes when they are first asked.

The Crane dance, which usually lasts two or three days, being over, and several days having been spent in feasting, the great national dance is given.

A large, square space in the center of the village is swept clean; on the upper side of the square, mats are spread for the chiefs and old warriors; then come the drummers and singers, while the braves and women form the sides, leaving a large space in the center. When the drums beat, the singing commenced. At the same time, a warrior enters the center of the square, keeping time to the music, then, in pantomime, shows the manner in which he started on the warpath, or some expedition, how he stealthily approached the enemy, the awful combat, the death scene, the scalping, the scalp-dance, the final success or failure. The warrior then retires, and while being applauded, another warrior takes his place. The dance incited the young to deeds of valor, and made the old warriors young again.

The corn, while growing, was never molested by the Indians until fit for use; then they held another ceremony, which they called the corn feast; during this feast they all thanked the Great Spirit for giving them the corn.

The Sacs have a pretty and romantic tradition of the origin of corn.

Two Sacs, after having killed and dressed a deer, sat down by a fire and were roasting a piece of it, when a beautiful woman came down from the clouds, and seated herself a short distance from them. The Indians, thinking she had smelled the roasting venison and was hungry, offered her a delicious piece, which she accepted and ate. She then requested them to return to that spot, one year from that time, and they would find a suitable reward for their hospitality. She then disappeared in the clouds, and the Indians returned to camp, and told their companions of what had occurred, and were heartily laughed at by them. When the time arrived for them to visit the mystic spot, they went with a large party and found, at the right of where she sat, corn growing; at the left, beans; and, where she had been seated, tobacco.*

From this time henceforth, hospitality became a part of the Indian religion.

*Life of Black Hawk.

When the national dance was over, the corn hoed, every weed dug up, and the corn about knee high, the young men and warriors started towards "sundown," to hunt deer and buffalo. The old men, women and children went to the lead mines to make lead, and to catch fish and get matting materials.

The village was totally deserted for about forty days; then the young men and warriors arrived from the west, with venison and buffalo meat, and sometimes Sioux scalps.* About the same time the old men, women and children arrived at the village with lead, dried fish and mats.

This being the season of plenty, feasts were given in honor of the Great Spirit, who had bountifully supplied them with all they had asked for.

Black Hawk, in speaking of the feast, says: "Every one makes his feast as he thinks best, to please the Great Spirit, who has the care of all things created. Others believe in two spirits, one good and one bad, and make feasts for the bad spirit to keep him quiet. For my part, I am of the opinion that so far as we have reason, we have a right to use it in determining what is right or wrong."

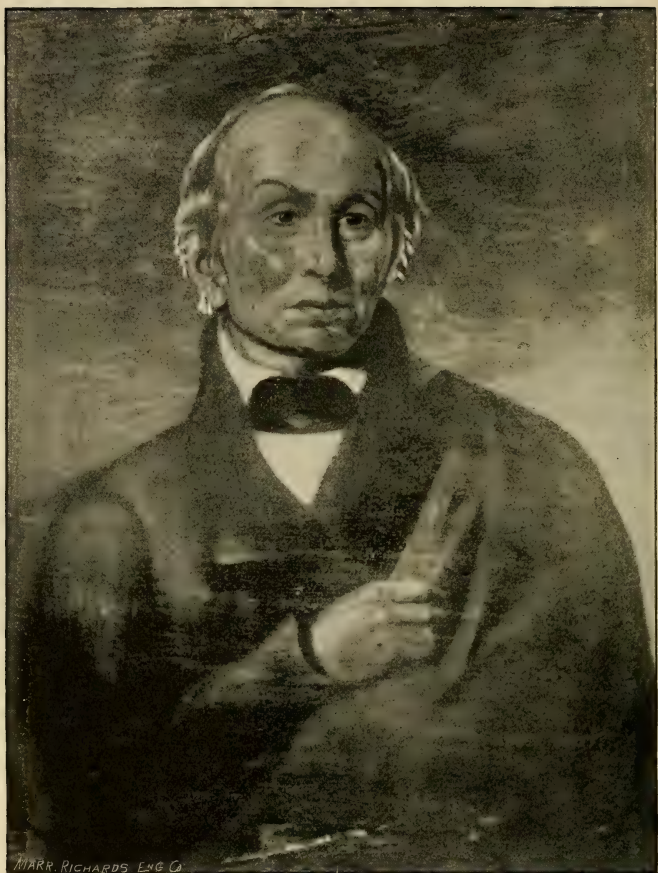
Next comes the great ball play, with from three to five hundred on a side. This game was played for guns, horses, and different kinds of property. Then came the horse racing and feasting, which continued until the corn was ripe and secured.

The traders then arrived, and gave them credit for guns, ammunition, clothing, and everything necessary. The traders were informed of the place where they intended to hunt, and instructed where to build their houses. At this point, corn and provisions were left, together with the old men, women and children. The band then divided, and in small parties went to make the hunt, and, when the hunt was over, they all met at the traders' establishments.

Some writers strongly intimate that the Sac and Fox tribes that left Green Bay in 1733† were the Sacs spoken of by Carver, as being located at Prairie du Sac, in 1767, and afterwards the founders of the Sac and Fox village, at the junction of the Rock river with the Mississippi. Such, however, could not have been the fact, as Black Hawk was born at the Indian village at the mouth of the Rock river in 1767, and, according to the tradition of his ancestors, the village had been located at that point about fifty years.

*Wherever the Sioux were found trespassing they were slain.

†Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., 148.



BLACK HAWK IN 1833.
From an oil painting in the Wis. Hist. Society's Rooms.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Fraudulent Treaty of 1804.—War of 1812.—Black Hawk and His People Dissatisfied.—Presents Made by British.—Meets Col. Dickson at Green Bay with Two Hundred Warriors.—Col. Dickson's Speech.—Black Hawk Takes Command of Five Hundred Warriors at Green Bay.—Fort Dearborn Massacre.—Assists British in Vicinity of Lake Erie.—Returns to Rock Island.

BLACK HAWK's account of the causes leading up to the wars in which he participated, as given by himself in "The Life of Black Hawk," edited by J. B. Patterson, of Rock Island, and certified to October 16, 1833, by Antoine Le Claire, United States interpreter for the Sacs and Foxes, is undoubtedly true in every material particular, and has been accepted as authentic for more than half a century.

Several "moons" prior to November 3, 1804, one of Black Hawk's people killed an American on the Mississippi river, and was arrested and imprisoned at St. Louis. Black Hawk's people held a council "which determined that Quash-Qua-me, Pashe-paho, Oche-qua-Ka and Has-he-quah-he-qui should go down to St. Louis and see the American Father, and do all they could to have our friend released by paying for the person killed. Thus covering the blood and satisfying the relatives of the man wounded. This being the only means with us, of saving a person who has killed another, and we then thought it was the same with the whites."*

This delegation remained absent a long time, and, when they finally arrived home, they were dressed in fine clothes and wore medals. The next morning after they arrived, a council lodge was convened, and received from Quash-Qua-me and his party, the following account of their mission at St. Louis:

"On their arrival at St. Louis, they met their American Father, and explained to him their business, and urged a release of their friend. The American Chief told them he wanted land, and they had agreed to give him some on the west side of the Mississippi and some on the Illinois side, opposite the Jeffreon.

"When the business was all arranged, they expected to have their friend relieved to come home with them, but, about the time they were ready to start, their friend was let out of prison, who ran a short distance and was shot dead. This is all they could recollect of what was said and done. They had been drunk the greater part of the time they were in St. Louis."†

*Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. III., 115.

†The above is Black Hawk's language as quoted from "The Life of Black Hawk," Smith's History of Wis., Vol. III., 116.

Under the conditions of this treaty,* which was conceived in fraud and born in sin, the united Sac and Fox tribes, in consideration of *goods* in hand delivered of the value of \$2,234.50, and a yearly annuity of \$1,000 to be paid in goods at first cost, ceded to the United States the lands situated within the following boundaries:

“Beginning at a point on the Missouri river, opposite the mouth of the Gasconde river, thence in a direct course so as to strike the river Jeffreon at a distance of thirty miles from its mouth, and down said Jeffreon, to the Mississippi; thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Wisconsin river; up the same to a point which shall be thirty-six miles in a direct line from the mouth of said river; thence, by a direct line, to a point where the Fox river (a branch of the Illinois) leaves the small lake called Sakaegan; thence down the Fox river to the Illinois river and down the same to the Mississippi.”

This treaty ceded to the United States more than fifty-one million acres of the best land on the continent, which included within its borders the Indian village which had been the home of Black Hawk and his ancestors for nearly a hundred years.†

With reference to this treaty, Black Hawk says: “I will leave it to the people of the United States, to say whether our nation was properly represented in this treaty, or whether we received a fair consideration for the country ceded by those four individuals. It has been the cause of all our troubles.”‡

The manner in which the signatures of at least four of the Sac and Fox representatives were obtained, together with the insignificant sum paid for so valuable a tract of land, is enough to cause other than humanitarians to blush at the pronounced duplicity of the government. It is one of those wrongs that time cannot efface.

The first event that transpired after the treaty of 1804, which excited the ire of Black Hawk and his nation, was the building of Fort Madison, the same year, above Des Moines Rapids, and within the territory fraudulently ceded to the United States.

The chiefs of Black Hawk's nation held a council with the officers from the fort, and were informed by them that the houses were being built for a trader, who was coming there to live, and would sell the Indians goods very cheap, and that the soldiers were to remain and keep the trader company.

The Indians accepted this story with many grains of doubt, as an attempt was shortly afterwards made by a “dancing party” to enter the fort by strat-

*Black Hawk always maintained that the only knowledge that either he or his nation had of the treaty was through the four assumed representatives, and that they had no power or authority whatsoever to enter into any treaty or compact.

†The date of the establishment of the Indian village at the mouth of the Rock river is unknown.

‡Life of Black Hawk, 24.

egy, which was frustrated. Black Hawk acknowledged that had the Indians gotten into the fort, the whites would all have been massacred.

The Shawnee prophet on the Wabash, and the Winnebagoes, shortly after Black Hawk's futile attempt to enter Fort Madison, induced him and several parties of his nation to join the Winnebagoes and make a second attempt to enter the fort. Black Hawk, through his spies, which had been sent out several days in advance, ascertained that about fifty soldiers of the garrison at Fort Madison marched out every morning at sunrise to drill. Black Hawk accordingly laid his plans to ambush the soldiers when they came out, and for the Indians to rush into the fort. The attempt proved unsuccessful. Three whites were killed and the fort was besieged for three days, during which time the buildings were several times fired by burning arrows, but the fires were extinguished without serious injury. The ammunition of the Indians finally gave out and they raised the siege. The Indians had one Winnebago killed and one wounded.

Shortly prior to the war of 1812, news reached Black Hawk, through his runners, that the United States and England were about to go to war. The United States, being desirous of retaining the friendship of Black Hawk and his nation, requested that some of the leading chiefs should go to Washington and have a talk with the Great Father.

Black Hawk's people complied with the request, and sent a delegation of chiefs and leading men to Washington. Upon their return they said that the Great Father wished them, in the event of war taking place with England, to remain neutral, to hunt, support their families and live in peace, and promised them that the trader at Fort Madison would supply them in the fall with goods on credit, as the British traders had previously done.

Black Hawk says: "This information pleased us all very much; we all agreed to follow our Great Father's advice and not interfere with the war. Our women were much pleased with the good news, everything went on cheerfully in our village. We resumed our pastimes of playing ball, horse racing, and dancing, which had been laid aside when this great war was first talked about. We had fine crops of corn which were now ripe, and our women were engaged in gathering it and making caches to contain it.

"In a short time, we were ready to start for Fort Madison to get our supplies of goods that we might proceed to our hunting grounds.

"Next morning, we arrived at Fort Madison and made our encampment, myself and principal men paying a visit to the war-chief at the fort. He received us kindly. We waited a long time, expecting the trader would tell us that he had orders from our Great Father to supply us with goods, but he said nothing on the subject. I got up and told him in a short speech what we had come for, and hoped he had plenty of goods to supply us, and told him he

would be well paid in the spring, and concluded by informing him that we had determined to follow our Great Father's advice, and not go to war. He said he was happy to hear that we intended to remain at peace; that he had a large quantity of goods, and that, if we made a good hunt, we should be well supplied; but remarked that he had received no orders to furnish us anything on credit, nor could he give us any without pay for them on the spot.

"We left the fort dissatisfied and went to our camp. What was now to be done, we knew not. We questioned the party that brought us the news from our Great Father, that we should get credit for our winter supply at this place; they still told the same story and insisted upon its truth. Few of us slept that night. All was gloom and despair."

The British, ever on the alert to secure such allies as Black Hawk, sent an express to him from Rock Island, containing presents, which arrived at Black Hawk's camp the morning after the trader at Fort Madison had refused to give them credit for their winter supply. The express also brought the news that La Gurtie,* a British trader, was at Rock Island with two boats, loaded with goods, and requested Black Hawk and his people to come immediately, as he had presents for them.

Black Hawk's party was not long in going to Rock Island, where they were heartily received by La Gurtie, the British agent, who gave them the two boat-loads of goods. While the Indians were dividing the goods, La Gurtie took Black Hawk aside and informed him that Col. Dickson was at Green Bay with twelve boats loaded with guns and ammunition, and that he desired Black Hawk to raise a party immediately and join him there. La Gurtie said that another trader was at Peoria collecting Pottawattamies, and would be at Green Bay ahead of them.

Black Hawk immediately raised a party of two hundred warriors and departed for Green Bay, where, upon his arrival, he found a large encampment of British soldiers and Indians, under the command of Col. Dickson.

In the evening Black Hawk visited the encampment and found a large number of Pottawattamies, Kickapoos, Ottawas and Winnebagoes. He visited all their camps and found them in high spirits. They had all received new guns, ammunition, and a variety of clothing.†

The next evening after the arrival of Black Hawk, Col. Dickson received him in his tent in presence of other war-chiefs and an interpreter, and after heartily shaking him by the hand, he introduced him to the other chiefs and, after seating him, said:

"General Black Hawk, I sent for you, to explain to you, what we are going to do, and the reason that has brought us here. Your English Father

*La Gurtie was a French Canadian trader and British agent.

†Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. III., 121.

has found out that the Americans want to take your country from you, and has sent me and his braves to drive them back to their own country. He has also sent a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and we want all your warriors to join us." He then placed a medal around his neck and gave him a paper* and a silk flag, saying: "You are to command all the braves that will leave here the day after to-morrow to join our braves near Detroit."

The next morning Black Hawk and his warriors were supplied with arms, ammunition, and clothing, and in the evening a great feast was given to all the savages.

The following morning Col. Dickson with his band of soldiers, accompanied by Black Hawk, with five hundred savages, started from Green Bay down the lake shore for Detroit. When they reached Chicago, the garrison at Fort Dearborn had shortly before been evacuated.

It appears that Gen. Hull had informed Capt. Heald, commander of Fort Dearborn, of the loss of Fort Mackinaw, the key of the northern lakes, and directed him to distribute his stores among the neighboring Indians, and retire to Fort Wayne. Heald, after distributing some of the stores, found that the savages were not to be trusted and, consequently, after having received orders, August 9, 1812, to evacuate the fort, made preparations accordingly and, on August 15, he abandoned the fort, after having first destroyed the powder and spirits in store.

The garrison proceeded on their way along the lake shore towards Fort Wayne for a little over a mile, when they were attacked by about five hundred Pottawattamies under Chief Blackbird. Capt. Heald was supported by Capt. Wells, and his guard of about thirty Miamis, who had been sent from Fort Wayne for that purpose.

Capt. Heald's forces were fifty-four regulars and twelve militia. The conflict was as desperate as it was short. In fact it was a massacre. Twenty-six of Heald's regulars, all of the militia, Capt. Wells, and other officers, together with two women, and twelve children, were killed. Capt. Heald, and his wife, and several others, were severely injured.† Capt. Heald and his survivors surrendered to Blackbird, upon condition that their lives should be spared.‡ The prisoners were taken to Fort Dearborn, which was burned the next day. The prisoners were distributed among the different tribes, excepting Capt. Heald and his wife, who were taken to the house of an Indian trader, where, after remaining some time, they were sent to Detroit.

Black Hawk, in speaking of the massacre, says: "They had a considera-

*A certificate of good character and devotion to the British. This certificate was found at the Battle of Bad Ax, twenty years later.

†Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. III., 122.

‡It is doubtful whether the surrender was conditional, as Heald was not in condition to dictate the terms of the surrender.



KEOKUK.

ble quantity of powder in the fort at Chicago which they had promised to the Indians, but, the night before they marched, they destroyed it. I think it was thrown into a well. If they had fulfilled their word to the Indians, I think they would have gone safe.

"On our arrival, I found that the Indians had several prisoners. I advised them to treat them well."

"We continued our march," says Black Hawk, "and joined the British army below Detroit, and soon after had a fight. *The Americans fought well and drove us with considerable loss. I was surprised at this, as I had been told by the British that the Americans could not fight.*"

The famous General Henry Procter,* with his British soldiers and savage allies under Black Hawk and other chiefs, operated many months in the vicinity of Detroit.

When Gen. Procter, with his soldiers and savage allies in 1814, were defeated by Harrison at Fort Meigs, and, shortly afterwards, repulsed and sustained heavy losses at Fort Stevenson by Lieut. Crogan, Black Hawk became discouraged and, while the British and Indian allies were hovering around Fort Sandusky, he, with part of his band, returned to Rock Island.

Upon Black Hawk's arrival at his village, he was heartily received and feasted. He then learned for the first time that, after he and his braves had joined the British at Green Bay, his nation was reduced to so small a war party that they would be unable to defend themselves against the Americans in case of an attack and so held a council, which agreed that Quash-qua-me (The Lance) and other chiefs with the old men, women and children, and such others as saw fit to accompany them, should go down to St. Louis and place themselves under the protection of the United States, which they accordingly did, and were received as a friendly band of the Sac and Fox nations.

Keokuk (Watchful Fox) was then introduced to Black Hawk as the war-chief of the braves then in the village. Black Hawk inquired how Keokuk was made chief and was informed that, after Quash-qua-me and his party had gone to St. Louis, their spies had discovered a large armed party going towards Peoria, and were afraid an attack might be made on their village, whereupon a council was held, which concluded, as a matter of safety, to abandon their village and cross to the west side of the Mississippi. Keokuk, never having killed an enemy, was not allowed to enter the council lodge, but while standing near the entrance, he learned of the proposed abandonment of their native village, and while waiting near the lodge-door, the aged Wacome came out and was persuaded to intercede for Keokuk and secure the consent of the council

*Henry Procter was born in Wales in 1765, and entered the British army in 1781, was promoted and made colonel in 1810. In 1812 he came to Canada at the head of the 41st regiment. For his victory over Winchester he was made brigadier-general. After his defeats in 1813, he was court-martialed, but afterwards restored to his old rank.

for him to address them. The request was granted. Keokuk then addressed the chiefs and warriors and in his speech remonstrated so eloquently against the desertion of their native village, their homes, and the graves of their fathers, that they immediately appointed him their war-chief.

Keokuk at once sent out his spies, marshaled his warriors, and took the trail leading toward Peoria. After vainly searching for the enemy, they returned without having discovered them. The village remained undisturbed, and Keokuk's appointment was satisfactory to all.*

*Life of Black Hawk, 24, Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. III., 123-125.



BLACK HAWK IN 1812.

(From lithograph.)

CHAPTER XXV.

Revenge the Death of His Adopted Son.—Defeats Zachary Taylor at Rock Island.—Fort Armstrong Built.—Encroachment of the Whites.—Black Hawk's Complaints to the United States Authorities.—The General Government and Illinois Violate the Ordinance of 1787.—Indians Removed to West Side of the Mississippi.—Promised Annuity Not Paid.

BLACK HAWK then visited his family, which he found well, but says that he could not rest in comfort with them, until he had avenged the death of an adopted child that had been killed and scalped by the whites in his absence. He then returned to his village, and with about thirty warriors went on a marauding trip down the Mississippi in the vicinity of Fort Madison and the Quiver river.

At this time two incidents occurred that show that Black Hawk was not the cold-blooded savage that he has so often been depicted, but, on the contrary, was an exception to the rule.

While Black Hawk and a companion were going up the trail from the Mississippi towards Fort Madison, they met two white men, one of whom was allowed to escape, as he had been at the village to teach the Indians how to plow. The other was killed and scalped by Black Hawk's companion. Shortly after this, they saw two little boys trying to conceal themselves in some bushes, but they passed without noticing them, as he says: "I thought of my own children."

After joining the remainder of the party near the Quiver, they had a conflict with a party of mounted men, the leader of which was instantly killed by Black Hawk. The Indians were then driven into a sink-hole where they hid in some bushes. After the whites fired into the bushes and killed one Indian, and received the fire of the Indians in return, they retreated with the loss of one man, which they left behind. The Indians then came out of the bushes and scalped the man they had killed, and placed their dead upon him. "We could not," says Black Hawk, "have left him in a better situation, than on the enemy."

Early in the season of 1814, and during the continuance of the war with Great Britain, the government authorities at St. Louis fitted out a large boat and mustered for its crew all of the available men at St. Louis and from the country south on the Mississippi, and dispatched it up the Mississippi to build a fort and protect the scattered settlers. Upon their arrival at Prairie du Chien they built Fort Shelby, and fortified the works in the best manner possible. Shortly after the construction of the fort, Col. McKay, of the British army, arrived from Green Bay by way of the historic water way, the Fox and

Wisconsin rivers, with a force of British and Indians. After a determined resistance against great odds, the fort was finally captured.*

The Indians were so infuriated that they would have massacred the whole garrison, had it not been for the able and forcible exertions on the part of Col. McKay, who sent a part of his soldiers to escort the garrison down the river in a boat; even then the Indians followed the boat until it passed Rock Island rapids.

Major Campbell had at this time ascended the river from St. Louis with a squadron of boats and a detachment of United States troops for the purpose of re-inforcing the garrison at Fort Shelby. When they reached Rock Island, they were well received by Black Hawk, and his people, who appeared to be friendly. During the night, however, an express came down Rock river with rum and powder, and brought the news that Fort Shelby, at Prairie du Chien, had been taken by the British. They easily succeeded in inciting Black Hawk to again join them.

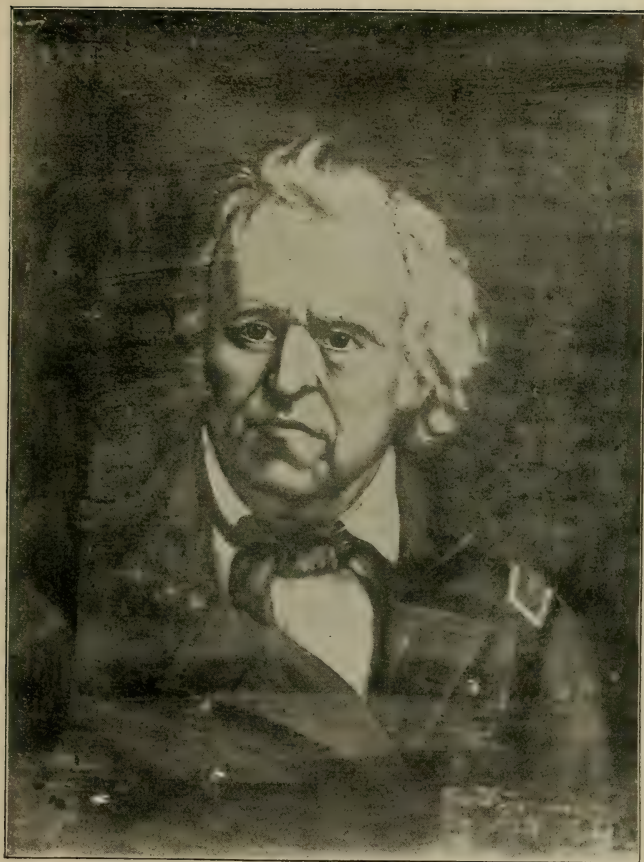
Black Hawk immediately started in pursuit of Col. Campbell's squadron, and succeeded in capturing one of the boats in the rapids above Rock Island. Col. Campbell and several of his men were wounded, and many killed. The expedition then returned down the river to St. Louis.

Shortly after the happening of the above events, the British commander at Prairie du Chien, then called Fort McKay, descended the Mississippi river, bringing with him a detachment of soldiers and two field-pieces, and joined Black Hawk at Rock Island, which was the great Indian seat of war. Maj. Zachary Taylor (afterward president of the United States), in command of three hundred men, left St. Louis in boats, for the upper Mississippi, on August 3, 1814. When they reached Rock Island† they found a British bat-

* Col. McKay's forces consisted of about one hundred and twenty volunteers, principally voyageurs in the employ of Canadian traders, and officered by their clerks, all dressed in red coats, together with three bands of Sioux Indians, under Waubashaw and other chiefs. Col. McKay and force came to Green Bay in boats; at that point he was reinforced by about thirty whites, with Pierre Grignon as captain, together with seventy-five Menominees, under Ma-cha-nah and other chiefs, and about twenty-five Chippewas, making about four hundred Indians and one hundred and fifty whites. They also had a sergeant of artillery and one brass six-pounder.

The expedition, by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, arrived at the old Fox village, twenty-one miles from Fort Shelby, where they camped, and sent their spies to Prairie du Chien, to ascertain the strength of the garrison, which they found to be sixty. The next day McKay met his spies at "Petit Greis," about three miles from the fort. The garrison was protected (?) by a small wooden gun-boat commanded by Captain Yaiser, who had stored on board the fort's magazine and provisions. Upon the refusal of the commander of the fort to surrender, the colonel's six-pounder commenced to play upon Captain Yaiser's gun-boat, and, before sundown, they drove him from the river against the protestations of the garrison. The garrison resisted all attacks of the British and Indians for four days, and not until McKay was about to shoot red-hot cannon balls into the fort, was the flag lowered. When the American flag was taken down, it was found riddled with bullets, except the representation of the eagle, which was unscathed. This fact was remarked by the gallant McKay. The Indians had been shooting at it for four days.

† Black Hawk, in his life, says that Maj. Zachary Taylor arrived the night before the engagement and camped on a small willow island nearly opposite them. That the British, early the next morning, while Taylor's forces were starting up the river, commenced firing upon the boats.



ZACHARY TAYLOR.

From an original oil painting, in the Wisconsin Historical Society's Rooms.

tery on the left shore and several hundred Indians under Black Hawk on the right. A severe battle took place in which several of Taylor's forces were killed and many wounded. Maj. Taylor, finding the British forces too great for his small number, retired down the river to St. Louis.

Great Britain's savage allies were forever released from their alliance with that nation upon the consummation of the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, which was entered into Dec. 24, 1814.

Black Hawk and twenty-one of the Sac and Fox chiefs were persuaded by the United States authorities to meet in council on May 13, 1816, at St. Louis, where they ratified the treaty of St. Louis, dated November 3, 1804, by the terms of which treaty the Sac and Fox nation ceded to the United States the greater portion of Wisconsin, northern Illinois, and a strip of land on the northeast side of Missouri, and a large portion of the state of Iowa, which included Black Hawk's native village and the graves of his ancestors.

Black Hawk, in speaking of this treaty, says: "Here, for the first time, I touched the goose-quill to the treaty, not knowing, however, by that act I consented to give away my village. Had that been explained to me, I should have opposed it, and never would have signed this treaty, as my recent conduct will clearly show."

Upon Black Hawk's arrival from St. Louis, he found that in his absence, the United States troops had arrived at Rock Island, for the purpose of building Fort Armstrong.

"We did not object to their building the fort," says Black Hawk, "but were very sorry, as this was the best island on the Mississippi, and had long been the resort of our young people during the summer. It was our garden (like the white people have near to their big villages) which supplied us with strawberries, blackberries, gooseberries, plums, apples, and nuts of different kinds; and its water supplied us with fine fish, being situated in the rapids of the river. In my early life, I spent many happy days on this island. A good spirit had care of it, who lived in a cave in the rocks, immediately under the place where the fort now stands, and has often been seen by our people. He was white, with large wings like a swan, but ten times larger. We were particular not to make much noise in that part of the island which he inhabited for fear of disturbing him. But the noise of the fort has since driven him away, and no doubt a bad spirit has taken his place. Our village was situated on the north side of the Rock river, at the foot of its rapids, on the point of land between Rock river and the Mississippi. In its front a prairie extended to the banks of the Mississippi; and, in our rear, a continued bluff gently ascending from the prairie. On the side of this bluff we had our cornfields, extending about two miles up, running parallel with the Mississippi, where we joined those of the Foxes,

whose village was on the bank of the Mississippi opposite the lower end of Rock Island, and three miles distant from ours.

"We had about eight hundred acres in cultivation, including what we had on the islands of Rock river. The land around our village, uncultivated, was covered with blue-grass, which made excellent pasture for our horses. Several fine springs broke out of the bluff near by, from which we were supplied with good water. The rapids of Rock river furnished us with an abundance of excellent fish, and the land, being good, never failed to produce good crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, and squashes. We always had plenty. Our children never cried with hunger, nor were our people ever in want. Here our village had stood for more than a hundred years, during which time we were the undisturbed possessors of the valley of the Mississippi, from the Ouisconsin to the Portage des Sioux, near the mouth of the Missouri.

"At this time, we had very little intercourse with the whites, except our traders. Our village was healthy and there was no place in the country possessing such advantages, nor any hunting grounds better than those we had in our possession. If another prophet had come to our village in those days, and told us what has since taken place, none of our people would have believed him. What, to be driven from our village and hunting grounds, and not even permitted to visit the graves of our forefathers, our relations, and friends? This hardship is not known to the whites. With us, it is the custom to visit the graves of our friends and keep them in repair for many years. The mother might go alone to weep over the grave of her child. The brave with pleasure visits the grave of his father, after he has been successful in war, and repaints the post that shows where he lies. There is no place like that where the bones of our forefathers lie to go to when in grief; here the Great Spirit will take pity on us."

About this time, Black Hawk and several of his band took the old Indian trail across northern Illinois and southern Michigan, to the British Indian agency at Malden, Canada. They were well received by the British agent, who gave Black Hawk a medal for his fidelity to the English cause during the war of 1812, and invited him to return with his band each year and receive presents that had been promised them by Col. Dickson several years before. Upon their return home they were well laden with both presents and advice.*

The fraudulent treaty of St. Louis, in 1804, contained this inducement clause: "As long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States shall remain their (the general government's) property, the Indians belonging to said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living or hunting upon them." This meant

*Black Hawk says, in his Life, that at the time the British agent gave him the medal, he said that there never would again be war between England and the United States, but, on account of Black Hawk's fidelity, he and his band should receive their annual presents.

that the Indians were to remain upon these ceded lands until pre-empted by actual settlers.

The knowledge of this saving clause was to Black Hawk the one bright ray of light that shone through the dark and threatening clouds that were about to burst and destroy him.

Notwithstanding this clause in the treaty, the most venturesome of the early frontiersmen, within a short time after the building of Fort Armstrong, commenced squatting upon the lands adjacent to Black Hawk's ancient village.

The attractions to the fertile valley of the Mississippi were so great, that, as early as 1823, the old Indian village and its cornfields* were most entirely surrounded by these wily and avaricious squatters, and notwithstanding the fact that a strip of fine unoccupied land, forty miles wide, lay east of the village.

Black Hawk's affairs were each day becoming more and more complicated. The agent at Fort Armstrong and the trader at Rock Island had already induced Keokuk and other easy and rum-loving chiefs to cross over to the west side of the Mississippi and build a new village. The old Sac and Fox confederation was now for the first time divided. Those favoring peace and the abandonment of their native homes had crossed the Mississippi with Keokuk and other peace-chiefs; the balance, consisting of more than a thousand souls, remained in their native village with Black Hawk.

Keokuk frequently came to the village to co-operate with the agent and trader at Rock Island, with the view of persuading Black Hawk and his followers to cross over to the west side of the Mississippi; but Black Hawk's love for his native village, and the graves of his fathers, was so great that every inducement proved futile. He looked upon Keokuk as "no brave," a coward, and a friend of the whites.

Each day the unprincipled and avaricious squatters encroached more and more upon the heritage of Black Hawk and his people. Whenever a white man wanted a cornfield, he would plow up the Indian's newly-planted corn-ground and replant it himself, thereby destroying the Indian's greatest source for sustaining his family. Whisky was openly given to the Indians in the village, and they were made drunk, and cheated out of their horses, guns and equipments, and not infrequently were they inhumanly treated by these "early settlers."

At one time, while Black Hawk was hunting near Two Rivers, he was met by three white men, who accused him of killing their hogs, and, notwithstanding his protestations and declarations of innocence, they took away his gun, fired it off, took out the flint, and after giving it back, they beat him so

*Black Hawk's cornfields consisted of about eight hundred acres of fine land, including the islands in the Rock river.

badly that he could not sleep for several nights. An Indian woman was also beaten for pulling up a few cornsuckers from a white man's cornfield to eat when hungry; and one of the young Indians was so badly beaten with clubs, by two white men, for opening a fence which crossed the road to the Indian village, that his shoulder-blade was broken, and he died.

Amid these disastrous and distressing times, not one of the whites was hurt or molested by the Indians. Black Hawk complained to the United States authorities at St. Louis and informed them of the true state of affairs. At the same time, the squatters were complaining to the authorities at St. Louis that the Indians were intruding upon *their* rights; "they made themselves out," says Black Hawk, "to be the injured party, and we the intruders, and called loudly to the great war-chief to protect *their* property."

In the fall of 1830, and shortly prior to their starting for their hunting grounds in Missouri, the agent at Fort Armstrong told Black Hawk that the land upon which the Indian village stood should be sold, and if they returned the following spring, that they should be forcibly removed. During the winter, a runner informed Black Hawk that the land, upon which their village stood, had been sold, and that the solicitious trader at Rock Island (who had repeatedly urged Black Hawk to remove to the west side of the Mississippi) had purchased it.*

During the long and dreary winter of 1830-31, the council lodge in Black Hawk's camp was several times convened, and therein it was determined that they should return to their native village, in the spring, and, if they were forcibly removed, "the trader, the agent, the interpreter, the great chief at St. Louis, the great war-chief at Fort Armstrong and Keokuk were to be killed." This wholesale slaughter was to be performed by Neapope, the prince of Indian liars. Unfortunately, Black Hawk had two friends and counselors, each of whom he implicitly trusted; one was White Cloud, the crafty half Sac and half Winnebago prophet, and chief of a Winnebago village, thirty-nine miles up Rock river, at a place now called Prophetstown, Illinois, and the other was the zealous, lying and deceptive Neapope, who frequently acted as Black Hawk's ambassador.

Upon the return of Black Hawk and his band, late in the spring of 1831, after a fruitless winter's hunt, they found their native village in a deplorable condition. Many of the bark lodges had been burned, the village divided up and sold to the government trader at Rock Island, and to his friends the squatters; the old cornfields, that the Indians had cultivated for more than a century, had likewise been sold, and the dearest of all spots to the Indian heart, the burying-ground of their dead, had also been sold and plowed over.†

* Col. Davenport.

† Black Hawk claimed that the principal cause of their failure to procure game and fur during the winter of 1830-31, was because the whites had traded whisky with the Indians for their guns and traps.

‡ Smith's Hist. Wis., Vol. III., 138.

Black Hawk, in contrasting the good old days before Fort Armstrong was built, with these times, says: "But how different now is our situation from what it was in those days—then we were as happy as the buffalo on the plains, but now we are as miserable as the hungry, howling wolves in the prairie. Bitter reflections crowd upon the mind and must find utterance."

Black Hawk now went to Fort Malden to advise with the British agent, on the subject of his grievances, and also called upon the "Great Chief" at Detroit, for the same purpose, and was told by both that "if we had not sold our lands, and would remain peaceably on them, we should not be disturbed." This, he says, "assured me that I was right and determined me to hold out."

Owing to the fact that they were obliged to break new grounds with their primitive hoes, the prospect for a corn crop was so poor, that, for the first time, Black Hawk found his people face to face with starvation.

The interpreter and agent at Fort Armstrong ordered Black Hawk and his people, under pain of compulsion, to cross over to the west side of the Mississippi. They tried, however, to make arrangements with the government authorities at St. Louis, whereby Black Hawk should receive six thousand dollars to remove quietly and peaceably westward of the Mississippi, but the authorities at St. Louis sent back word that "the government could give them nothing, and if they did not remove immediately that they would be driven off."

Notwithstanding these facts, Black Hawk was determined to remain in the village, but fearing that a conflict might arise he directed his band, that in case the authorities came, not to raise a hand against them. Frequently and vainly did Black Hawk apply to the various government authorities for redress, and vainly did he ask for permission to go to Washington, for the purpose of having a talk with the American Father, President Jackson.

The settlers complained to Governor Reynolds, of Illinois, and represented that Black Hawk was a regular Memphisto, and his band, imps; that they had thrown down their fences, cut up their grain, slaughtered their cattle, and did numerous other unholy acts.*

Black Hawk's band, considering their usage by the settlers, together with their almost starving condition, undoubtedly did commit numerous offenses, but that these offenses were greatly multiplied and distorted, none can deny.

Governor Reynolds, upon receipt of the numerous exaggerated reports, immediately declared the state invaded, and appealed to Gen. Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs, to afford means for the protection of the people, and to remove the Indians across the Mississippi.

The governor's call was speedily complied with, and, on the 10th day of June, 1831, about sixteen hundred men had assembled at Beardstown, and

*The squatters, with one exception, left the village and vicinity for a short period after Black Hawk threatened them with death. One white man who had a large family was, through sympathy, permitted to stay.

there organized into an "odd battalion and a spy battalion." The brigade was then placed under command of Maj.-Gen. Jos. Duncan, of the Illinois state militia.

General Gaines, having arrived at Rock Island by steamboat with a detachment of soldiers, convened a council at the agency, on the 7th day of June, 1831, which was attended by Black Hawk and several of his chiefs, together with Keokuk and Watella, the peace-chiefs. Black Hawk was told that their Great Father, the president, was sorry to be put to the trouble and expense of sending a body of soldiers to remove them from the lands which they had long since ceded to the United States, and advised them to immediately remove to the west side of the Mississippi. Black Hawk replied: "We have never sold our country; we have never received any annuities from our American Father, and we are determined to hold on to the village."

Gen. Gaines angrily arose, and replied: "Who is Black Hawk? Who is Black Hawk?" Black Hawk, with flashing eyes, answered: "I am a Sac; my forefather was a Sac; and all the nations call me a Sac."

"I came here," said Gen. Gaines, "neither to beg nor to hire you to leave your village; my business is to remove you peaceably, if I can; forcibly, if I must. I will give you two days to remove in, and, if you do not cross the Mississippi in that time, I will adopt measures to force you away." Thus the council broke up.

About June 24, the whole of the forces were concentrated about eight miles below the mouth of the Rock river, at a place now called Rockport. From this point, plans were laid for the capture of the Indian village, and the destruction of the Sac nation. Gen. Gaines convened a council on the 24th of June and gave Black Hawk and his band one day in which to cross to the west side of the Mississippi. Accordingly, on the morning of June 26th, the two brigades marched up the country, and General Gaines and a detachment ascended the river in a steamboat. Upon their arrival at the mouth of the Rock river, they found the Indian village deserted, Black Hawk and his whole band having crossed to the west side of the Mississippi in the night, and encamped below Rock Island.

This brave band of sixteen hundred well-armed and well-fed militiamen, in their wrath at not finding a few hundred nearly-starved and half-armed Indians, amidst torrents of rain, set fire to the bark wigwams, and in a short time this ancient village, which had been the home of six or seven thousand Indians, was reduced to a pile of smouldering ashes.*

It is suggested that perhaps the militiamen, who set fire to the old Indian village, were the brave three hundred, who the next year, upon hearing the first Indian war-whoops at Syracuse Creek, ran to Dixon, a distance of thirty miles away.

* Ford's Illinois, 114.

Upon June 27, the little army marched up Rock river, where they camped at a place now called Rock Island. At this place, Gen. Gaines convened another council, and by threatening to cross the Mississippi, in pursuit of the starving refugees, succeeded in getting Black Hawk to "touch the quill" to a peace treaty, by the terms of which, Black Hawk was to receive corn in place of that growing in the fields, and that he and his nation were ever to remain on the west side of the Mississippi, and not to recross without the permission of the governor of Illinois, or the President of the United States.

History should not conceal facts, nor misrepresent them; either for the purpose of covering up, or concealing the errors or mistakes of government officials, or for any other purpose. More than sixty years have elapsed since the occurrence of these unhappy events—sufficient time to allay all prejudice against these unfortunate and misguided red men.

When Gen. Gaines ordered Black Hawk to recross to the west side of the Mississippi, several million acres of unoccupied lands lay east of the Mississippi which, under the terms of the treaty of 1804, Black Hawk had the right to live and hunt on.

The greatest travesty on justice ever perpetrated in the United States was the treaty of St. Louis, made Nov. 3, 1804. In this treaty, the United States was represented by its able commissioner, William Henry Harrison, and the Sac and Fox nation by five drunken Indians, four of whom had been sent to St. Louis to try and liberate an Indian prisoner. The consideration for more than fifty-one million acres of land was \$2,234.50 in *goods*, delivered to these Indians, and the government's promise to pay annually \$1,000 in goods to be valued at cost, \$600 of which was to be paid to the Sacs and \$400 to the Foxes.

In the life of Black Hawk, which was published in 1833, both in the United States and England, Black Hawk stoutly maintained that not one cent of the promised annuity was ever paid. It is reasonable to suppose that had the government paid the promised annuity, that, long ere this, the vouchers would have been produced by the government to erase the stain upon its escutcheon, which was made by overzealous and not overscrupulous officials.

There is no doubt but that Black Hawk, in 1831, working in unison with other malcontent chiefs, undertook to unite the different Indian tribes between Lake Superior and Mexico. He admits that "runners were sent to the Arkansas, Red river and Texas, not on the subject of our lands, but on a secret mission which I am not at present permitted to explain."

If Black Hawk had succeeded in forming such a general alliance for offensive and defensive purposes, he would be known in history as the greatest Indian chief America ever produced.

MAP OF THE ROCK RIVER

Scale - 30 Miles = 1 in.



MAP SHOWING COUNTRY TRAVERSED BY BLACK HAWK IN HIS FLIGHT.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Black Hawk Returns to East Side of Mississippi.—Ordered Back.—Goes up Rock River to Make Corn.—United Forces of Government and Illinois Militia.—Black Hawk Tries to Surrender.—Maj. Stillman's Militia Shoots Truce-Bearer.—Battle of Stillman's Run.—Generosity of Black Hawk.

ABOUT this time Neapope arrived from Fort Malden, where he had been sent when Gen. Gaines was first making arrangements to remove the British band* across the Mississippi.

Upon Neapope's arrival, he reported to Black Hawk that the agent of the British Father had sent him word that the Americans should not remove them to the west side of the Mississippi, and that, in the event of war, the British would assist them. He further said that he had stopped at the Prophet's village, and that the prophet had received expresses from the British Father, who promised to send them guns, ammunition and clothing, in the spring, and that the prophet had received wampum and tobacco from different tribes on the lake.

At this time Keokuk, having learned that Black Hawk was about to recruit his band with the view of recrossing to the east side of the Mississippi, made application to the government authorities at St. Louis for permission for Black Hawk and some of his chiefs to go to Washington, with the view of settling their difficulties. Keokuk also requested Col. Davenport, the trader at Rock Island, who was going to Washington, to call upon the president and get his permission for a delegation of chiefs to visit him. But the United States officials on the Mississippi, the traders and squatters, were not anxious for Black Hawk to have a hearing before the president.† At any rate, the much-sought permission was not granted to Black Hawk and his chiefs to visit the president.

During the summer of 1831 and winter of '31-32, Black Hawk made his headquarters at the site of Fort Madison,‡ where he recruited his band, with the view of going up the Rock river in the spring, for the purpose of raising a crop of corn, and for the purpose of inducing other Indian tribes to join him in order to eventually re-establish his rights on the east side of the Mississippi.

On April 7, 1832, Black Hawk and his band recrossed to the east side of the Mississippi at Yellow Banks, and started up the Mississippi.

The warriors were on horseback, armed and equipped, the women and children in canoes with provisions and camp equipages. White Cloud, the prophet, joined them below Rock Island, having first called at Fort Armstrong

*Black Hawk's people were called the British band by the early traders and squatters on account of their fidelity to the British in the war of 1812.

†Life of Black Hawk, 91.

‡Fort Madison was burned by Zachary Taylor in 1813, after his repulse at Rock Island.

and informed the government authorities that Black Hawk and his band were, upon his invitation, going up the Rock river to make corn.

The military authorities had for some time been watching the movements of Black Hawk and his band, at their rendezvous at the site of Fort Madison, and hardly had they crossed the Mississippi, before Governor Reynolds, with more haste than wisdom, declared the state invaded, and made a call for volunteers, and asked aid from the general government. In a few days sixteen hundred men assembled at Beardstown and were organized into four regiments and a spy battalion, and the whole brigade placed under the command of Brig.-Gen. Whitesides. In the meantime, Gen. Atkinson, with a body of United States troops, had ascended the Mississippi in steamboats, from St. Louis, and upon their arrival in the vicinity of Rock Island, they were joined by Gen. Whitesides and his forces.*

Black Hawk and his band had moved leisurely and quietly up the Rock river for some distance, when they were overtaken by a messenger from General Atkinson, ordering them in a peremptory manner to leave the country and recross the Mississippi. To this message Black Hawk promptly answered that he would not; that he did not recognize the right to make such a demand, as he was acting peaceably, and intended to go to the prophet's village and make corn. The messenger returned, and the band moved up the river and camped below the prophet's village. At this point another messenger arrived from General Atkinson, threatening to pursue and drive them back, if they did not immediately return. "This message," says Black Hawk, "roused the spirit of my band, and all were determined to remain with me and contest the ground with the war-chief, should he come and attempt to drive us. We therefore directed the express to say to the war-chief that, if he wished to fight us, he might come on. We were determined never to be driven, and equally so, not to make the first attack, our object being to act only on the defensive."

Shortly after this messenger returned, Mr. Gratiot, the sub-agent for the Winnebagoes, together with several chiefs of that nation, arrived. Mr. Gratiot's mission was to persuade Black Hawk and his band to recross the Mississippi, but the double-faced Winnebago chiefs that were with him said that the farther Black Hawk went up the Rock river the more friends he would find, and that their reinforcements would soon be sufficiently strong to repulse any enemy.

While the chiefs in the vicinity of Prophetstown did not deny that they had sent wampum, during the winter, with the request that they join the Winnebagoes and enjoy all the rights of the country, yet they did not want them to go farther up the Rock river. The next night after the band went into camp above the prophet's village, Black Hawk called a council of his people,

*Smith's Hist. Wis., I., 260.

and informed his chiefs that they had been deceived; that all the golden promises held out by Neapope were false. The council then decided to go up as far as Kishwocakee, and see what they could do with the Pottawattamies. Upon their arrival near Kishwocakee an envoy was sent to the Pottawattamie village, and the next day a delegation of those stoical warriors arrived. Black Hawk soon ascertained that they had but little corn in the village and none to spare, even for seed. They denied any knowledge of British assistance.

Black Hawk now for the first time found that the assistance promised by both the prophet and Neapope was a fabrication, and then and there concluded to inform his people that if the White Beaver (Gen. Atkinson) came after them, they would return across the Mississippi, as they were in need of both provisions and ammunition.

The next day, May 14, Black Hawk had a dog feast prepared for the Pottawattamie chiefs, who were present at his invitation. When the feast was ready, Black Hawk spread the medicine bags, and the chiefs began to eat. When the ceremonies were about ended, a runner came in with the news that three or four hundred white men on horseback had been seen about eight miles off.

Black Hawk immediately started three young men, with a white flag, to meet them and conduct them to his camp in order to hold a council with them, and again descended the Rock river. He also directed them that in case the party had encamped, to return, and he would go to their camp. The adroit old warrior then sent five young men to see what might take place.

Gen. Atkinson, in the meantime, with about three hundred regulars and about the same number of Illinois militia, followed Black Hawk up the Rock river. Gen. Atkinson, however, had been preceded by Gen. Whitesides, who had halted at Prophetstown, long enough to burn the Winnebago village; then centered his forces at Dixon.

On May 12, Major Stillman got permission from Gen. Whitesides to take about three hundred mounted men up Rock river on a scouting expedition, with the view of having a good time, and locating Black Hawk. Two days later, on May 14, Stillman's scouting party went into camp near Sycamore creek, which was about thirty miles from Dixon, and only a few miles from where Black Hawk was feasting the Pottawattamie chiefs.

In a short time Black Hawk's three truce-bearers were seen coming towards camp. They were met by several of the militia and escorted into camp, and after explaining the object of their mission, and while standing unarmed among nearly three hundred militia, they were shot at by some militiamen who had just arrived, and one of the three instantly killed. At this moment, the five Indians who had been sent out by Black Hawk to watch the first three, were discovered, and, while the excited and half-drunken militia were preparing to mount and give chase, the two remaining truce-bearers

escaped. About twenty of the militia immediately pursued and shot down two of the five fleeing Indians.

The three Indians who had escaped the wrath of the militia soon returned to Black Hawk, and informed him of the supposed death of the truce-bearers, the death of two of their number, and of their own timely escape. By this time the whole brigade was in the saddle, and in a chaotic manner were bearing down towards the camp of Black Hawk, whose warriors, with the exception of about forty, were some ten miles away.

Black Hawk told his warriors what had occurred, and asked them to avenge their death; then, at the head of his little band of forty braves, started to meet the militia. They had proceeded but a short distance when they saw about twenty of the brigade coming towards them, followed by the balance of the militia. Black Hawk placed his warriors behind clusters of bushes, "in order to get the first fire." The militia, suspecting an ambush, halted some little distance from the concealed Indians. When Black Hawk finally gave the signal, the Indians, with the most terrific war-whoops, discharged their guns, then with their tomahawks and knives in hand, charged the militia, who retreated in the utmost confusion, passing through their own camp and on to Dixon.

Black Hawk, after following the militia for a short distance, returned to his camp with a part of his braves, then, lighting his pipe, he sat down and smoked and thanked the Great Spirit for their success.

The two Indians belonging to the truce party, after escaping, hid themselves in the timber, but were closely followed by some of the militia, one of whom came so close that a tomahawk was thrown from the ambush, the militiaman killed and scalped with his own knife. Then the Indians, after taking his gun and ammunition, mounted his horse and started in pursuit of the enemy and soon overtook, tomahawked and scalped one whose horse was mired.

About twenty-five of Black Hawk's warriors followed Stillman's men several miles beyond their encampment, and upon their return they had twelve scalps and two prisoners. The balance of Stillman's men, with one exception,* did not stop running until they reached Dixon; and upon their arrival, their vivid imagination placed the Indian forces at from fifteen hundred to two thousand.

In this disgraceful affair, which was the cause of the "Black Hawk War," Stillman's losses were twelve killed, two taken prisoners and several wounded, while the only losses sustained by Black Hawk were the three Indians who

*Among the retreating militia was a Methodist preacher, who soon found that his horse was so slow that he would be overtaken; consequently, he struck into a ravine which led from the main route, and soon found good shelter for himself and horse. Here he staid for more than two hours. He took the precaution to count the Indians when they passed, and also upon their return. Thus being satisfied that all had returned, he quietly and leisurely trotted along towards Dixon, where he arrived the next morning about sunrise. When questioned about the number of Indians that followed the militia, he answered twenty-five, and came near being lynched for his truthfulness.

were killed by the militia, before the first war-whoop was given. The next morning, Black Hawk sent the village crier to notify his people that the dead must be buried. After the dead had been buried, and runners sent to pick up the balance of the warriors, an examination was made of Stillman's camp, which contained considerable plunder, such as arms, ammunition and provisions. A small quantity of whisky was also found, together with several little empty barrels which "contained this bad medicine." Black Hawk could then account for the manner in which his unarmed truce-bearers had been shot down, but the emptiness of the little barrels did not suggest to his stoical mind any reason for the hasty and cowardly retreat of the militia.

The two prisoners brought into Black Hawk's camp were Gideon Munson and Elijah Kilbourn. Munson, after having been taken to Black Hawk's camp, tried to escape and was shot down and scalped by one of the guards.

Kilbourn was tied to a tree and furnished sport for the young Indians, who blessed him with an occasional slap or a kick as they passed him. His only hope was that they would not identify him. To be identified meant death, as he had, many years before, been adopted by Black Hawk into the tribe, under peculiar circumstances, and had, after three years of wild, Indian life, escaped. As hour after hour passed, and none of the chiefs or warriors recognized him, he began to hope that his life would be spared, but his heart sank when Black Hawk passed close to him, and, in a low tone, said: "Does the mole think that Black Hawk forgets?"

Kilbourn was one of the brave and daring young scouts that were detailed to operate near or in the vicinity of Detroit and other points on Lake Erie, during the war of 1812.

After the British were defeated at Fort Stevenson in 1813, Kilbourn and some of his venturesome companions, after learning that Black Hawk and a few of his warriors had started for their village on Rock river, conceived the idea of following them. Consequently, the next morning at daybreak, about a dozen brave and well-mounted young scouts were on the Indian trail leading southwest. Stealthily they followed the trail, until they came to the Illinois river. Here they found that the Indians had divided, a portion going towards their village, and the balance following down the river. The leader of the scouts, after first secreting their horses, sent Kilbourn and three companions across the river to follow the trail leading towards the Indian village on Rock river, while the rest of the scouts followed the trail leading down the river. The morning following the first day's trailing found Kilbourn and his party in the vicinity of Indian settlements, and in consequence, the trail became so merged with other Indian trails that their progress not only became slow, but extremely perilous. As a matter of safety, the scouts now resolved to adopt the Indian method of separating, then afterwards meeting at a given



SCENE NEAR PEATONICA BATTLEGROUND.

From Oil Painting.

place. The suggestion was no sooner made than put into execution. Kilbourn, after carefully examining the priming of his rifle, started off in the direction most liable to bring him to their crossing place on the Illinois river. Nothing of importance occurred until nearly sundown, when, suddenly emerging from a thicket, he saw an Indian on his knees drinking from a clear spring. Instantly Kilbourn's rifle was at his shoulder, and after taking deliberate aim, he pulled the trigger, and to his dismay, the hammer came down and shattered the flint into fragments without igniting the powder. Instantly the Indian sprang to his feet and leveled his gun, and in good English demanded Kilbourn to surrender, then told him in what direction to go, which he accordingly did, and in a few moments he came suddenly upon an Indian camp, containing six or eight Indians, who appeared to be as much surprised as he was. It did not take him long to recognize his captor as the celebrated Black Hawk.

After talking with his companions a few moments, Black Hawk informed him that his warriors would consider him as a brother, as he was going to adopt him into the tribe. For three years Kilbourn, fished, hunted and trapped in the vast wilderness of Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, before he found an opportunity of taking French leave of his red brothers. Seventeen years later, as a government scout, he found himself at the front with Stillman's men, fighting his old benefactor, when he was again taken prisoner. This was the situation of affairs, and the reason that he patiently awaited death after being recognized by the old warrior.

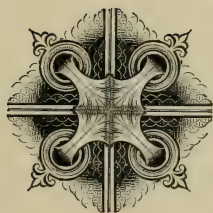
That same evening, about two hours before sunset, Black Hawk came to where Kilbourn was tied, cut the thongs that bound him to the tree, and then, without unfastening his hands, bade him follow him. In silence and alone they traveled through the gloomy forest for nearly an hour, until finally, reaching a bend in Rock river, Black Hawk, after turning towards the setting sun, said :

"I am going to send you back to your chief, though I ought to kill you for running away a long time ago, after I had adopted you as a son, but Black Hawk can forgive as well as fight. When you return to your chief, I want you to tell him my words. Tell him that Black Hawk's eyes have looked upon many suns, but they shall not see many more; and that his back is no longer straight as in his youth, but is beginning to bend with age. The Great Spirit has whispered among the tree-tops in the morning and evening, and says that Black Hawk's days are few, and that he is wanted in the spirit-land. He is half-dead, his arm shakes and is no longer strong, and his feet are slow on the war-path. Tell him all this, and tell him, too," continued Black Hawk, with marked emotion, "that Black Hawk would have been a friend to the whites, but they would not let him, and that the hatchet was dug up by themselves, and not by

the Indians. Tell your chief that Black Hawk meant no harm to the pale faces when he came across the Mississippi, but came peaceably to raise corn for his starving women and children, and that even then he would have gone back; but when he sent his white flag, the braves who carried it were treated like squaws, and one of them inhumanly shot." "Tell him, too," said the old warrior, as his eyes flashed fire, "that Black Hawk will have revenge, and that he will never stop until the Great Spirit shall say to him, come away!" *

Then cutting the thongs that bound the prisoner's arms, he gave him specific directions as to the route to his camp, and after bidding him farewell, the old warrior struck off into the trackless forest, to make that last and desperate struggle for his honor and the honor of his nation.

*Life of Black Hawk. Kilbourn's narrative as published in the Soldier's Cabinet.



CHAPTER XXVII.

Extermination.—Governor Reynolds' Inflammatory Proclamation.—Black Hawk Establishes His Headquarters at Four Lakes.—Indian Bands Depredate Northern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin.—Pecatonica.—Famine at Four Lakes.—The Band Moves Up to the Wisconsin River.—Black Hawk With Fifty Warriors Holds the American Army in Check at Wisconsin Heights.

UPON Black Hawk's return to camp he found that his absent warriors had returned. He then sent out spies to watch the army which was camped at Dixon.

The disposition of the militia at Sycamore creek had satisfied the mind of Black Hawk that a war of extermination was being waged against him and his nation. He had tried to surrender, and his truce-bearers were shot down. It was impossible for him to return and recross the Mississippi without exposing the lives of the women and children to the fury of the enemy. The one course now left him was to find a place of safety for the women and children, then make a gallant fight for their honor.

Black Hawk now commenced moving his band of about 500 warriors, together with their women and children, up to the headwaters of the Kishwaukee. Upon their arrival at that point, Black Hawk sent out numerous war parties to depredate the whole country, from Chicago to the Mississippi, and from Rock river north into Wisconsin.* Then with two old Winnebagoes as guides, they commenced moving towards the Four Lakes (where Madison now stands), and after seven days' hard marching, they arrived at the Four Lakes and there established their headquarters.

Prior to the time Governor Reynolds issued his last proclamation, Colonel W. S. Hamilton had been sent up above Prairie du Chien to form an alliance with the Sioux and Menominee Indians, and, within a short time, he succeeded in sending down the Mississippi a band of those incarnate fiends, who never spared either warrior, woman or child.

In those days Wisconsin was a part of the territory of Michigan, and the principal settlements were at Green Bay, Milwaukee, the lead regions in Iowa county, and at Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi.

Henry Dodge, who was one of the early pioneers of the Iowa county lead regions, at this time occupied the position of colonel of the militia of that portion of the territory of Michigan, and upon the commencement of hostilities commanded the mounted volunteers of Iowa county and the Galena vol-

*One of the war parties, consisting of seventeen Indians, was completely annihilated at Pecatonica on June 16, 1832, by General Dodge and twenty-two companions. General Dodge had two men killed and one wounded. Not one of the Indians escaped.

unteers of Illinois. He was under orders of Brig.-Gen. Atkinson, of the United States army.

Col. Dodge, with twenty-seven volunteers, left Iowa county on May 8, and proceeded up the Rock river for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the country, and, if possible, to ascertain from the government authorities the future policy to be pursued.

Upon their arrival at Buffalo Grove, they struck a trail of Indians, which they pursued as far as Rock river, at a point nearly opposite the Kiswaukee, and but a short distance from where Major Stillman was that day so ignominiously defeated by Black Hawk and his forty warriors.

Prior to this time the whole western frontier was in an agitated condition, owing to Governor Reynolds' proclamation and the exaggerated reports as to Black Hawk's intentions, and the agitation was greatly augmented when Governor Reynolds, upon May 15, issued another inflammatory proclamation, wherein he said, "THE STATE IS NOT ONLY INVADDED BY THE HOSTILE INDIANS, BUT MANY OF OUR CITIZENS have been slain in battle." Then, after alluding to Stillman's defeat, he stated that he believed that the Wisconsin Winnebagoes and Pottawattamie Indians had joined the Sacs, and were all considered as waging war against the United States. To subdue and drive this hostile element out of the state the governor made a requisition of a force of two thousand volunteers in addition to those already in the field, and ordered them to meet at Hennepin, on the Illinois river, on June 10, in companies of fifty men each, there to be organized into brigades.

The government, and likewise Governor Reynolds, of Illinois, must have forgotten the celebrated ordinance, passed by congress in 1787, which provided that, "THE UTMOST GOOD FAITH SHALL ALWAYS BE OBSERVED TOWARDS THE INDIANS, THEIR LANDS AND PROPERTY SHALL NEVER BE TAKEN FROM THEM WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT, AND IN THEIR PROPERTY RIGHTS AND LIBERTY, THEY NEVER SHALL BE INVADDED OR DISTURBED OR, UNLESS IN JUST AND LAWFUL WARS, AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS, BUT WARS FOUNDED IN JUSTICE AND HUMANITY SHALL FROM TIME TO TIME BE MADE, FOR PREVENTING WRONGS BEING DONE TO THEM AND FOR PRESERVING PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG THEM."

Upon the junction of the forces at Koskonong, General Atkinson dispatched Generals Henry and Alexander, together with Col. Dodge, to Fort Winnebago for supplies. After obtaining the necessary provisions for the army, Gen. Posey and Gen. Alexander returned to Koskonong with the supplies, while Gen. Henry and Col. Dodge, with their separate commands, struck across the country to the rapids of Rock river, where they received information that the Indian trail had been discovered. Gens. Henry and Dodge, with their united strength of about fourteen hundred men, well provisioned, armed, and equipped, immediately marched up above the Four Lakes, where they struck Black Hawk's trail leading towards the Wisconsin river.

MAP OF THE FOX-WISCONSIN RIVERS

Scale - 20 Miles = 1 in
DRAWN BY NAPOLIAN BOARDMAN
U.S. SURVEYOR.



MAP SHOWING BATTLEFIELD OF PRAIRIE DU SAC. (WISCONSIN HEIGHTS).

During the last few weeks of Black Hawk's stay at Four Lakes, near the present city of Madison, it became almost impossible to get enough to eat to sustain life. Their camp was situated in a low, swampy place, on account of its being almost inaccessible, and in that vicinity game was very scarce, and the country was sparsely settled, which forced them to dig roots and bark trees to sustain life; even then some of the old people died of hunger. Black Hawk now learned, through his runners, that the army had commenced moving in the direction of his camp, and fearing that he might be surrounded, concluded to remove his women and children to the west side of the Mississippi; consequently, the next day they broke camp and commenced moving toward the Wisconsin, with the intention of descending that river to the Mississippi. Neapope remained in the rear to watch the enemy, which they anticipated from the direction of Koskonong, while Black Hawk and the balance of the nation were proceeding towards the Wisconsin.

After Stillman's defeat, Governor Reynolds sent an express to Col. Dodge, informing him of the fact, and advising him of the danger that threatened the mining districts. Col. Dodge immediately returned home and organized the inhabitants into companies, and ordered their families placed in forts, block-houses and stockade posts. This precaution was well taken, for hardly had the settlers in the mining districts been organized for a defensive purpose, before the whole country was overrun by scattered bands of Indians, sent out by Black Hawk, shortly after the fight at Stillman's Run.

Gen. Atkinson, having ascertained through a Pottawattamie Indian, that Black Hawk was in the vicinity of Four Lakes, marched with a portion of his army to Koskonong, and, upon his arrival, found that Black Hawk had decamped, and that the direction taken by that adroit old chief was unknown. At this point, Gen. Atkinson was joined by Gen. Alexander's brigade on June 30, and, a few days later, by Posey's brigade, which consisted of a part of Col. Dodge's volunteers from Wiota.

Gen. Posey and Gen. Alexander each commanded 1,000 men. Gen. Henry commanded 1,200, and Gen. Dodge's battalion numbered about 150, besides Major Zachary Taylor's regular forces on the Mississippi, which were four hundred and fifty.* At this time the Illinois militia had been reduced nearly one-half by sickness and other causes.†

Black Hawk and his band arrived at the Wisconsin river at a point nearly opposite Prairie du Sac (the old camping-ground of Black Hawk's ancestors) late in the afternoon on July 21, 1832, and were hastening the departure of the women, children and old men to an island in the Wisconsin

*Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. III., 182.

†The Illinois militia concluded that hunting Indians as a pastime was dangerous business, and for this reason, many returned to their homes.

river, when Black Hawk's scouts brought him word that the advance squadrons of the enemy were close at hand. Black Hawk, with the ability of a Napoleon or a Moreau, took fifty of his warriors and bravely charged and drove back the mounted scouts of Col. Dodge's command, then took up his position on an elevated piece of ground. Black Hawk was mounted upon a superb white horse, upon which he sat, and with a voice like a clarion, rang out his orders to his brave but diminutive band.

Black Hawk's position could not be held long against such great odds. After a desperate and determined struggle for an hour or more, he was driven by the combined command of Col. Dodge and Gen. Henry into the bottom lands of the Wisconsin river, but not until after his brave warriors had charged first the right and then the left flank of the enemy.

Never in the annals of Indian warfare was such determined and successful resistance made by so few against such great odds. The battle commenced about five o'clock in the afternoon and lasted until dusk. Black Hawk was defeated, but he had accomplished his object, by holding the army in check until the women, children and old men had crossed the river to an island in the Wisconsin. Black Hawk in this battle lost six warriors, and the loss of the enemy was one killed and eight wounded.*

There appeared to have been a wonderful fatality in the fact that the Indians arrived at the point opposite the old camp-grounds of Black Hawk's ancestors, after striking across an unknown country and without any definite point in view. Had the great Sac chiefs, the ancestors of Black Hawk, who once lived at this noted spot, been permitted by the Great Spirit to look upon the great tragedy there enacted, no blush would have mantled their cheeks, no frown would have passed over their somber features—the honor of the *great medicine bags* of the Sac nation was preserved.

After the battle, Black Hawk disbanded his warriors, with instructions to meet at a given point on the Wisconsin. Then crossed the Wisconsin to an island where the balance of his nation were camped.

Some writers, not caring to give Black Hawk credit for any great military achievements, claimed that Neapope† commanded at the battle of Wisconsin Heights; but such is not the fact, however, as Neapope at the time of the battle was with his twenty scouts many miles in the rear of Gen. Henry and Col.

*The principal reason why the losses sustained in this battle were so small, was because Black Hawk, on account of the scanty number of his warriors, was obliged to keep them between the enemy and the balance of the Indians, who were crossing the river; besides, during the whole of the engagement, rain was falling and the grass was both high and deplorably wet, which caused the priming in the old flint-lock rifles to become damp and unserviceable.

†It will be remembered that Neapope was a self-proclaimed prophet, and the chief of the Winnebago village on Rock river. Neapope prophesied the ultimate success of Black Hawk and repeatedly urged him never to recross to the west side of the Mississippi; yet he was almost the first to desert him in the time of need.

HISTORY OF WISCONSIN.

Dodge's command. Neapope, after learning of the battle of Wisconsin Heights, disbanded his warriors, and with another Indian, went to a Winnebago village, and there remained until the close of the war; while the rest of the disbanded Indians, being Sac warriors and not shambling Winnebagoes, again joined Black Hawk and his misfortunes.

Upon Black Hawk's arrival at the island, he found his people, not only worn out by hard marching, but in a starving condition. Owing to this state of affairs, many warriors left him to return across the Mississippi by way of the Wisconsin river.

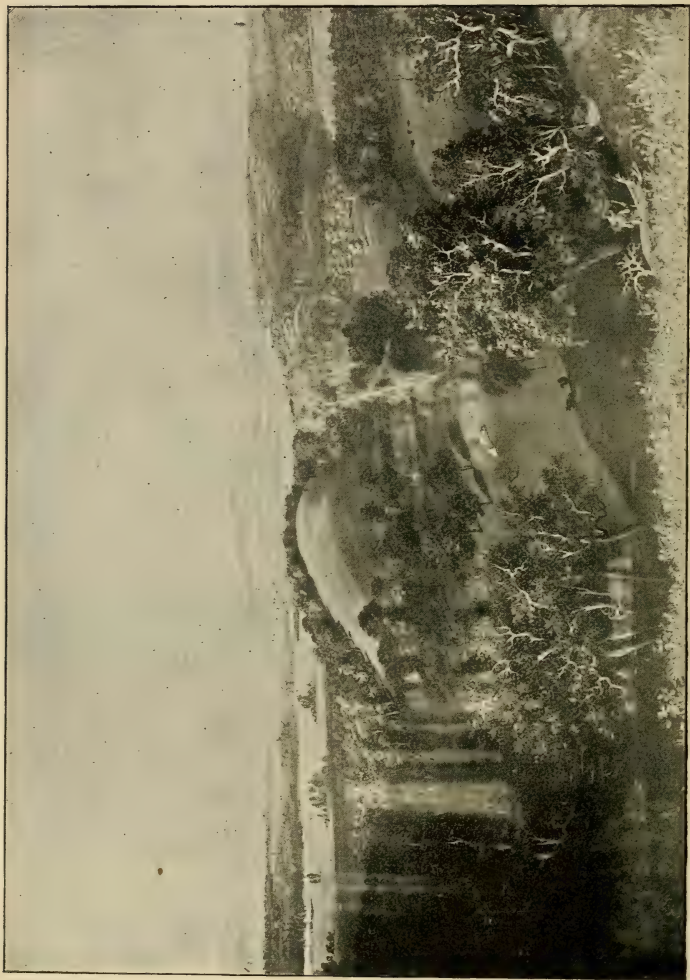
Unfortunately, upon their arrival at the mouth of the Wisconsin, they were met by a party of soldiers, who had been stationed there by order of the commander at Fort Crawford, and some were shot down, others drowned, while the balance escaped into the woods, only to die of starvation.

Black Hawk, through an emissary, on the night of the battle of Wisconsin Heights, again tried to surrender, but that strange fatality—premeditated extermination—again closed the doors of reason, and the voice of the emissary was unheard.*

Black Hawk and the balance of his band, having no means to descend the Wisconsin, and their horses being in a starving condition, after a few days, started with their Winnebago guides, across a wild, rugged country, interposed by turbulent and rapid streams, towards the Bad Ax river, with the intention of crossing the Mississippi river and returning to their late camping-grounds, near the site of Fort Madison.

*White Crow and his Winnebagoes, and Pierre Parquet, an interpreter, who had followed Black Hawk's trail with General Henry and Colonel Dodge's command to Wisconsin Heights, and participated in the battle, left the American camp for Fort Winnebago, during the night of the battle, which may be the reason that Black Hawk's emissary, who addressed the American camp in Winnebago, was allowed to depart without a hearing.





BATTLEFIELD OF WISCONSIN HEIGHTS.
From Oil Painting in Wis. Hist. Society's Rooms.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Black Hawk's Band Retreats to Mouth of Bad Ax River.—Trail Strewn with Dead Bodies and Newly-Made Graves.—Concentration of United States Forces and Illinois Militia at Bad Ax.—Black Hawk Tries to Surrender to the Commander of "Warrior," but is Answered with Grape and Canister.—Slaughter of the Starving Indians.—He Surrenders as Prisoner of War.—His Celebrated Speech to General Street.—United States Recognizes His Rights.—The Old Warrior in Washington.—Sent Home by Way of the East.—His Second Visit to Washington and Eastern Cities.—His Death.—Conclusion.

FROM the crossing on the north side of the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Bad Ax, the Indian trail was strewn with the bones of the almost fleshless horses which had been killed to appease the starving refugees; while the trail was literally covered with dead bodies and newly-made graves of the Indians who had died of hunger, and perhaps from wounds received at the battle of Wisconsin Heights.

The next morning after the battle of Wisconsin Heights, an express was sent to Gen. Atkinson at Koskonong, and to the commander at Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, in order to intercept the Indians, if they attempted to escape by way of the Wisconsin. The army then, instead of crossing the Wisconsin and exterminating the Indians, or at once compelling them to surrender, marched the whole army to the Blue Mounds, where Col. Dodge's command was temporarily dismissed.

Gen. Atkinson, after being apprised of the battle of Wisconsin Heights, broke up his camp on Bark river near Koskonong, and hastened by way of the Blue Mounds, to Helena, on the Wisconsin. Here again the volunteers under Col. Dodge were assembled, and the whole army crossed the river, and found Black Hawk's trail on the north bank under the bluffs, leading towards the mouth of the Bad Ax. This trail was pursued until the Mississippi was reached, near the junction of the Bad Ax, on the morning of August 2.

Col. Lomis, the commandant at Fort Crawford, after receiving Col. Dodge's express, sent the steamboat "Enterprise" up the Mississippi, for the purpose of intercepting any Indians that might try to escape by that route. At Black river they found forty Winnebagoes, with eight canoes collected, for the purpose undoubtedly of helping the retreating Sacs across the Mississippi. These Winnebagoes and canoes were seized, and brought down to Fort Crawford on July 30. The "Enterprise" being a slow boat, Col. Lomis hired the steamboat "Warrior" to make a trip up the river. On August 1, the "Warrior" ascended the river to the mouth of the Bad Ax, where they found Black Hawk and his people.

Three days behind the band of starving and dying refugees, like sleuth-hounds, came the well-fed, well-mounted, and well-equipped white army.

MAP OF THE BAD AXE RIVER

Scale - 4 Miles = 1 in.



DRAWN BY NAPOLIAN BOARDMAN
U. S. SURVEYOR

MAP SHOWING BATTLE OF BAD AXE AND ADJACENT COUNTRY.

Black Hawk and his people had only arrived at the junction of the Bad Ax with the Mississippi, when they saw the steamboat "Warrior" coming. Black Hawk, being acquainted with Throckmartin, the captain of the "Warrior," immediately determined to deliver himself up to him. He then directed his warriors not to shoot at the boat, then sent for his white flag. While the messenger was gone, he took a piece of white cotton, put it on a pole, and called to the captain of the boat, and told him to send his little boat ashore, and let him come aboard.

Some one from the boat asked whether they were Sacs or Winnebagoes. Some Winnebagoes being on board, Black Hawk told them in the Winnebago tongue that they were Sacs and wanted to give themselves up.

One of Black Hawk's braves then jumped into the river bearing a white flag, and began swimming towards the boat. He had gotten but a short distance, before a Winnebago on deck of the "Warrior" shouted for them to run and hide, that the whites were going to shoot.

Black Hawk's white flag and its appeal, in the name of the starving women and children, was answered by the discharge of a six-pounder, loaded with grape and canister, which brought death and destruction in its path. Then the Indians, after hiding behind logs and trees, returned the fire of the "Warrior."

This affair, which will ever disgrace the name of Lieutenant Kingsbury, and remain a blot upon the escutcheon of the government, cost Black Hawk twenty-three warriors, while on board the "Warrior" only one was wounded.

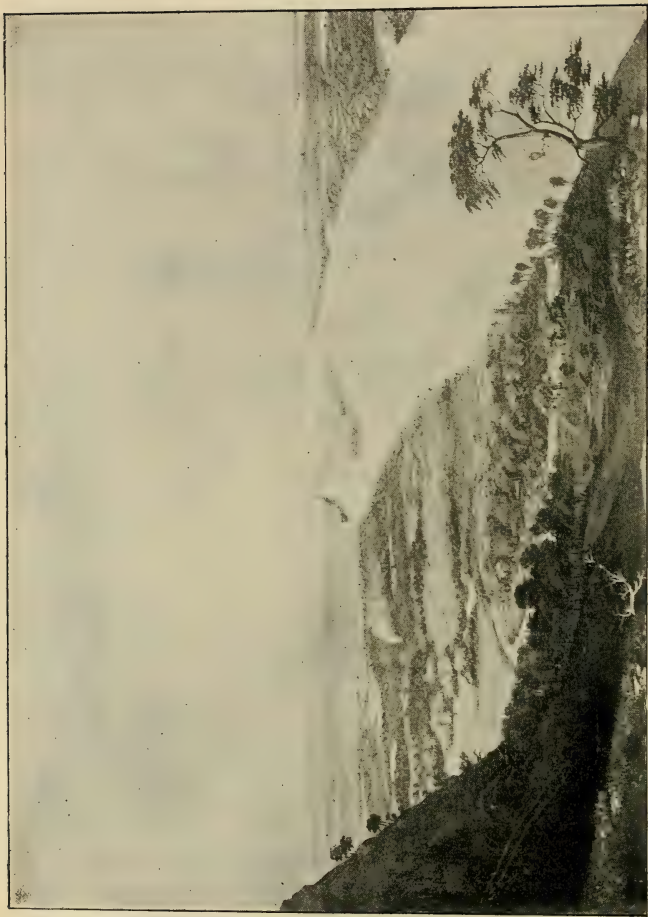
The "Warrior" was under command of Lieut. Kingsbury, who occupied the forward deck with a detachment of regular troops. Lieut. Kingsbury should have been court-martialed and shot, or convicted of murder and hanged, as he and Capt. Throckmartin both admitted that they saw the flag of truce.

After the boat left, Black Hawk told his people to cross the Mississippi if they wished, as he intended to go into the Chippewa country. At this time, the Indians were not aware that they were so closely pursued by the enemy. Black Hawk and three lodges of Indians then started for the Chippewa country, while some of the Indians commenced crossing to the west side of the Mississippi.

Had the writers who have so frequently depicted the scenes of August 2, 1832, at the mouth of the Bad Ax river, the adjacent islands, and the opposite shores of the Mississippi, named it the *slaughter of the Bad Ax*, instead of the "battle of the Bad Ax," it would have been no misnomer.

In the Mississippi river, near the mouth of the Bad Ax, are two islands, one large and one small. The distance from the mainland to these islands is about 150 yards.

On the evening of August 1, a few straggling, starving Indians were sighted and killed. On the morning of August 2, at two o'clock, Col. Dodge's com-



BAD AX BATTLE FIELD.
From an Oil Painting in Historical Rooms, Madison.

mand, supported by the regular troops under Col. Zachary Taylor, took up their line of march, and at sunrise the spy company reported that they were up with the Indians. The Indians again tried to surrender to Col. Dodge's spy company, but with utter disregard of age or sex, they commenced shooting the helpless women and children, as well as the warriors. A few of the Indians, finding that they were to be exterminated, got behind trees and sold their lives as dearly as possible, while the rest attempted to escape by swimming across the Mississippi and to the islands.

In the meanwhile, the united commands of Taylor and Dodge had been advanced about a mile to the bluffs of the Mississippi, thus driving the Indians onto a point of land at the junction of the Bad Ax with the Mississippi. The Indians were now completely surrounded and became easy victims to the enemy's insatiate desire to exterminate them.

The "Warrior" had taken up her position so as to rake both islands with grape and canister, while the sharpshooters playfully shot many of those that attempted to cross the Mississippi, including the women with their helpless children upon their backs. The "Warrior" finally transferred Col. Taylor and about one hundred and fifty men to the larger of these islands, who soon killed all the Indians upon it.

Gen. Atkinson, with the main army, arrived near the close of the massacre, but in time to shoot down a few of the defenseless women and children, who were endeavoring to escape.

The closing scenes of this wonderful battle, which has cast such a halo of glory upon the government and the brave party participants, were enacted across the Mississippi. About one hundred and fifty Indians, principally women and children, who had escaped the shower of leaden hail, while battling with the turbulent Mississippi, were overtaken by the Sioux hirelings of the government, and tomahawked.

The manner in which some of the army officials undertook to reflect credit upon themselves is manifested in order No. 65,* as well as in Abraham Lincoln's address† in a congressional speech, delivered during a campaign of

* General Orders after the Battle of the Bad Ax. Headquarters First Army Corps of the Northwestern Army. Banks of the Mississippi river, near Bad Ax river, Aug. 3, 1832. Order No. 65. The victory achieved by the volunteers and regular troops over the enemy yesterday on this ground affords the commanding general an opportunity of expressing his approbation of their brave conduct: the whole of the troops participated in the honor of the combat; some of the corps were, however, more fortunate than others in being thrown from their positions in order of battle more immediately in conflict with the enemy. These were Henry's brigade, Dodge's battalion, the regular troops, Leach's regiment of Posey's brigade, and the spy battalion of Alexander's brigade. In order that individual merit and the conduct of the corps may be properly represented to the department of war, and the general commanding the Northwestern army, the commanding general of this division directs that commanding officers of brigade and independent corps make to him written reports of the conduct and operations of their respective commands in the action.

By order of BRIG.-GEN. ATKINSON. ALB. S. JOHNSON, A. D. C. and A. Adj.-Gen.

† "By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir; in the days of the Black Hawk War, I fought, bled and came away. Speaking of Gen.

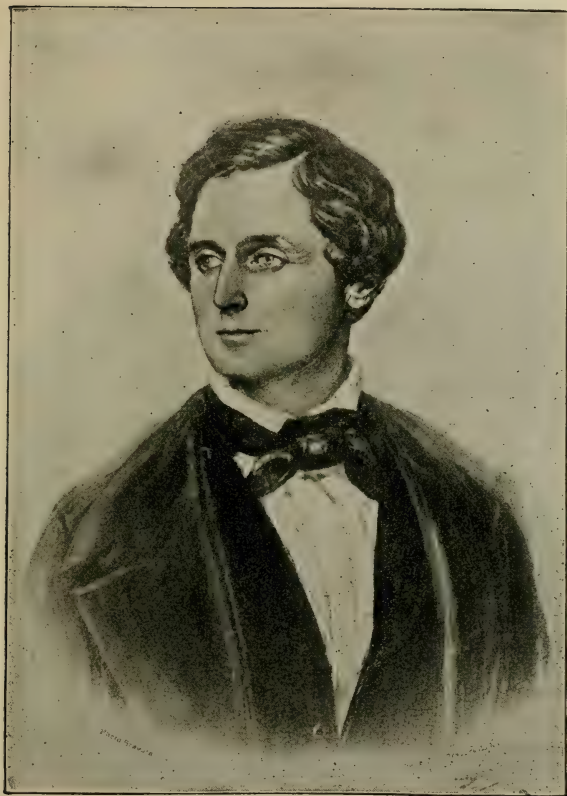
1848. Three men, who in after life became world-renowned, took an active part in what was then called the Black Hawk War, to-wit.: Col. Zachary Taylor, who commanded the United States forces, and became president of the United States in 1849; Abraham Lincoln, who was captain of an Illinois regiment of militia, became president in 1861, and Lieut. Jefferson Davis, who was stationed at Prairie du Chien, became president of the southern confederacy in 1861.

Upon the morning of the battle of the Bad Ax, Black Hawk, who had started with a small party with the intention of going into the Chippewa country, was overtaken by a runner, who informed them that the white army were within a few miles of his people, who had not yet crossed the Mississippi. Black Hawk then concluded to return and die with his people, unless the Great Spirit would give them another victory. He only succeeded, however, in getting to a thicket some distance from the scene of the slaughter, before it was over. After Black Hawk was informed of the result of the engagement by one of his escaping braves,* he retired with his little party to the Winnebago village at Prairie La Crosse.

At Black Hawk's request, he and White Cloud, the prophet, started with two Winnebago Indians, Decorrie and Chaeter, escorted by Lieut. Jefferson Davis, who delivered them up, as prisoners of war, to Gen. Street, at Prairie du Chien, on August 27th, 1832. The striking difference between a shambling, two-faced Winnebago and a Sac warrior is well illustrated by comparing the speeches made to Gen. Street upon that occasion by Decorrie and Black Hawk. Decorrie spoke as follows: "We have done as you told us. We always do as you tell us, because we know it is for our good. You told us to bring them to you alive; we have done so. *If you had told us to bring their heads alone, we should have done so.* We want you to keep them safe. *If they are to be hurt, we do not want to see it. Wait until we are gone before you do it.* We know you are our friends, because you take our part. That is the reason we do as you tell us to do. You say you love your *red* children; we think we love you as much, if not more than you love us. We have confidence in

Cass's career, reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender, and, like him, I saw the place very soon afterward. It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break, but I bent a musket pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is he broke it in desperation; I bent the musket by accident. If Gen. Cass went in advance of me in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live, fighting Indians, it was more than I did, but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes; and, although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry. Mr. Speaker, if I should ever conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends may suppose there is of Black-Cockade Federalism about me, and thereupon they should take me up as their candidate for the presidency, I protest they shall not make fun of me as they have of Gen. Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero."

*This brave, at the commencement of the massacre, piled up some saddles before him, which shielded him from the enemy's fire, and, after killing three white men, crawled to the bank of the river and hid himself till the enemy retired. He then went to Black Hawk and reported the sorrowful news.



LIEUTENANT JEFFERSON DAVIS, IN 1829.
Afterwards President of the Southern Confederacy.

you, and you may rely upon us. We have been promised a great deal if we would take these men, that it would do much good to our people. We now hope to see what will be done for us. We now put these men into your hands. We have done all that you told us to do."

Black Hawk then made the following address, which will ever remain in history:

"My warriors fell around me; it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose clear on us in the morning, and at night it sunk in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. This was the last sun that shone on Black Hawk. He is now a prisoner to the white people, but he can stand the torture. He is not afraid of death. He is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian; he has done nothing of which an Indian need be ashamed. He has fought the battles of his country against the white men, who came year after year to cheat them and take away their lands. You know the cause of our making war—it is known to all white men—they ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians, and drive them from their homes, but the Indians are not deceitful. The white men speak bad of the Indian and look at him spitefully, but the Indian does not tell lies. Indians do not steal. Black Hawk is satisfied. He will go to the world of spirits contented. He has done his duty. His father will meet and reward him. The white men do not scalp the head, but they do worse—they poison the heart—it is not pure with them. His countrymen will not be scalped, but they will in a few years become like the white men, so that you cannot hurt them, and there must be, as in the white settlements, as many officers as men, to take care of them and keep them in order—farewell to Black Hawk."

Gen. Street, in the absence of Gen. Atkinson, delivered the noted prisoners to the commanding officer at Fort Crawford.* After remaining here a short time, Black Hawk was sent down the river to Jefferson Barracks,† under the charge of Lieut. Jefferson Davis.‡ Upon passing Rock Island, Gen. Scott§ came out in a small boat to see the captives, but was not allowed to go on board the steamer, on account of the cholera which was then raging among the troops at Fort Armstrong. Black Hawk says: "On our way down, I surveyed the country that had caused us so much trouble, anxiety and blood,

*Hist. Wis., Vol. III., 156.

†Sept. 9, 1832.

‡Black Hawk, in his "Life," in speaking of his escort, says: "We started for Jefferson Barracks, under the charge of a young war-chief (Lieut. Jefferson Davis), who treated us with much kindness. He is a good and brave young chief, with whose conduct I was much pleased."

§During the latter part of June, 1832, Gen. Scott, with nine companies of United States artillery, hastened from the seaboard by way of the Great Lakes to Chicago. This journey of 1,800 miles was made in eighteen days. Scott's forces only arrived in time to combat the great cholera foe then raging. Gen. Scott's losses at Detroit, Fort Gratiot, on Lake Michigan, at Fort Dearborn, and at Rock Island, exceeded 400 men, victims of the terrible scourge.

and that now has caused me to be a prisoner of war. I reflected upon the ingratitude of the whites, when I saw their fine houses, rich harvests, and everything desirable around them, and recalled that all this land had been ours, for which I and my people had never received a dollar, and that the whites were not satisfied until they took our villages and graveyards from us, and removed us across the Mississippi."

Black Hawk was kindly received by Gen. Atkinson upon his arrival at Jefferson Barracks, but was greatly humiliated on being forced to wear a ball and chain. Here Black Hawk staid until the spring of 1833, during which time he was visited by the agent, trader, and interpreter, from Rock Island.

Keokuk, and several Sac chiefs and warriors, also Black Hawk's wife and daughter, visited him during his captivity.

Gen. Atkinson, in pursuance of an order from the government, sent Black Hawk and the prophet to Washington, where they arrived on April 2, 1833. President Jackson, upon the presentation of Black Hawk, was greeted with these words, "I am a man, and you are another." At the close of his speech to the president, the old warrior said: "We did not expect to conquer the whites, they have too many houses, too many men. I took up the hatchet for my part to revenge injuries which my people could no longer endure. Had I borne them longer without striking, my people would have said: Black Hawk is a woman, he is too old to be a chief, he is no Sac; these reflections caused me to raise the war-whoop. I say no more of it, it is known to you. Keokuk once was here, you took him by the hand, and when he wished to return to his home you were willing. Black Hawk expects that, like Keokuk, we shall be permitted to return, too."

President Jackson told him he was well acquainted with his trouble and disaster. That it was unnecessary to look upon the past. They should not suffer from the Sioux or Menominees. That when he was satisfied that all would be quiet and harmony, they should be permitted to return, then taking the old warrior by the hand he kindly dismissed him.

The captives were, on April 26, conducted to Fortress Monroe, which is situated upon a small island on the west side of the Chesapeake bay, in Virginia, where they staid until released, on June 4, 1833. By order of the president, Black Hawk was conducted home by way of the seaboard, through all the cities in the union.

The return trip was made by way of Detroit. The old warrior seemed to be much impressed with the magnitude of the eastern cities, as well as with the white people.

The old warrior and his family, and a small portion of his band, left Rock Island, October 10, 1833, for their old hunting grounds, on Skunk river, on the west side of the Mississippi, below Shokokon. At this point, he had a

comfortable dwelling-house built, and settled down with the intention of passing the balance of his days in peace and security.

Early in the autumn of 1837, the President of the United States invited deputations from several tribes of Indians residing upon the Upper Mississippi. An invitation was also extended to Black Hawk, through the influence of Col. Geo. Davenport, of Rock Island, and the old chief gladly availed himself of the opportunity of again visiting Washington.

Before returning from Washington, the visiting Sac and Fox delegation, consisting of Keokuk, his wife and son, four chiefs of the nation, Black Hawk and son, and several warriors, visited all the large cities of the east.

Black Hawk attracted great attention in all the eastern cities, especially in Boston. Here they were received by the mayor of the city and afterwards by Governor Everett. The doors of Faneuil Hall, "the old cradle of liberty," were thrown open and a levee was held. After dinner the delegation was escorted to the state house by a military band, and upon their arrival, they were conspicuously seated near the speaker's desk, the house being filled with ladies, members of the legislature and city dignitaries.

Governor Everett eloquently addressed the audience, briefly outlining the history of the Sac and Fox tribes.

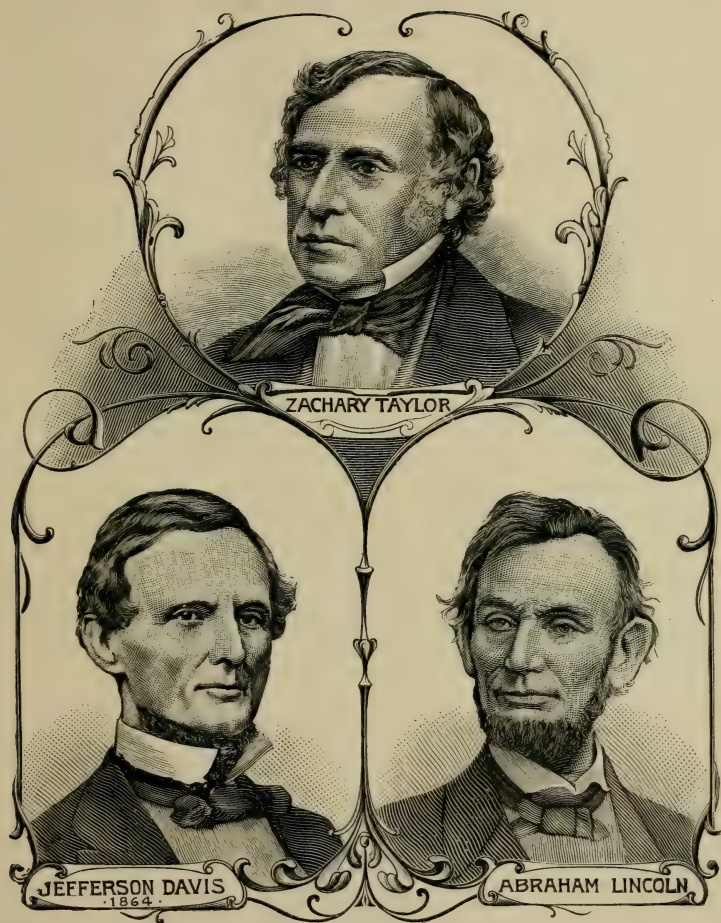
After the governor closed his address, which was followed by several chiefs, and after them the old war-chief, Black Hawk, made a short but dignified speech. Presents were then distributed to them by the governor. Keokuk was given a beautiful sword and a brace of pistols, his son was given a fine little rifle, the other chiefs long swords, and Black Hawk a sword and a brace of pistols.

The closing of the ceremonies at the capitol was followed by an exhibition of an Indian war-dance on the Common, in the front of the capitol, in the presence of thirty thousand spectators.

Upon Black Hawk's return from Boston, he removed his family and little band farther west on the Des Moines river, near the storehouse of an Indian trader, where a house had been previously erected for his use. His family consisted of his wife, two sons, an only daughter and her husband.

In September, 1838, the aged chief, with the head men of his little band, started to go to Rock Island to receive their annuities, but he was taken sick, and returned home. On October 3, 1838, after being confined to his bed about two weeks, he departed* from the scenes of his youth and disappoint-

*Black Hawk was buried on the Des Moines river bottom, on the north side, about ninety rods from where he died. He was buried upon the spot where he sat in council the year before, with Iowa Indians. He was buried in a suit of military clothes, made to order, and given to him when in Washington by General Jackson, with hat, sword, gold epaulets, etc. At the head of the grave, a flag-staff, some twenty feet high, was placed, on which hung a silk flag. (J. B. Patterson in "Life of Black Hawk.")



ZACHARY TAYLOR

JEFFERSON DAVIS
1864.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THREE ILLUSTRIOUS MEN WHO TOOK PART IN THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

ments in after life, to meet the Great Spirit, in the land where the rights of an Indian are as much respected as his white brothers.

After Black Hawk and the Sac nation had been sacrificed upon the altar of fraud, avarice, and ambition, the general government, as an act of atonement, through its commissioners, met the chiefs and head men of the Sac and Fox confederation, in council at Fort Armstrong, on September 31, 1832, and entered into a treaty, whereby the confederation ceded to the United States, in consideration of twenty thousand dollars in specie, to be paid annually for a period of thirty years, a large portion of the country bordering upon the western frontier.

Had this recognition of the rights of Black Hawk and his nation been made a few months prior, hundreds of lives and untold thousands of dollars would have been saved, and a stain upon the nation's honor obviated.

Black Hawk's treatment by the general government, in making the treaty of St. Louis, in 1804, without his knowledge or consent—permitting squatters to encroach upon the Indian village, when millions of acres of unoccupied lands, included in the treaty, were accessible—the shooting of Black Hawk's truce-bearers at Sycamore creek—the slaughter of the Indians at the mouth of the Bad Ax, while trying to surrender with a truce-flag displayed—the slaughter of the defenseless women and children, after they had crossed the Mississippi, by the Sioux hirelings of the United States—was only equaled by the last sad act of this most terrible of tragic dramas—the exhuming of Black Hawk's bones from their peaceful slumbers, on the banks of the Mississippi, by the Iowa vandals, who exhibited them in a dime museum.*

*In July, 1839, Black Hawk's grave was desecrated and his body carried off by one Dr. Turner, who lived at Lexington, Ia. At the request of Governor Lucas, of the territory of Iowa, Black Hawk's bones were in the fall of 1839 or spring of 1840 returned and placed in the collection of the Burlington Geological and Historical Society, and, it is said, that they were burned in 1855, with the balance of the society's collections.



THE BLACK HAWK TOWER.

Black Hawk's favorite resort was on the highest bank of the Rock river, and was selected by his father as a look-out. From this point the view of the Mississippi river and valley for many miles was unobstructed.

BLACK HAWK'S WATCH TOWER.

BY JENNIE M. FOWLER.

Beautiful tower; famous in history,
Rich in legend, in old-time mystery,
Graced with tales of Indian lore,
Crowned with beauty from summit to shore.

Below, winds the river, silent and still,
Nestling so calmly 'mid island and hill,
Above, like warriors, proudly and grand,
Tower the forest trees, monarchs of land.

A land-mark for all to admire and wonder,
With thy history ancient, for nations to ponder,
Boldly thou liftest thy head to the breeze,
Crowned with thy plumes, the nodding trees.

Years now are gone—forevermore fled,
Since the Indian crept, with cat-like tread,
With moccasined foot, with eagle eye—
The red men, our foes, in ambush lie.

The owl still his nightly vigil keeps,
While the river, below him, peacefully sleeps,
The whip-poor-will utters his plaintive cry,
The trees still whisper, and gently sigh.

The pale moon still creeps from her daily rest,
Throwing her rays o'er the river's dark breast,
The katy-did and cricket, I trow,
In days gone by, chirruped even as now.

Indian; thy camp-fires no longer are smouldering,
Thy bones 'neath the forest moss long have been mouldering,
The "Great Spirit" claims thee. He leadeth thy tribe,
To new hunting-grounds not won with a bribe.


On thy Watch Tower, the pale-face his home now makes,
His dwelling, the site of the forest tree takes,
Gone are thy wigwams, the wild deer long fled,
Black Hawk, with his tribe, lie silent and dead.



THE MOUNT OF THE HOLY CROSS.

The Songster on the Fox

BY MAURICE -
McKENNA.





I love to live in Oshkosh. There is no higher joy.
It satisfies the spirit with a bliss that cannot cloy.
I would not soon exchange thee, nor thy transcendent worth,
For all the haughty cities that lie across the earth.
I love thy janty maidens—their faces are so sweet,
And their glances are so cunning as they flit along the street—
In their wealth of radiant color beneath the sun's rich rays,
Dear rainbows of the summer that grace thy brighter days.
Ah! thou hast nothing wanting, my Oshkosh paradox—
But thy topmost flower of merit is the songster on the Fox.

There's something about Oshkosh that makes me feel at home—
I cannot find it elsewhere, how far soe'er I roam.
Whenever I am absent, my burning soul doth yearn
With the sigh of desolation for the hour of my return.
I cannot well explain it—so far beyond my art
Disport the palpitations of my incandescent heart.
Compared with thy famed heroes wrapped in Promethean fire,
How puny are the annals of Athens, Rome, or Tyre!
Thy sawdust swamps, my Oshkosh, in shiploads or in corks,
Can down the world in music by thy songster on the Fox.

Thou art, indeed, an honor, a cornerstone of fame,
To the good old Indian Sachem that gave to thee his name;
His memory shall flourish, despite the sneers of foes,
While the current of this river through thy throbbing bosom flows.
Thou canst but be immortal, by the melody that pours
From the bards within thy waters and those upon thy shores.
At morning, noon, and even, thy heart is ever light,
But the chiefest of thy laurels is that minstrelsy at night.
Dispel each haunting phantom, Pandora's magic box,
And hail! thou glorious chorus of the bullfrogs of the Fox.

Let others tune their praises, in ecstasy to sing,
About the boasted beauties of the warblers of the spring,
The mockingbird, the robin, the bobolink and lark,
That kindle in the bosom a weird, exultant spark.
Oh! these are petty songsters along our earthly way
Beside the green-robed singers, for whom I write this lay.



THE SONGSTER ON THE FOX.



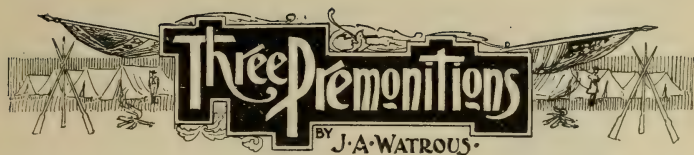
Raise not the voice of rapture to shout their praise too high—
Those threaders of the forest, those soarers in the sky.
They rest beneath our notice; they are not orthodox,
Beside the bullfrogs' chorus at midnight on the Fox.

What a potent thing is envy! How it colors all things black!
They pretend that they have singers over there in Fond du Lac!
There is nothing 'neath the azure that can worse or baser be
Than the ear that will not listen or the eye that will not see.
Dear old Oshkosh! They malign thee, and they strive to set thee low;
But thou art so far above them that they never land a blow.
When all virtues are paraded, when the fables all are told
Of the wealth that they have hoarded, of their temples and their gold,
Oh, how paltry and how pigmy seem all their motley flocks,
Beside the minstrel glory of the bullfrog on the Fox!

My own beloved Oshkosh, when I have told my years,
When time, with its attractions, forever disappears,
When the storm-clouds are over, the smile of earth, and frown,
And, shattered with life's labors, I lay the burden down,
When the mourners come around me by Winnebago's wave,
And they who knew and loved me shall gather at my grave,
When the hands at last are folded that nevermore shall reap;
Forbid that human discord disturb my funeral sleep;
Let nature's choir come forward, decked out in summer frocks,
And leave that holy duty to the songsters of the Fox.

Yes; the sweetest thing in Oshkosh is the music of her frogs
When they swell the lofty chorus along their lines of logs.
No melody diviner to this planet lends its light
Than the anthems of those minstrels in the silence of the night.
It lifts the soul to Heaven to list this mighty tune
'Neath the blinking of yon starlets and the cold gaze of the moon.
What are all the prima donnas that the world ever scanned
To the tenor and soprano of these choristers so grand?
Oh! what is all art's tinsel—a mimicry that mocks!—
To the bullfrog's song at Oshkosh as its sweeps along the Fox?





Three Premonitions

BY J. A. WATROUS.

"BOB, I don't feel just right about this day's work; I am depressed; I feel sure that something out of the common is in store for me between now and the end of the battle soon to open. I never felt that way before when we were to have a fight. If I had a million or a billion dollars and the giving of it would take me safely through the day, and lift this awful load from my mind for good, I would give it. I am sure of trouble—great trouble, and I guess it is death; but I haven't the courage to straggle, to desert the rest of the boys, to keep out of the fight—to leave your side, Bob, where I have stood in so many contests."

This sorrowful, gloomy, short speech, was made by an Illinois man to a Wisconsin soldier the morning of the second day of the battle of Chickamauga; both belonged to an Illinois regiment.

At the time it was made both men were cooking coffee and broiling their pork ration over the same small fire. Both had been very quiet that September morning, after one day of hard fighting. Both were brave men and had been tested at Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg, Jackson, and elsewhere.

"Nonsense, Tom, shake off the feeling—I felt that way yesterday, before our regiment made the charge and drove the enemy from their stronghold. I knew I was to be wounded, killed, or made a prisoner, but here I am as hungry as ever, and as whole and well as I ever was; yet twenty-four hours ago I was certain I would be an angel in Heaven now, instead of cooking breakfast on earth. These premonitions don't count, Tom; they are a fraud and delusion. I will have none of them. Pull yourself together and take heart, for we are going to have some slick work before night. Come, come; shake off your coat of gloom and eat breakfast. You will feel better after that."

"That's all right, Bob; you talk most cheerfully, but it don't help me; I have tried the shaking off remedy; it don't shake. It comes back with renewed force. I wish to God I could shake it off; I never felt so miserable in all my life. Tell my folks I faced the music like a man, and fell on duty."

"Tom, stop your infernal nonsense; you make me nervous. Drink your coffee and fill up on hardtack and the underside of a corn-fed pig, and you will be all right."

So spoke jolly Bob Graves, but it was not said in his usual cheerful, devil-may-care way. He was worried about his chum and long-time tent mate. It had flitted through his mind that his dear friend might be right, that that day's battle might separate them forever, and the thought was distressing him more than he could conceal. He, like all soldiers, did not like to hear about premonitions.



These two men, who had been together ever since they enlisted in Chicago in June, 1861, partook of their soldier breakfast without saying a word, and then picked leaves from the same bush and cleaned off their tin plates, pewter spoons and iron knives and forks and tucked them away in their haversacks without looking at each other.

When Tom had fastened his tin cup to his haversack he said:

"Bob, did you see me wash dishes and get ready for business?"

"No; I was busy washing my own."

"I am sorry."

"Why so? What's the matter now? Do you want to make me crazy with your dog-goned premonitions?"

"Now, don't act that way, Bob. You know I would not harm you or hurt your feelings any sooner than I would harm or wound the feelings of my dear mother."

"Then why did you ask me if I saw you wash your dishes? It was not like you. I don't want to get it into my head that you are to be taken from me. That would unman me for the fight. I couldn't stand that, Tom. But tell me why you asked."

Tom's face was as white as the fleecy clouds overhead. His lips twitched and his voice trembled as he answered:

"Because, my dear old chum, it was the last time I shall wash them. This will be my last fight. I shall be killed to-day."

Before poor Bob had time to say a word in reply a rebel shell had made things lively in camp.

"Fall in, Company B!" shouted the orderly, and our two friends were the first to respond.

The shelling continued for some time, and some of the broken pieces of iron came painfully close to the Illinois regiment.

Both young soldiers showed their metal in the fierce and decisive battle of that hot September day, almost a lifetime ago.

Both were too brave to have exhibited the white feather, the one to the other, and both to their comrades, but neither desired to participate in the fight; both, though natural heroes, would have grasped at a medium excuse to keep from under fire.

The plain truth of the whole matter was, strange as it may seem at this distance from those stirring scenes, Bob had heard so much about premonitions, and so much that had come out in exact accordance with the premonition programme, that he expected every minute to see his young comrade fall.

Their regiment had participated in several sharp and dangerous charges, and been twice driven back by the enemy.

The final struggle of the day came, in that part of the line of battle, when the afternoon was well spent.

General James Longstreet, the peer of any man who led confederate troops, and the corps commander most dreaded by the union army after the death of Stonewall Jackson, massed his men at Chickamauga as he had done at the great battles on the Peninsula, Second Bull Run, Antietam, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, with skill and courage equal to that exhibited by any confederate commander, and when the order to charge was spoken by buglers and officers, his men of gray marched in solid phalanx against the union line. What awful moments those were as the boys in blue watched the long line of gray, with glistening guns, advance without a sign of fear—advance to death and eternity for a host.

Up, up, up they came, with firm, yea, eager steps, without firing a gun, until the color of their eyes could almost be seen by our soldiers. Then there rolled out a slaughtering volley into their very faces, at a range so short that powder was blown into the hands and cheeks of the killed and wounded.

What wonder that they recoiled; that they wavered?

Their officers sprang to their front and made desperate efforts to hold them in position, and succeeded; but when, a few seconds later, another blinding, deadly volume of lead, powder and smoke swept into the heroic column, killing scores and wounding hundreds, they faltered, wavered and then flew back over the ground they had so bravely marched over a moment before.

A ringing cheer from the Unionists told of a temporary victory.

But it would not have been General Longstreet's corps had not that chieftain and his division and brigade commanders rallied their defeated troops and again led them to the charge. Their numbers were less by a thousand than when the first charge was made.

On, on, on they come with that old yell so familiar to every union soldier who has been within hearing of a confederate line of battle in action. It

makes one's hair stand on end to think of that old rebel yell, even twenty-eight years after it died away at Appomattox.

Again they receive volley after volley from the well-tried troops of the west; and again, after nearly reaching the brow of the hill, which, when once reached by them, would mean a great victory for the southern army, they are so pressed with bullets, canister, solid shot and exploding shell that they break and fly back over the field.

And what man can blame them for doing so?

It seemed certain death to stand still, and it was no less than certain, apparently, that death would come if they went forward. Some of them might live if they fell back; and they fell, with all speed, though they were not routed—not demoralized. Longstreet and his men were never demoralized, though many times whipped.

I ask myself, now, could any live and stand there in the face of that storm of lead, or move forward upon those several lines of battle firmly maintained by the Unionists, and survive? Could they? Who can tell?

After this charge, which was so gallantly resisted, the regiment to which our young friends belonged was moved to the left quite a distance, where it remained in position for an hour or more, or so long that the men thought the fighting was all over; when, suddenly, and with great energy, they were attacked by what seemed a still greater force than that which they had assisted in repelling an hour or two before. This time the confederates were masters of the situation; they drove the union men back with great loss.

The brigade in which these two men fought remained until it was completely surrounded by yelling, victorious confederates. It was pandemonium more than broke loose.

These two young men had stood close together throughout the struggle all day, watching each other, hoping that they might escape the day's disasters. While Bob was loading his trusty rifle, with his face turned away so that he could not see his comrade, he was shocked to hear that tried friend groan, and say:

“Good-by, Tom; I'm gone.”

Bob turned around just in time to see him fall. An instant later he himself was wounded in the leg, and fell.

About one hundred men of the regiment broke through the confederate forces and made their escape to the union line, while the balance of them were taken prisoners, including, of course, the wounded.

What wonder that the colonel of that Illinois regiment, when he saw the handful of survivors of his brave band of 500 only the day before, sat by the roadside and cried like a child? His command had melted away in a day, more than half of it killed or wounded. He did what many a commander has

done under similar circumstances. Commanders of brave soldiers love them, and they mourn them sincerely when disaster befalls them.

As they, our heroes, had tented, messed, marched and fought together ever since they enlisted, these two men, one dangerously and the other most painfully wounded, remained where they fell, together, giving mother earth the benefit of their patriot blood.

It was all of an hour after he was struck down that Tom opened his eyes and beheld his comrade at his side. These questions were asked in such rapid succession that the questioned could not answer one until all had been laid before him :

"Where are we? How did we get here? What are we doing here?"

"We are on the battlefield, my dear boy. We were shot and are waiting to be carried away."

"I told you so, Bob, I told you so, but you wouldn't believe me; you laughed at me; I knew something terrible was going to happen. I hoped it would not be quite as bad as this, yet I expected it would be death. Do you think I am mortally wounded? Are we in the enemy's lines? Has anybody come to care for us?"

"No, Tom, you are not mortally wounded, so brace right up; you will get well. We are in the enemy's lines. No one has yet come to care for us, but some one will come before long. Here, take a drink from my canteen; don't go to fainting here."

As they ceased to talk the attention of both was attracted to a tall, weather-beaten, blue-eyed, shabbily-clad, but kindly-faced sergeant in the regulation gray uniform.

He seemed to have been standing there listening to the conversation of the two wounded soldiers during the entire talk. He asked :

"Are you 'uns bad shot, boys?"

Tom answered the confederate: "Yes, Johnnie, I guess I'm done for; please take good care of my comrade here; almost anything will answer for me. Mark my grave so my folks can find me when they come for my body."

"Oh, now, don't you alls get discouraged. I'll go and bring a doctah and have your wounds dressed and you will feel less like pressing on to the big town in the skies," and off he went, soon returning with a young surgeon, who proposed to examine Bob's wound first.

"No, doctor, please look after my friend; I am not badly hurt. I don't think he is as badly injured as he says he is, but please look after him; never mind me; mine is only a flesh wound. He's been suffering from a premonition ever since breakfast."

Our confederate sergeant was an interested onlooker, frequently putting in a word of encouragement, saying nothing unkind, as was often the case when prisoners were brought face to face with an enemy.

It was half an hour before the doctor had completed the examination of the wounds and dressed them.

"What is the prospect, doctah?" asked the confederate sergeant. "Can you save the least one?" pointing to poor, white-faced, big-eyed Tom.

"Oh, yes; with good care both will get well, but with such care as he must expect in hospital I fear that one will not get out of the scrape with his life. His is a very bad wound—a very dangerous one. Only the best of care will save him. Too bad he can't be at his home."

"I guess I will camp down here with the Yanks, to-night, doctah, if you've no objection; my company is only a bit over the way, and if it moves I can easily join 'em."

Before "camping down" the sergeant brought a canteen of fresh water from a spring near by, and the northerners emptied their haversacks, when the three ate a light supper, from necessity; the confederate having a piece of cornpone, and the others only a hardtack apiece. That supper was as silently eaten as was the breakfast about which I spoke.

While the maimed heroes were courting sleep that night, the confederate sergeant informed them that his home was only a mile from that very spot, and if he could get the consent of his colonel and the provost-marshal to do so, he would see that his new Yankee friends were taken to that home, with the request that his mother and sisters care for them until they were well, when they must report to the nearest confederate camp and take their chances in prison with the others who had been captured that day. Of course this was readily assented to. I say readily assented to. It was most gladly hailed. It was a bright light in a stormy night at sea.

In that Georgia home, with the care of the mother and sisters, Tom's chances for getting well would be one hundred per cent. better than they would were he sent to a confederate hospital.

There was danger, too, that if they were sent to the hospital the boys would be separated. If they went to the Georgia home they would remain together.

Early the next morning the sergeant began his work of mercy by getting the consent of his colonel to convey the men to his home and to give him a brief note to the provost-marshal, urging that officer to give his consent also to such a course.

Just before leaving the colonel, that officer said:

"Sergeant, why do you take such an interest in these wounded Yankees?"

"Colonel, I can't just tell you why I am so interested, but there was

something about their talk that just took hold of my heart, and I listened to everything they said and made up my mind that I would help them all I could; and I thank you, sah, for your consent to this appeal to the provost-marshal, and if he thinks as you do, may I ask the doctah to send them to the house in our regimental ambulance?"

"I think that would hardly do, sergeant; try to get some other conveyance—our ambulance will be busy all day conveying our wounded to hospital and private houses."

An hour later the sergeant returned to the poor, stiffened, disheartened, hungry soldiers, with his face beaming with gladness, and reported that everything was arranged, but he could only take one at a time, and they would have to put up with a ride in a Georgia go-cart. That Georgia go-cart was propelled by a colored man and the sergeant. It was a two-wheeled conveyance, with a rickety box, the bottom of which was thickly strewn with straw.

By the aid of the colored man, the sergeant placed poor Tom in the go-cart and started for home.

The good southern mother with her two young daughters was at the door to receive and welcome the son's guest, and as tenderly aided in conveying him to the spare bed as if he had been their own son and brother.

It was afternoon before Bob joined his comrade, and night before medical assistance was procured to look after the soldier who believed that he was fatally wounded, but not a word of complaint came from the sufferer. Within three weeks Bob had so far recovered that he could wait upon and properly care for his comrade, and it was only necessary for the neighborhood doctor to come once a week from that time until they carried out their agreement with the sergeant.

The sergeant remained at home only one night, and his parting with his mother and sisters and the Yankees the next morning was a most sorrowful one; and as much so for the wounded Unionists as for the household. To this day they believe that the Johnnie felt quite as badly as they did.

His last words upon passing through the door were:

"Mother, take good care of the Yanks. They are brave men, and sometime they, or some of their comrades, may be of as much service to you



in looking after me as you will be to them. Good-by, mother and sisters; good-by, Yanks."

When he reached the hill, twenty rods from the Georgia home, he lifted his hat, waved it, and passed out of sight, joined his company, and was soon on his way back to Virginia.

The union soldiers soon discovered that they were not the guests of a poor Georgia family—that those who were so kindly caring for them were anything but "poor white trash," as the extremely poor of the south are designated by both white and colored people. They found that Mrs. Williams was an educated, refined woman, and that her daughters were intelligent, bright, ladylike girls. In conversation one day Bob said to Mrs. Williams:

"How does it happen that your son, part of the time, talks as we have heard the extremely poor of the south talk, and at other times as you talk?"

The lady smiled and answered by saying:

"I suppose it is owing to his association with men who have not always talked as we do at his home. He astonished us by his manner of conversation as much as he did you, after you learned the character of the man and his surroundings. He is a graduate of an Indiana college and began the practice of law, but the war broke out and he felt that it was his duty to fight for his state. He has several times refused a commission, saying that there were those who were better qualified to be officers than himself, and that he did not enlist for honor and glory, but to serve his state."

This afforded an opportunity for argumentative Bob to talk politics, but he resisted the temptation; probably the first time he ever hesitated to strike back when the question of states-rights was mentioned.

In November, Robert—it is now time to change from Bob to Robert Graves and from Tom to Thomas Holcomb—was about as well and strong as ever, but Holcomb was still pale, weak and unable to walk, though in a fair way to fully recover. Robert, fearing that he would be taken away by one of the roaming bands of rebels, which were often seen passing, decided that the first confederate officer he saw, he would request him to stop and listen to his story. His wait was a brief one. The next day the colonel of an Alabama regiment, accompanied by his adjutant and one or two other officers, came along. Robert saluted him, told the story and begged permission to remain with his friend until he was able to accompany him to prison. The colonel asked that Mrs. Williams also make a statement, which she did, declaring that it was the parting request of her soldier son that she take good care of the men, and that it was her belief that the presence of the well soldier was necessary for the proper care of the invalid.

The colonel, after closely examining the union soldier, wrote a pass, giving the two men leave to remain until the following January, unless Holcomb

recovered before, and in that case both were to make their way to the nearest railroad station, where they would meet a confederate force, hand his pass to the officer in charge, and request that they be sent to Atlanta for confinement in the temporary prison.

One mild January day, before the boys were to take their departure from that which had been to them a home, indeed ever since the 22d of September, there were many things to talk about. The Georgians, enemies as they were, had been as kind to the young men as they could wish.

The poor boys were greatly distressed at their inability to repay Mrs. Williams and her daughters for their great kindness. When the question of remuneration was brought up by Graves, Holcomb said :

“ If we live and return to our homes we shall surely repay you, and pay you well, for your more than kindness to us in our distress. Our own families could not have treated us better than you have. You have anticipated our needs. You have not treated us as enemies, but as friends. We shall never forget our great good fortune in falling into the hands of such people after our misfortune at the battle of Chickamauga.”

“ Now, let me speak,” said one of the young ladies. “ Say no more about what you owe us. We make no charge. I speak for my mother and sister when I tell you that the brave soldier boy who brought you to our door is all the world to us. What he wants us to do we are always glad to do. Of course, we were prejudiced against you, your people ; prejudiced against soldiers of your army, but my brother wanted us to receive and care for you and treat you kindly. It has afforded us pleasure to comply with his request, and in complying with that request of our dear, brave soldier boy we have learned to respect and like you very much. We dislike to see you go. If, when you return to your army, you should ever meet that brother a prisoner, we know that you will do everything in your power to make his term of imprisonment as bright and cheerful as possible.”

The hour of departure came. Good-bys were said, and confederate and union tears were shed in that Georgia home.

I am aware that to have these boys fall in love with the girls, and these girls fall in love with the boys, is in accordance with the usages of story tellers, but the fact is, the boys did not fall in love with the girls, nor the girls with the boys ; but both came to respect and esteem each other very highly ; that was all. Addresses were given, and keepsakes exchanged between the young people.

The next day the prisoners were confined in close quarters at Atlanta and the next spring they were among the first to be placed in Andersonville. It was in that place that they managed to get word to their homes that they were still among the living. It was also their good fortune to be among the first batch of prisoners to be sent north for exchange.

They had returned to their regiment for duty a few days previous to Sherman's advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta.

The boys, our young heroes, were glad indeed when they discovered that they belonged to that portion of the army which moved in the direction of their recent home while in tribulation. Two days after the march commenced they passed the blackened remains of all of the buildings on the great plantation where they had been so hospitably entertained for months.

A cavalry battle had taken place there and both sides had contributed to the destruction. Graves and Holcomb made inquiries of some of the people as to what had become of Mrs. Williams and her daughters. They were told that they had barely escaped with their lives, and had gone to friends in Alabama, but the gentleman who imparted the information was unable to say just what part of Alabama they had gone to.

The sorrow of our young friends was repeatedly expressed in conversation between themselves and with their friends in the company. Had they learned that a similar misfortune had befallen their dear ones at their northern homes, they could not have felt worse than they did to know that these hospitable, loving women of the south had been bereft of their home and compelled to leave the state. But there were such stirring times from then until after the capture of Atlanta that the minds of the young men were pretty thoroughly employed. There were battles nearly every day for a month, some severe ones, some little more than a skirmish. The men of Sherman's army were not out of the sound of musketry and cannonading from the time they left Chattanooga, the first days of May, 1864, until the fall of Atlanta. The wounds of our heroes troubled them, but they were of the material out of which real soldiers are made. They were in the army because they felt it was their duty to be there; they were there to do everything their officers called upon them to do, and to do it cheerfully and as bravely as their courage would allow them to do it. The pains in those wounds, though healed, were very great, but not great enough to induce them to ask to be sent to hospital or to be relieved from any duty. They did their full share on the skirmish line, on picket and in the line of battle, every day; loading and firing behind breast-works, charging across fields and digging trenches or marching at night; carrying off the wounded, burying the dead.

The day of the fall of Atlanta two commissions were received by the colonel of that Illinois regiment. One was for Robert Graves, as first lieutenant, and the other for Thomas Holcomb, as second lieutenant. The boys had never intimated to their superiors that they were anxious for promotion. They had served as privates, corporals and sergeants, and had only sought one of these positions—the high rank of private. The others had been tendered them without solicitation. Such promotions are looked back upon with great pleasure by every soldier who received them.

Now, let us follow the fortunes of Sergeant Williams, of the —th Georgia infantry.

Very soon after returning to his company, his regiment, of Longstreet's corps, was ordered back to Virginia, though the entire corps did not follow until later. The regiment was given a royal welcome in the cities through which it passed on the way back to Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, by the hopeful confederates, who seemed to realize the fact that but for the presence of Longstreet's famous fighting corps the confederate army, at the battle of Chickamauga, would have been well nigh annihilated, instead of being able to win the great victory that the south has always claimed at the battle of Chickamauga. Northerners who were in that battle confess that they were defeated, but insist that it was a poor victory for the southerners.

The winter of 1863-4 was spent in the customary humdrum manner near Gordonsville, Virginia. While in camp at Gordonsville the colonel of his regiment made Sergeant Williams another offer of a commission. This time it was accepted. He thought he had learned enough of war to become an officer, and in a few days he was saluted and addressed as Lieutenant Williams, instead of in the old familiar way as Jim Williams.

The hard work of the campaign, begun early in May, 1864, by Longstreet's corps, which had sometime previous returned from the southwestern country, told heavily upon it. It was plunged into the thickest of the fight, losing frightfully in engagements which took place between Grant's and Lee's armies in the Wilderness battles, whose fame is world-wide. It was in one of these battles that the old corps commander, Longstreet, was stricken down. Williams's regiment suffered frightfully from loss of officers, as well as men. On the tenth of May his colonel recommended him for promotion as captain, for bravery in the Wilderness fights.

In one of the engagements at Spottsylvania, the —th Georgia was ordered to charge the well-built and firmly-defended line of union works. The first charge was repulsed. The second was made with an increased force. All of the Georgia regiment who were not killed in the second charge were made prisoners. A Wisconsin regiment assisted in defending that part of the line.

In the detail made to give the prisoners safe conduct to the rear, and to guard them until they could be conveyed to Belle Plain, for transportation to Washington, was a brother of Lieutenant Graves, of the —th Illinois. Upon learning that the prisoners belonged to a Georgia regiment he immediately inquired the number of the regiment, and upon being told, asked if there was a Sergeant Williams present.

His brother Robert had written him the story of his having been wounded, made a prisoner and the kindness extended to him by the mother and sisters of the confederate sergeant.

"We used to have a Sergeant Williams, but he is no longer a sergeant. We now have a Captain Jim Williams," and here the confederate soldier suddenly stopped speaking and glanced through the ranks of the prisoners. When he spoke again, he said :

"Look yer, Tom, have you seen Captain Jim Williams since the Yanks took us in?"

"I know he was with us when we reached the works," said the fellow-prisoner.

An examination developed the fact that Captain Williams had been seriously wounded.

The guards halted the prisoners when about a mile from where they had been captured.

Private Graves approached the officer in command, who happened to be a member of his own regiment, and in a hurried manner explained the debt of gratitude which his brother owed to a family in Georgia, and then told his superior that a son of the woman who had befriended him was himself wounded in the charge just made, and asked permission to return to the line and see if he could find him. Permission was granted, but reluctantly, in consequence of the uncertainty of what the next move would be.

Hastening back to the line, Graves discovered a number of wounded confederates receiving attention at the hands of the surgeons. Without addressing any particular one, he asked the question :

"Is Captain Williams among the wounded?"

"Who is asking for Captain Williams?" answered a poor fellow whose shattered arm was being dressed."



"I am, sir."

"Who are you?"

"My name is Graves, of the —th Wisconsin."

"My name is Williams, sir."

"Do your people live in Georgia?"

"They did live there."

"Did you befriend a couple of union soldiers after the battle of Chickamauga?"

"Well, not exactly. I had them cared for in my mother's home. I regarded it as only an act of humanity, sah."

"Robert Graves was my brother. I have come to see if I can do anything for you, captain."

"Well, young man, I don't know as there is anything you can do for me. I think my arm must come off."

"Well, captain, I am here to do anything and everything in my power for you. Such kindness as you and your people showed my wounded brother calls for my best efforts in your behalf."

The young man then approached the colonel of his regiment, related the story, and begged permission to remain with Captain Williams until he was out of danger, and in a place of comfort.

At that moment the brigade commander rode up. A pass was written for Private Henry Graves, signed by the colonel and brigade commander, permitting him to remain with Captain Williams, of the —th Georgia, as his nurse, for at least two weeks.

That night Captain Williams and several other wounded confederates, accompanied by young Graves, and a guard, were transported over the rough roads to Fredericksburg, and the next day our confederate hero's right arm was amputated. Here they remained for a week, when the captain was sent, with a large number of others, to Belle Plain, placed on a steamer and conveyed to Washington, where he was admitted to Lincoln hospital.

His Yankee nurse, ever watchful of his interests, as soon as he saw Williams comfortably located in the hospital, called upon a wealthy relative in the city, explained to him why he was in Washington, told what Williams's family had done for his brother Bob and his comrade, and asked that the wealthy Washingtonian receive Captain Williams into his home until he was able to return south. The request was quickly and gladly granted, though the Washingtonian was a stanch Unionist who had gone to Washington from New York in the 'fifties. That night, Williams, for the first time since leaving home, slept on a bed, and it was the best in that Washington home. Being a man of good health and correct habits, and never having lost his nerve, Williams's recovery was rapid.

About the last conversation Captain Williams and Private Graves had was that in which the Georgia captain told of his experience the morning before the disastrous charge. During the conversation he said: "That morning I wrote my mother a letter telling her all about my belongings, where they were, what I wanted done with them, and told her that if I did not return she should only think of me as a son who was willing to give his life for old Georgia. I expected that that would be my last battle. I expected to be slain. It was the only premonition in all my army experience. I have my life and my health, but my sword-arm is gone, yet I shall go back to active service if they will receive me."

The captain was able to ride down to the wharf and see his Yankee nurse depart for the front. "My mother will be more glad than ever," he said,

“that she was kind to your brother and his friend when she learns of your thoughtfulness in looking after my welfare. And I can’t thank you enough. Good-by, and God bless you, even if you are a Yank.”

Captain Williams was exchanged late in July, and returned to his command, and, strange as it may seem, was on duty at the battle of Weldon Railroad, the 21st of August. In climbing a fence, while his regiment was making a charge, he fell and seriously injured his wounded right arm, and was sent to hospital. The arm was again amputated. A month later Williams, now a major, suddenly disappeared and was not heard of by his friends for nearly twenty years.

One day he appeared on his old home plantation in Georgia and inquired for his family. No one seemed to know just where Mrs. Williams was living, but an old colored woman, who had lived in the family, remembered that one of the sisters had married a Montgomery, Alabama, gentleman, and that they had taken up their residence in Chicago.

By some means, he was never able to tell just how, he reached Chicago and searched out his sister. He was so changed that she did not recognize him. He very soon made himself known, however, and the joy of the sister, who had mourned her brother as dead, may be imagined, but not told.

During the next few days and evenings Major Williams told his sister, a widow, and her daughter, what he could, of his life since the war. While in hospital he realized the approach of insanity, and one night, when the nurses were not on the watch, he stole away and wandered from place to place, being shut up at one time in a county jail, at another time in an asylum, then carefully cared for by strangers until 1884, when his reason returned and he immediately set about returning to his old home and in search of his family.

The major found light employment and was of great service to his widowed sister in supplying the home with the necessaries and comforts of life.

Last winter, after a hard fight with rheumatism, which tortured him almost into his grave, the major said to his sister and niece: “We will try once more to find our northern friends. I want very much to see them. I am sure they are alive. I have a feeling that if we make one more effort we shall succeed. That thought has been in my mind for several days. It is not just like that old premonition on that beautiful May day in 1864, at Spottsylvania, Virginia, when my right wing was plucked off, but it lingers with me and I cannot get it out of my mind.”

The next morning there appeared in a Chicago paper an advertisement inquiring for the addresses of two men—Robert Graves and Thomas Holcomb.

In a palatial residence on Michigan avenue a pretty scene was enacted one morning last January. A little flaxen-haired maiden, who had been looking over the paper, exclaimed:

"Why, papa! Here's some one who wants to know where you are."

"Williams—Williams—James Williams? Upon my soul, my old friend from Georgia is asking after me. Bob, order the carriage. I want you to take a ride with me."

Captain Holcomb spoke to his son, who had been named in honor of his army comrade.

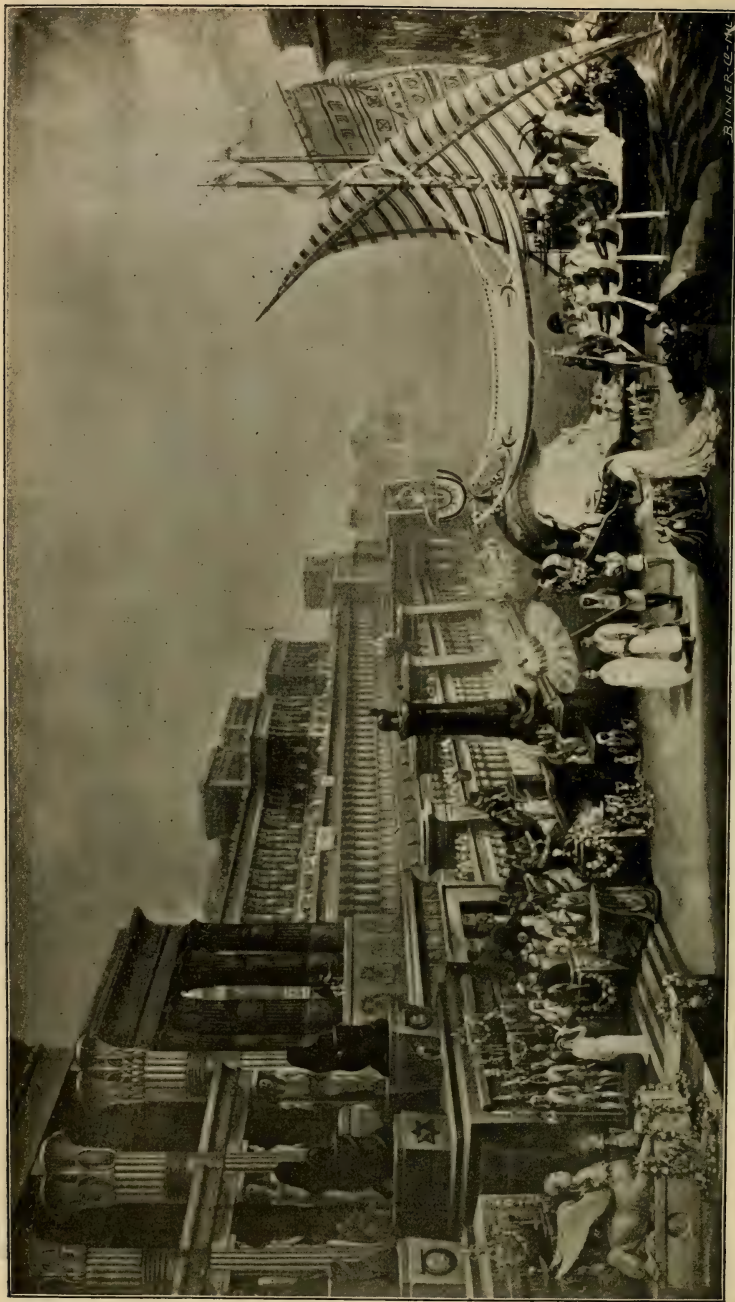
An hour later, Major James Williams and Captain Thomas Holcomb stood face to face for the first time in almost thirty years. It was a remarkable reunion. A happy one in some respects, and a sorrowful one in others.

Holcomb learned about his friend's sad misfortune after returning to his regiment, of his mother's death, that one sister was living in Texas, married, and that his home had been with the Chicago sister since his recovery. Holcomb, a man of considerable wealth, a well-known Board of Trade man, did not ask any questions as to the financial condition of his friends, but took steps the next day to ascertain, and, as he expected, found that they were, while not in want, poor people, and the next time he visited them he insisted upon loaning the major a thousand dollars, taking his note at six per cent, with the mental reservation that the note should be destroyed as soon as he returned to his place of business.

A week later, Captain Holcomb was called to the bedside of his old confederate friend. He had ventured out in a storm and taken a severe cold that resulted in pneumonia. His death followed, and among the sincere mourners at his grave were Captain Holcomb and Captain Graves, the latter a resident of Milwaukee, who were accompanied on the sad mission by several members of their respective families.

The widow and her daughter, the latter a native of Montgomery, Alabama, a charming young girl of eighteen, were invited to spend a few weeks in the family of Captain Holcomb; but that visit was not necessary to make warmer the friendship that had grown up between young Holcomb and Miss Cherry Fitzgerald, the widow's daughter. They had fallen in love on the first visit made by Captain H. and his son. The young people were romantic.

One day Captain Graves received a letter from his Chicago friend, Captain Holcomb, asking him to meet him at the St. Paul station, Milwaukee. He met him, and also the bevy of young people who accompanied him. Their story was a short one. The young people thought it would be more romantic to get married in Milwaukee. The party visited a minister, the ceremony was performed, and this is the story of "Three Premonitions."



THE RETURN OF CLEOPATRA.

With Mark Antony to her Palace in Alexandria, Egypt, from the original picture painted by Mark R. Harrison. Size of picture, 7 by 5 feet. On exhibition at No. 14 Sixth street, Fond du Lac, Wis.

Childrens Corner.



by Rose Nam, S. Krale.

IN ye good old days, when the headwaters of the Milwaukee river, for seventy miles above its mouth, were heavily timbered with cedar, tamarack and ash swamps, black bear were as thick as blackberries in August. In the immediate vicinity of the headwaters of the Milwaukee, which is in the town of Osceola, are innumerable lakes, and in those days they were fringed with lovely cedars and other evergreens, which reached back into the heavily-timbered forest.

In the early '50s, forest fires had swept over miles of this beautifully wooded country, which, in a few years, produced near the openings and on the hillsides, vast fields of blackberry brush. During the latter part of August each year, after the great fires, the neighbors for miles around, as well as the innumerable black bear, were wont to visit the berry fields and revel in their delicious fruits.

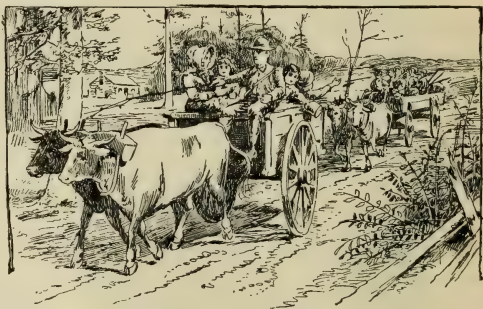
Early in August, in '59, Jim Hardin, a youthful nimrod, discovered two young cubs playing near a creek that emptied into the river, near Mud lake, which is the source of the Milwaukee river. Jim selected the larger of the two and shot it

dead. While Jim, with open mouth, was viewing his victim, he heard a noise close by, and soon Mother Bruin appeared. Jim recognized her at once as "Old Nick," a large black bear, who had gained notoriety among the early settlers by helping herself to numerous delicious pigs. Jim's gun being unloaded, the next best thing he could do was to climb a small sapling near by, and had hardly reached the first limb, which was not far from the ground, when "Old Nick," who had smelled of her dead cub, was close after him. Jim succeeded in pulling himself



upon a limb of the tree and out of danger, but not before he had lost an important part of his trousers and received a few deep scratches as souvenirs of the exciting occasion. Mother Bruin, after vainly attempting to climb the sapling, which was too small for her to clasp her arms around, took a long look at her dead cub, then, with the surviving one, walked slowly into the forest.

It was during the latter part of the same month that the farmer boys in the vicinity made up a caravan, consisting of a large lumber-wagon, hauled by a pair of sturdy oxen and headed by a two-wheeled cart and a yoke of steers. In the front cart was Joe Brown, his mother and three-year-old sister, Dimple, two or three neighboring urchins, numerous pails and utensils; while in the large lumber-wagon which followed were several women and child-



ren, with camping utensils of every description, as they intended to stay one night, then return with their berries. The berry picking season was always looked forward to by the young people, as well as by their mammas, as *the* occasion of the year, and only equaled by the Fourth of July.

The happy berry pickers started early in the morning, crossed from the west to the east side of the Milwaukee river, and by nine o'clock had reached the berry picking grounds. The oxen were unyoked and tied with long ropes to saplings, near an adjacent field of wild grass, the tent put up, wood gathered for their camp-fire, and soon the merry berry pickers were picking the large, delicious fruit which abounded in every direction. Joe Brown, who was about eleven years old, and a small companion, were left in charge of little Dimple and two or three other little girls, who were placed on blankets and left under a convenient shade-tree. The little girls played merrily, while their young guardians soon discovered an early plum tree, and readily forgot their little wards, until their attention was attracted by loud cries and screams issuing from near where they had left the children. It did not take long for the boys to reach the spot, but imagine their surprise when little Mabel Hawkins, between sobs, told them that a black bear, almost as big as a house, had carried away little Dimple.

It was two hours later before the berry pickers had been found and assembled at their camping place. One of the boys was dispatched home to notify the settlers, while Joe Brown started out into the woods alone in search of his lost sister. In a short time Joe found that the bear had crossed a small creek and gone into a cedar swamp, about one-half mile from the camping place. Joe followed the tracks, which were now easily seen in the soft moss and mud, that soon led him to a moss and leaf-strewn cavern, underneath the roots of an upturned cedar.

With the instinct of an Indian, which was prompted by the terrible circumstances, Joe soon found that the bear had left the

cavern and gone into the depths of the trackless forest. When he realized this, his courage gave way, and he sat down upon a fallen log and burst into tears. His grief was shortly interrupted by the voice of little Dimple, emerging from underneath the upturned cedar, saying: "Joe, what you cry for? Come and see my black dog." Joe, with the quickness of a young badger, dove into the cavern beneath the cedar, where he found his little sister Dimple nestling close beside a robust little black cub. Joe embraced little Dimple, and shed tears of joy to think that she was alive and well, and had been adopted by Mother Bruin, who had evidently undertaken to supply the place of her lost cub by the introduction of Dimple into her household. Joe realized at once the danger of remaining until the mother bear returned, so, taking little Dimple in his arms, he started to leave the bear's retreat, but little Dimple persisted so strongly in having her little black dog, as she called the little cub, that Joe grabbed the cub, which was following them, under one arm and little Dimple under the other, and retraced his steps toward the camp.

It took some little time for Joe, with his heavy burdens, to get out of the swamp, but he finally emerged into an old trail, which led him near the camping ground. Now, being fatigued, he sat down upon the ground to rest, and was enjoying the antics of little Dimple and her new companion, when he was suddenly startled by a noise proceeding from the dense swamp. Joe's instincts immediately taught him that Mother Bruin, who was looking for her offspring, was near at hand; so, grabbing Dimple and the cub he started with the speed of a frightened deer towards the camp.

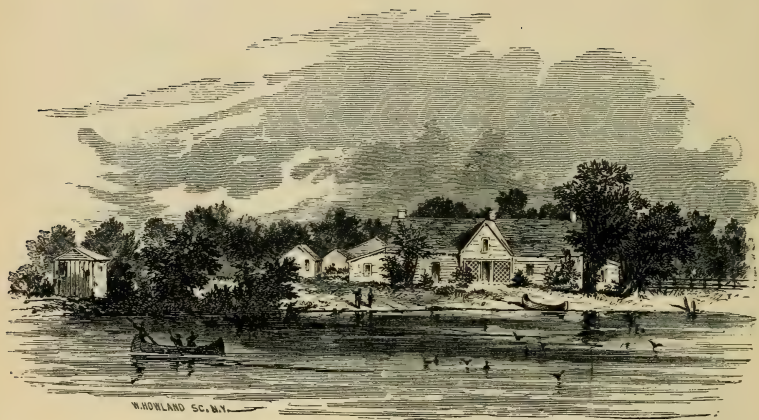


As Joe, with his companions, came into a little opening, he saw, a short distance ahead, the camp-fire of the berry pickers and the forms of some of the neighboring farmers close by. Within ten feet of Joe and his precious burdens came the infuriated bear. Joe, in his eagerness, stumbled and fell, but hardly had he reached the ground before the report of a rifle rang out through the forest, and Mother Bruin dropped dead at his feet with a well-directed ball in her brain. Little Dimple and Joe were received by the berry pickers with great joy.

Of all the settlers who hastened to the berry pickers' camp to vainly search for little Dimple, and avenge her anticipated death, Jim Hardin was foremost; and while deliberating upon the proper course to pursue, little Joe had emerged from the forest, closely pursued by "Old Nick." It was Jim's steady nerve and unerring Kentucky rifle that avenged him for his previous treatment by Mother Bruin.

The skin of Mother Bruin, with her large, massive head and gigantic claws, now adorns a room in an elegant mansion in northern Illinois, and it is not infrequent that Dimple, now a stately matron, sits with her children and tells them the story of her adoption by "Old Nick" on the banks of the Milwaukee river, while the Kentucky rifle that saved Dimple and her brother Joe is still cherished by its owner and hangs over the fireplace, in front of which is spread all that remains of "Old Nick."





W. HOWLAND SC. N.Y.

Wisconsin's Historical Magazine.

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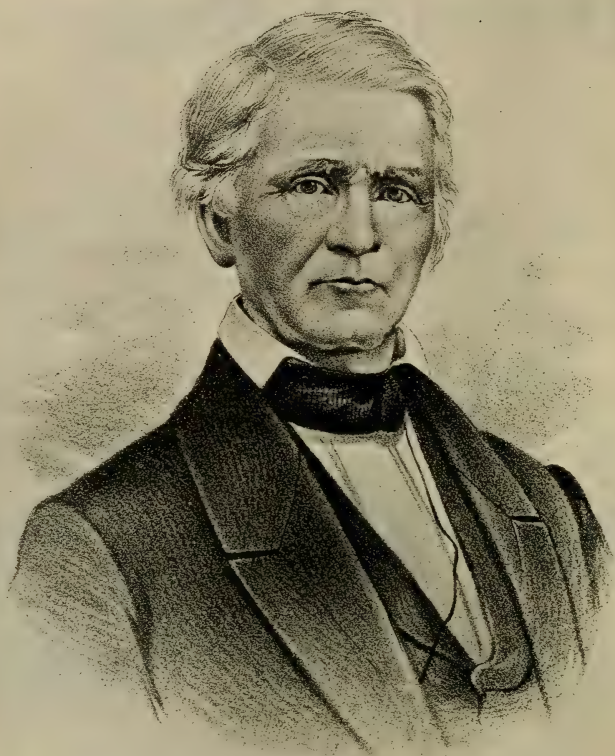
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Henry Dodge,

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WISCONSIN'S TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS.—1836-1848.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF GOVERNOR HENRY DODGE. 1836—1841. 1845—1848.

GENERAL HENRY DODGE, upon the creation of the Territory of Wisconsin in 1836, was appointed its first governor and superintendent of Indian affairs by President Jackson. General Dodge, on the 4th day of July, 1836, at a "grand independent celebration" at Mineral Point, solemnly subscribed to the oath of office in the presence of a large assemblage. This was the most Democratic inauguration ever held in Wisconsin.

On March 4, 1841, the Whigs having come into power under Wm. H. Harrison and John Tyler, Governor Dodge was removed from office, to make room for James Duane Doty. Upon Governor Dodge's removal in 1841, he was made the Democratic nominee for delegate to congress, and was elected over Jonathan E. Arnold, of Milwaukee; he was re-elected delegate in 1843, over General Hicox.

In March, 1845, the Democrats, under James K. Polk, having assumed national control, General Dodge was appointed governor of the territory, and in this capacity continued to serve until Wisconsin was admitted into the union in 1848.

The new state legislature met in June, 1848, and elected Governor Dodge and Isaac P. Walker to the United States senate. The senators drew lots for the long and short terms, which resulted in Governor Dodge drawing the former. In 1851, he was re-elected United States senator for the term ending on the 4th of March, 1857. This closed the public career of General Henry Dodge.

While it is conceded by all that an immense amount of bragging and falsehood has crept into the popular accounts and histories of the Black Hawk war, yet General Dodge rendered valuable service by terrorizing the Winnebagoes. General Dodge also took part in the engagements at Wisconsin Heights and Bad Ax, having led charges in both battles.

The various administrations of General Dodge were both wise and judicious. His messages were clear and comprehensive. He desired that the general government, through congress, take steps to clear the Rock river of its obstructions. He also recommended the propriety of asking congress to donate one township of land to be sold, and the proceeds of the sale to be used for the establishment of an academy for the education of the youth. This recommendation embodied the principle of the plan on which universities

were established in Wisconsin and other states by land grants from congress.* General Henry Dodge was born at Vincennes, Indiana, on October 12, 1782, and during the early Indian disturbances in that state. He was named after Moses Henry, who rescued him from the hands of an Indian who was about to dash his brains out.

The general died at the home of his son, Augustus C. Dodge, in Burlington, Iowa, on June 19, 1869. His last years were principally passed at Mineral Point, among his numerous friends, and were a contrast to the privations, warfare and stormy activity of his frontier life, which was passed in the heart of the Indian country. Well may he be called "The Father of Wisconsin."†

* The legislature of Wisconsin, of 1870, appropriated \$1,000 for Nowell's marble bust of Governor Dodge, which stands in the capitol at Madison.

† Maybelle Park, in "Distinguished Citizens of Wisconsin."



CHAPTER XXXIV.

1841—1844.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR JAMES DUANE DOTY.

JAMES DUANE DOTY, Wisconsin's second governor, was one of our most able statesmen. He was born at Salem, Washington county, New York, on November 5, 1799. After he had completed a thorough English course of study he read law, and, before he was twenty years of age, had settled in De-

troit, where his suave manners, ability and commanding presence made him exceptionally popular. As early as 1819, he was admitted to the bar of the supreme court of Michigan. He occupied the positions of secretary of the Detroit city council, clerk of the supreme court, and secretary of the territorial legislature.

In September, 1820, he made a tour of the lakes, in the General Cass expedition, and acted as its secretary. While he lived in Detroit he was distinguished for his close application to his

profession. At the early age of twenty-two, he had already revised and published the laws of Michigan. At this time he was admitted to practice before the supreme court of the United States.

All the country west of Lake Michigan, in the old Northwest Territory, was, in 1823, set apart and organized into a new judicial district, and Mr. Doty was appointed, by President Monroe, to be its first judge.

In this judicial capacity he heard murder trials, divorce cases, actions upon contracts, controversies between trappers, claims to unsurveyed lands, numerous conflicts between civil and military authority, and in that capacity brought order out of general chaos. Judge Doty was amply able to do this. He laid the foundation for the better establishment of society, and taught the wild and lawless classes to respect and obey the laws. This was no easy task.

In 1832, Mr. Doty was appointed by the secretary of war to lay out military roads from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien and Fort Dearborn, now Chicago. In 1834, he was elected as a member of the territorial legislature of Michigan, and drafted the act which, through his influence, was passed, that made Michigan a state and Wisconsin a territory. In 1837, Mr. Doty was



elected delegate to congress, in which capacity he ably served. He was re-elected and succeeded himself, until he was appointed governor and superintendent of Indian affairs of Wisconsin territory. In this dual capacity he served from October 5, 1841, to September 16, 1844.

Governor Doty's first message was long, clear and comprehensive. He opposed all laws savoring of monopolies or their creation. He recommended that steps be taken to organize a state, and that bank circulation should be circumscribed and made more durable, for the protection of the people. To encourage the introduction of the sheep-growing industry he advocated that sheep and their fleeces be exempt from taxation; that an effective system for the support of common schools be devised, and that all Indian tribes be removed from the territory.

Governor Doty was one of the first to make a vigorous attempt to have the southern boundary of Wisconsin established on a line drawn from the head of Lake Michigan westward, in accordance with the Ordinance of 1787. Had he succeeded in this, Chicago would have been the metropolis of Wisconsin, and Milwaukee the second city. The administration of Governor Doty was both stormy and unpleasant.

In 1849, Governor Doty was elected to congress, and re-elected in 1851 to succeed himself. In 1861, he was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs of Utah. In May, 1863, he was made governor of Utah, and in this capacity contended with the bloody, revengeful and unscrupulous powers of the Mormon church. He occupied this position up to the time of his death, which occurred June 13, 1865.



CHAPTER XXXV.

1844—1845.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR NATHANIEL POTTER TALLMADGE.

NATHANIEL POTTER TALLMADGE, the third and last territorial governor of Wisconsin, was born at Chatham, Columbia county, New York, on February 8, 1795. He became conspicuous at an early age for his ability to acquire information, having begun Latin without a tutor, and while yet in the

district school. He was graduated from Williams college with honors, in 1815, and began the study of law with General James Tallmadge, of Poughkeepsie, New York. In 1818, after representing a district in Dutchess county, he was elected to the state senate, where he established a reputation which extended far beyond the borders of his own state. He was elected to the United States senate for a term of six years, beginning March 4, 1833.



Mr. Tallmadge was a polished orator, sound in logic, and had the reputation of thoroughly understanding every subject he undertook to discuss. Mr. Tallmadge's controversy with John C. Calhoun, on the rights of the colored people to present petitions to congress, together with his able controversy with President Van Buren, whose recommendations he opposed, brought him prominently before the public. His popularity and audacity of character were now so great that he proceeded to reorganize the Democracy of New York, for the purpose of defeating Martin Van Buren. This was during the year of 1839, and, while so occupied, he was triumphantly re-elected to the United States senate.

In 1844, Mr. Tallmadge purchased a beautiful tract of land east of the city of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, for the purpose of making it his future home. President Tyler having nominated him for governor of the Territory of Wisconsin, in 1844, Mr. Tallmadge resigned his position in the senate, and accepted the office.

Mr. Tallmadge succeeded Mr. Doty as chief executive of the territory on September 16, 1844, and held the office until May 13, 1845, at which time, the Democrats having again come into power, he was removed, and Governor

Dodge was appointed his successor. When Mr. Tallmadge became governor he found the people of the territory full of excitement, owing to the stormy controversies which had arisen between the legislature and Governor Doty, but Governor Tallmadge restored peace and harmony, and was soon working in unison with the erratic body.

Governor Tallmadge delivered, in person, his message to the legislature on January 17, 1845. In this message he pointed out to the legislature that the famous Milwaukee and Rock River canal had been abandoned, and recommended the construction of a railway from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan.

Among other important measures he advocated and recommended the establishment of agricultural societies and schools. This dignified and able message was so broad in its principles that the legislature authorized seven hundred and fifty copies to be printed in German.

Governor Tallmadge was a lover of philosophy, literature, and good society. His speeches and writings were refined and showed exceptional ability. Upon retiring from office Mr. Tallmadge abandoned active politics, and, though he continued to reside at Fond du Lac, he spent a large portion of his time at Washington, where he was ever ready to advocate and advance the interests of Wisconsin.

At and near Fond du Lac, at an early day, Governors Doty and Tallmadge had settled, together with a large number of people remarkable for wealth, culture and hospitality. In all the northwest, at that time, there was no social coterie to be compared with this one. Their children were taught French, music and art, by private tutors. They frequently gave hunting and other parties on an extensive scale. They regarded the poor with marked consideration and respect, and in every way added a charm and wholesomeness to society that had never been known in a new country, and is now comparatively unknown. The Tallmadge family was very popular and for many years were society leaders.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

WISCONSIN'S STATE GOVERNORS.

ADMINISTRATION OF NELSON DEWEY.

1848—1852.

Nelson Dewey.—Progress of the Badger Commonwealth.—Legislative Enactments.—Elections.

NELSON DEWEY, our first governor after the admission of the territory into the union, was born in the town of Lebanon, state of Connecticut, on December 19, 1813. The year following he moved to Butternuts, near Morris, in Oswego county, state of New York, where his youthful days were passed upon a farm.



Mr. Dewey's early education was commenced in a district school at Morris, but at the age of sixteen he was sent to Hamilton academy at Chenango, New York, where he remained three years. Among his classmates at the academy were William Pitt Lynde, who, for many years, represented Milwaukee in congress, and Professor J. W. Sterling, of the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Dewey was elected the first register of deeds for Grant county in 1837. He was also elected three times to the territorial legislature, and was at one time chosen speaker of the house of representatives and vice-president of the council. In 1848, upon the admission of Wisconsin into the union, Mr. Dewey was elected by the Democrats to be Wisconsin's first governor, over John H. Tweedy, by a majority exceeding five thousand.

Governor Dewey, upon taking his seat as governor, found himself in the midst of chaos, as the state was now separated from the general federal control. Numerous appointments were made at the dictation of local influence, which frequently created jealousy and dissatisfaction. Notwithstanding these disappointments, Governor Dewey was so able and efficient in the administration of public affairs that he was renominated and elected in 1849, by a larger majority than before. At the end of his second gubernatorial term, in January, 1853, he retired to private life, but, during the fall of the same year, the

Democracy nominated him for the state senate in the Sixteenth district, and he was elected over Orsamus Cole, now chief-justice of the supreme court of Wisconsin, by a majority of only three votes.

In 1873, Ex-Governor Dewey was appointed state-prison commissioner by Governor Taylor. For more than half a century, Governor Dewey was a member or nominee of every territorial and state convention held in Wisconsin by the Democratic party, besides frequently acting as a delegate to its national conventions for nominating candidates for president.

It has been said by those who knew him well, that the numerous honors with which his party adorned him always came without solicitation on his part, and that, in the various positions of trust, his integrity was never questioned. On July 21st, 1889, Governor Dewey died at his home in Cassville, Wisconsin, regretted by innumerable friends.

The "Badger" commonwealth, from its first introduction into the union of states, took front rank in the passage of liberal laws, and the generous maintenance of the highest order of public institutions. In territorial times its charitable, penal and educational systems were inaugurated; but now, as the youngest state in the union, it extended and developed its scientific methods, in keeping with the growth of the commonwealth.

Wisconsin's magnetic attractions were cheap and rich lands, extensive pine forests, valuable lead mines, and unlimited water power along its beautiful rivers. These various attractions gave such an impetus to the growth of the young state that, during the two years succeeding its admission into the union, there was an increase of population of nearly ninety-five thousand. The last territorial census showed a population of two hundred and ten thousand five hundred and forty-six.

This new and healthy population was chiefly from New York, New England and Ohio, together with many thousands of Germans, Scandinavians, Poles, Belgians, Irish, Dutch, English, and Scotch immigrants, all of which has made Wisconsin one of the most progressive states in the union.

During the first session of the legislature, under Governor Dewey's first administration, numerous important bills were passed, among which were the division of the state into congressional districts, the election of judges, the improvement of the Fox river, appraisal of university lands with relation to the reorganization of schools, the construction of plank-roads, the salaries of state officers, numerous acts relating to the organization of towns and counties, thirty for state roads, thirty-eight appropriation bills, and ten for the incorporation of villages and cities, and other organizations.

Among the most important acts passed was one for the establishment of the State University, consisting of a board of regents, consisting of a president and twelve members, which included the secretary and treasurer. The

passage of an act which created the most excitement in Wisconsin, and drew forth serious comments from numerous states in the union, was the "Homestead Exemption Bill." It was the most liberal law ever passed by any state authority, and is similar to the homestead law now upon our statute books. One of our leading papers at Madison, in commenting upon the law, used the following language :

"The legislature has passed a bill, which, if not immediately repealed, will work some most wonderful changes in the business transactions of our new state. This, to a majority of our people, was the most odious feature in the condemned constitution. We can regard it as nothing less than a covert, under which villainy can practice its devices unmolested, as it is a permission for rascals to get in debt, if they can, and pay when they please, not when they ought, as justice demands."

At the July session of the legislature in 1848, the following commissioners were elected to revise the statutory laws: M. Frank, C. S. Gordon and Alexander W. Randall. Mr. Randall declining to serve, C. M. Baker was appointed by the governor to fill the vacancy. The report of the commissioners was presented to the next session of the legislature, examined by that body, and adopted, with some few amendments, at its January session, 1849. "The Revised Statutes of Wisconsin," as thus revised, was printed at Albany, in 1849. This was a volume of eight hundred and ninety-nine pages, octavo.

At the fall election of 1848, Charles Durkee, Orsamus Cole and James D. Doty were elected members of congress. At the general election in the United States at this time, it will be remembered, General Zachary Taylor was elected president, and Millard Fillmore, vice-president.

One of the first acts passed during the second session of the legislature was "An act relating to interest." According to the conditions of this act, any rate of interest agreed upon by the parties to a written contract should be legal and valid and, that when no interest was specified, seven per cent. was fixed as the legal rate. The passage of this law had the effect to bring capital into the state, and to greatly stimulate private investments as well as the general development of the country. This law was afterwards repealed.

The first session of the supreme court of the state of Wisconsin convened on the 8th day of January, 1849, with A. W. Stowe, as chief-justice, E. V. Whiton, M. M. Jackson, Charles H. Larrabee, and Levi Hubbell, associates. On January 30, 1849, the first organization of the State Historical Society was perfected. Nelson Dewey was elected its first president, with one vice-president from each of the counties in the state. The Rev. Charles Lord was elected recording secretary; I. A. Lapham, corresponding secretary; E. M. Williamson, treasurer; John Catlin, Beriah Brown and Alexander Botkin executive committee.

During the year 1849, the preliminary steps for the organization of a school for the blind, to be located at Janesville, were made. A school of this kind had previously been supported by voluntary efforts of the people at Janesville and vicinity. In February, 1850, the Wisconsin Institution for the Blind was organized by an act of the legislature.

The congressional elections, held in 1850, elected Charles Durkee, Benjamin C. Eastman and James D. Doty members of congress. On September 19, 1850, the state Democratic convention placed in nomination the following persons: For governor, Don A. J. Upham; lieutenant-governor, Timothy Burns; secretary of state, William A. Barstow; treasurer, Edward H. Janssen; attorney-general, Charles Billinghamurst; state superintendent of schools, Azel P. Ladd.

The Whig state convention, on September 24th, placed in nomination Leonard J. Farwell for governor; James Hughes, lieutenant-governor; Robert W. Wright, secretary of state; Jefferson Crawford, treasurer; John C. Truesdell, attorney-general. At the election in November, the Democratic ticket was elected, except Don A. J. Upham. Leonard J. Farwell, the Whig candidate, had a majority of five hundred and sixty votes.

In September, 1850, all the swamp and overflowed lands within the present limits were donated to the state by congress.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

ADMINISTRATION OF LEONARD JAMES FARWELL.

1852—1854.

Legislative Enactments.—Impeachment Trial of the Hon. Levi Hubbell.—Railroad Mania.—Elections.

LEONARD JAMES FARWELL was Wisconsin's second distinguished state governor. Mr. Farwell was the son of Captain James Farwell, of Watertown, New York, where he was born January 5, 1819. In 1824, Captain James

Farwell died, and in 1830 the only son was left an orphan, upon the death of his mother, Mrs. Rebecca Cady Farwell. Thus Leonard J., at the early age of eleven, was left a penniless, uneducated orphan. After attending a district school until his fourteenth year, he entered a dry goods store, but this occupation being distasteful to him, he learned the tinner's trade, and at the same time applied himself to the rudimental study of book-keeping, and the fundamental principles of trade and commerce.



In 1838, Mr. Farwell settled at Lockport, Illinois, and without any other capital than his kit of tools, his knowledge of his trade, and a large stock of energy and perseverance, he opened a tinshop and hardware store, and soon built up a good business. On his twenty-first birthday, January 5, 1840, he sold out his business interest at Lockport, and removed to Milwaukee, where he opened a hardware store on an extensive scale. Mr. Farwell's complete knowledge of the business in which he was engaged, together with his great energy and ability, soon enabled him to build up the largest and most lucrative wholesale house in Wisconsin, and one of the largest in the west. After having made a tour to the West Indies, in 1846, he returned and purchased a large tract of property, upon which the city of Madison is now situated, together with the water-power at the outlet of Fourth lake.

In 1847, Mr. Farwell made an extended tour of the Old World, visiting, during the next three years, all the principal points of interest in Europe, Asia, Africa and Great Britain. Upon his return from abroad, he disposed of his business in Milwaukee, and invested largely in enterprises at Madison,

Wisconsin, among which were the establishment of a woolen factory, machine-shops and founderies. He was instrumental to a large extent in making Madison the beautiful city it now is.

In 1851, Mr. Farwell was nominated for governor by the Whig party, and, although the rest of the Whig nominees were defeated, he was elected. In ten years Mr. Farwell had accumulated a vast fortune, visited most of the civilized countries of the world, built a city, and become the chief executive of his adopted state. As governor, Mr. Farwell took the same interest in the entire state that, as a private citizen, he had taken in his own affairs, and the affairs of those intrusted to his care, and, although the legislature was politically opposed to the governor, yet such important recommendations as the establishment of a separate supreme court, a state banking system, a geological survey, an immigration agency, and other equally important measures were carried into effect by that body.

In 1857, Mr. Farwell's railroad investments having proved a failure, he retired to his farm near Lake Mendota, Madison, where he superintended the erection of the building for the State Hospital for the Insane. In 1859, he was elected to the state legislature, in 1863 made assistant examiner in the patent office at Washington, and, three months later, appointed chief-examiner of new inventions, which position he occupied until 1876.

Upon the night of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Farwell was in Ford's theatre, and, immediately after the shooting, he comprehended that the conspiracy was so extensive that the principal officers of the administration would likewise be assassinated. He therefore, with all speed, hastened from the theatre to the room of Vice-President Johnson, and arrived in time to prevent Adtzerot from executing his part in the terrible plot. For saving his life, Mr. Johnson tendered to Mr. Farwell any position under the administration he desired, but the offer was declined, upon the ground "that public offices should not be used for the payment of debts of gratitude."

Chicago's great fire, in 1872, inflicted another severe financial blow to Mr. Farwell, which necessitated his removal to Grant City, Missouri, where he engaged in the real estate and banking business up to the time of his death, which occurred on April 1, 1889.

Mr. Farwell, as an able, honest, patriotic and energetic citizen, as well as a public officer, should be remembered with great kindness and gratitude by the people of Wisconsin.

Among the important measures introduced in the legislature of 1852, which became a law, was an act for the completion of the improvement of the Fox and Rock rivers, by which act all the unsold lands granted by congress, estimated at about two hundred thousand acres, should be brought into the market at a minimum price, not less than two dollars and fifty cents per acre. A

bill was also passed providing for the establishment of a commissioner of immigration for the state, with an office located in the city of New York. The salary of the commissioner was fixed at \$1,500, and the sum of \$1,250 was allowed for printing information concerning the interests of the state in English, German and other languages, for free circulation.

At the same session of the legislature, bills were passed granting thirty-one plank-road charters, and thirty charters for railroads, villages and cities, bridges and ferries. Perhaps one of the most important subjects passed upon was the banking question, as a large majority of the people had declared in favor of the organization of state banks. Their representatives were sent to the capitol, with positive instructions to take such steps as would secure the constitutional establishment of banking interests.

On April 19th, the legislature approved of the act incorporating the Wisconsin Institute for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb. This institution was located on a valuable tract of land near the village of Delavan, in Walworth county, and consisted of eleven and a fraction acres. This site was donated to the state by F. K. Phoenix, a member of the board of trustees. A few years later, the trustees purchased twenty-two acres, lying on three sides of the original site.

The year 1852 was the year of railroad mania in the state. Engineers were everywhere busily engaged in surveying roads from the various points. Beloit to Madison, Janesville to Milwaukee, Milwaukee to La Crosse, Chicago, Green Bay and Fond du Lac, and from Racine to the Illinois state line.

At the fall election of 1852, E. V. Whiton was elected chief-justice of the supreme court, and Samuel Crawford and Samuel Smith, associate justices. The defeated candidates were Charles H. Larrabee, Marshall M. Strong, and James H. Knowlton. B. C. Eastman, John B. Macy and Daniel Wells, Jr., were elected members of congress. The Democratic electoral ticket was chosen, which electors cast their votes for Franklin Pierce for president of the United States.

The most important matter brought before the legislature was the preferring and filing of charges against the Hon. Levi Hubbell for alleged corruption and malfeasance in the performance of his duties as judge of the Second judicial circuit of the state. The charges were preferred by William K. Wilson, on January 26, 1853. The assembly appointed a committee of five to examine the charges, and on February 23d, the committee so appointed reported that it had taken testimony upon the subject of the charges, and upon the proof so taken found Levi Hubbell had been guilty of divers acts of corruption and malfeasance in the performance of said duties in said office, as set forth in the charges and specifications against him, and that public justice required that said judge, Levi Hubbell, be removed from his office as judge of the

Second judicial circuit. On March 4th, a resolution was adopted appointing a committee to report articles of impeachment. On the 22d of March, the committee reported that it had performed the duty assigned.

On June 8th, the senate, by message, informed the assembly that they were ready to proceed with the trial of the Hon. Levi Hubbell, in the senate chamber. The trial of impeachment in the senate was conducted, on the part of the state, by E. G. Ryan, Esq., afterwards chief-justice of the supreme court. Judge Hubbell, the respondent, was ably defended by Messrs. Jonathan E. Arnold and James H. Knowlton. There were eleven articles of impeachment, and sixty-eight specifications of the same. After a full trial, the senate, on the 9th day of July, 1853, announced that judgment had been taken on all the articles of impeachment, and upon the respective specifications thereunder, and that there was not a sufficient number, according to the constitution, who had voted to find the respondent guilty of any of the charges and specifications. The president of the court arose, and declared that the Hon. Levi Hubbell, judge of the Second judicial circuit, was fully acquitted of all the charges preferred against him in the several articles of impeachment.

The report of the state bank comptroller showed that there were twelve banks doing business under the general banking laws, during the year 1853. That the total amount of circulating notes issued by the respective banks, and outstanding on the 31st of January, 1854, was \$593,066.00, for the redemption of which securities amounting to \$608,000.00 had been assigned to the state treasury.

The official vote of the state at the fall election of 1853, gave William A. Barstow, the Democratic nominee for governor, 30,405 votes, and E. D. Holton, the Free Soil nominee, 21,286.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BARSTOW.

1854—1856.

Testing the Fugitive Slave Law.—School Land Fraud.—Growth and Prosperity of the State.—Elections.—Census.

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BARSTOW, one of Wisconsin's most efficient governors, was born at Plainfield, Connecticut, September 13, 1813. The Barstows came from Yorkshire, England, where the name was a distinguished one. William Augustus and his brother Samuel H. engaged in business at Norwich,



Connecticut, for several years prior to 1834, at which time William Augustus entered into partnership with another brother, Horatio N., at Cleveland, Ohio, and shortly built up an extensive milling business. The financial crisis of 1837, however, compelled the brothers to suspend business. After their affairs were settled up, William Augustus, in 1839, removed to Prairieville, and purchased the water-power and adjacent one hundred and sixty acres of land upon which Waukesha is now situated. At this place

he erected a flouring-mill and opened a store. He was soon at the head of a prosperous business. In those days Waukesha was called the "Hub," as it was the great political center of the territory of Wisconsin.

Mr. Barstow became prominent in politics in 1841, upon his appointment as postmaster and one of the three county commissioners of Milwaukee county, which then included what is now Waukesha county, and, while acting in this capacity, in 1846, caused the creation of Waukesha county. In 1849, Mr. Barstow was elected secretary of state by the Democracy. While acting in this capacity, he was charged with the difficult task of bringing into the market and selling the state school lands. It has been said that no secretary has been called upon to perform more arduous, new or important duties than he.

In 1853, Mr. Barstow was elected governor by the Democrats and took his seat in January, 1854. His first message showed unusual ability, while his appointments were both creditable and satisfactory. Among his appointments was that of the poet, James G. Percival, who succeeded Edward Daniels as state geologist. Mr. Barstow was again nominated for governor in

1855, his opponent being Coles Bashford. This was a campaign of unparalleled bitterness. After the violent contest was over, the returns showed that Governor Barstow was defeated by a few votes. The board of canvassers, however, accepted some supplemental returns from the backwoods, which would have made him governor, had it not transpired that they were in every respect fraudulent.

The counting in of Mr. Bashford was carried to the supreme court, which, in due time, enabled Mr. Barstow to ascertain the spurious character of the supplemental returns. As soon as Mr. Barstow was convinced of the fraudulent nature of the supplemental returns, he resigned his position as governor, which was greatly to his own honor, although some of his constituents, who laid the scheme to corrupt the purity of the ballot and overthrow the will of the people, were very much displeased.

Mr. Barstow, as head of the Democracy, became the political target for all the criticism and odium which his opponents could cast, as well as many of his old-time colleagues, who were interested in preparing the spurious returns.

After becoming a partner with Alexander E. Gray and E. M. Hunter, in the banking business at Janesville, which proved disastrous, Mr. Barstow returned to milling, which he followed until he entered the army, as colonel of a regiment of cavalry, recruited by himself in 1861. In 1862, Mr. Barstow's health being somewhat impaired, he was made provost-marshal general of Kansas, and given the hard task of cleaning that fiery section of guerrillas. The next year, in 1863, he was detailed upon court-martial duties, which lasted until March 4, 1865. He then went to Leavenworth, for the purpose of engaging in business, and was there taken sick and died on December 13, 1865.

Mr. Barstow, in his younger days, was considered the handsomest man in Wisconsin. He was extremely popular with all classes that personally came in contact with him. His friendships were sincere and lasting, while there was no sacrifice too great for him to make for those he loved. He was a close friend and associate for many years of Alexander W. Randall and, like James D. Doty, had no enemies except political ones.

The "fugitive-slave law" in Wisconsin was not tested until 1854. One Josiah Glover, a runaway slave, was employed in a mill on the Milwaukee road, near Racine. On the night of the 10th of March, between seven and eight o'clock, while playing cards with three colored companions in a neighboring cabin, there suddenly appeared on the scene a United States deputy marshal from Milwaukee and five assistants, accompanied by Benami S. Garland, a Missourian, who claimed to be the owner of Glover. After a desperate struggle, in which Glover was quite badly cut up, he was placed in irons, thrown into a wagon and carried to Milwaukee. The night was extremely cold, and in order to add to his miseries the fugitive was frequently kicked and

beaten while on the way by the brutal Missourian, who frequently threatened him with more serious punishment upon his return to the plantation. It was nearly morning when they reached Milwaukee, where the slave was thrown into the county jail, and it was not until several hours later that his wounds were dressed by a surgeon.

Sherman M. Booth, who at this time edited the "Wisconsin Free Democrat," was among the first to learn of the Glover affair, and, at an early hour that morning, was riding up and down the streets distributing hand-bills turned out of his printing-office, and giving news of the calling of an indignation meeting. While riding through the streets he frequently shouted, "Free men to the rescue!" Booth's meeting proved a great success. General James H. Paine, Dr. E. B. Wolcott, F. J. Blair, Booth and numerous others made speeches and adopted resolutions insisting on Glover's right to writ of *habeas corpus* and a trial by jury. The writ of *habeas corpus*, which was issued by the local judge, was not obeyed, either by the United States district judge, A. G. Miller, or by the Milwaukee sheriff. Upon receiving this news, the crowd which had gathered at the court-house, being reinforced by a delegation of about one hundred from Racine, became furious, marched to the jail and demanded the prisoner. The United States deputy marshal in charge refused to deliver up the prisoner, upon which the crowd attacked the frail structure with axes, beams and crowbars, and rescued Glover about sunset, and sent him to Waukesha, where his wounds were properly attended to. Glover was soon back in Racine, and within a short space of time escaped to Canada's free soil. Booth was arrested for aiding in the escape of the fugitive slave. The supreme court of the state discharged him on a writ of *habeas corpus*. In July he was indicted in the United States district court, but the supreme court interfered and again discharged him. In the first case which came before the supreme court Chief-Justice Whiton decided that the fugitive slave act was unconstitutional and void, as it conferred judicial powers on court commissioners, and deprived the accused of the right of trial by jury. In the second case which came before the supreme court, the decision was that the warrant of arrest was irregular and void.

The United States supreme court, however, reversed the decision of the state court, and Booth was again arrested in 1860, but shortly after pardoned by the president.

Garland, the Missouri slaveholder, was arrested in Racine for assault and battery, but was released by Judge Miller upon a writ of *habeas corpus*. Upon his release he hurried back to his Missouri plantation. While the people at Racine and vicinity had no further occasion to take the law into their own hands in the defense of humanity, yet they frequently engaged in assisting slaves to escape on the "underground railroad."

The occurrence, in 1854, of what is known as the "School Land Fraud" created much excitement throughout the state, and had the effect indirectly of materially injuring the Democratic party. In 1854, the *Argus and Democrat*, one of the leading state papers, announced as on authority that all the school lands then subject to entry were purchased on the 20th of April, at the appraised value. James Ludington, the president of the Bank of the West, was the purchaser. Mr. Chapman, cashier of the Bank of the West, stated that the amount of the purchase would be from fifty thousand to two hundred thousand acres. According to Section 32, of the Revised Statutes, every person making application for the purchase of school or university lands should produce to the secretary of state an application in writing, describing the tract of land which he proposed to purchase, by the number of section, township and range, and the subdivision of the section. The statute required the purchaser's name to be subscribed to the application, which application the secretary was required to file and preserve in his office. The application of Mr. Ludington was a "blanket" application, and intended to keep the doors of the land-office closed, as against other purchasers, until Mr. Ludington and his agents should select the most desirable tracts. Even Mr. Ludington's lists were prepared by clerks in the land-office. Mr. Ludington, after receiving the lists prepared in the land-office, selected about seventy thousand acres of the most desirable tracts; then the remaining lands were again put into the market. Thus the doors of the land-office had been closed as against parties desirous of purchasing for actual improvement, and the officers and clerks assisted a speculator to make his application from the public records. This sale, and the manner in which it was conducted, were an outrage on the people, and a disgrace to those whose duty it was to protect the people in their rights.

The commissioner of immigration reported that he had received numerous letters of inquiry at the New York office, and that, during the period of eight months prior to his report, three thousand people had visited the New York office, of whom two thousand came from Europe. These visitors were principally Germans. Their visitation was undoubtedly due to the fact that thirty thousand pamphlets had been distributed abroad. It was estimated that the number of Germans arriving in Wisconsin in 1853 was between sixteen thousand and eighteen thousand. The number of Irish, between four thousand and five thousand. In 1854, about fifteen thousand Norwegians and Swedes came to Wisconsin. The able and efficient Mr. Haertel had only entered upon the duties of his office on May 1, 1853.

The Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company completed its road as far as Madison in the month of May, 1854, and, on the 23d, a great celebration was held at Madison. The opening of this road added an impetus to immigration and the development of the country. Up to this time, it will be

remembered that the grain raised near Madison and vicinity had to be drawn to Milwaukee by teams, the expenses on the road frequently absorbing more than the profits.

Governor Barstow's message to the state legislature, convened January 10, 1855, opened with an appropriate reference to the results of the past year, as affording the people of the state reasons to indulge in congratulations to an extent never before warrantable.

The condition of the school fund he reported as highly flattering, and that there would be for distribution, the following year, \$142,431.29, about ninety-three cents to every child in the state. He stated that the bank comptroller reported the amount of bank circulation at \$937,592.00, secured by a deposit of stocks amounting to \$1,033,000.00. The governor also referred to the institutions of the state being in a promising condition, and that public improvements were being carried forward as rapidly as possible. The state prison he reported as nearly completed, and of a permanent and substantial character, being fire-proof. He urged liberal provisions for the deaf and dumb and blind institutions. He also referred to his former message on the importance of providing for the sale of swamp and overflowed lands granted to the state by an act of congress, approved September 28, 1850, numbering about one million six hundred and fifty-one thousand and sixty-two acres.

The superintendent of public instructions reported the total number of children in the state, over four and under twenty years of age, at one hundred and fifty-five thousand one hundred and twenty-five, an increase of sixteen thousand four hundred and sixty-seven over the number reported in 1854.

The first annual report of the State Historical Society was published this year, for the year 1854. This report shows that the society had received one thousand and fifty volumes and a number of paintings, autographs, and antiquarian specimens. The society at this time occupied a small room in the basement of the Baptist church, at Madison. Dr. Lyman C. Draper was the efficient and successful corresponding secretary for the society.

In looking back upon the general political affairs in 1855, we are much impressed with the close resemblance between the politicians of those days and the present. The legislative assembly of 1855 was Republican, but had a Democratic governor. The Madison *Democrat*, in commenting upon this legislature, uses the following language: "A body possessing a less amount of talent never met at the capitol. It came with professions of industry, economy and short sessions upon its lips. An idler, more lavish and dilatory body has not since the organization of the state, assembled within the walls of the capitol; and the following is the result in brief of their labors: An amount of local legislation unparalleled in the history of the state, a failure to enact a single law which will accomplish a reform in public affairs, time devoted to the pur-

suit of partisan and sinister objects to the total neglect of good and wholesome legislation, an amount of appropriations never before equaled in a single session, and a state tax of \$350,000.00, \$7.00 to each voter and 75 cents to every man, woman and child in the state."

The *Madison Journal* in its next issue made the following reply to the *Madison Democrat*: "The legislature passed a prohibitory liquor law, the governor vetoed it. It passed a law to investigate the affairs of the state departments, the governor vetoed it. In short, with scarcely a single exception, every law to accomplish a reform in public affairs found an unscrupulous and active enemy in the governor, and was either vetoed or what is still more outrageous—pocketed. * * * * *"

At the Democratic state convention held at Madison, August 31, 1855, the following persons were nominated: For governor, William A. Barstow; lieutenant-governor, Arthur McArthur; secretary of state, David W. Jones; state treasurer, Charles Kuehn; attorney-general, William R. Smith; superintendent of public instruction, A. C. Barry; bank comptroller, William M. Dennis; state-prison commissioner, Edward McGarry.

The Republican state convention met at Madison, September 1, 1855, and nominated the following ticket: For governor, Coles Bashford; lieutenant-governor, C. C. Sholes; secretary of state, S. D. Hastings; attorney-general, Alexander W. Randall; state treasurer, Charles Roesser; superintendent of public instruction, J. G. McMynn; bank comptroller, F. H. West; state-prison commissioner, James Giddings. After a spirited contest, the November elections resulted in the election of the whole Democratic ticket, except W. A. Barstow.

The state census, in 1855, taken under an act of the legislature, showed a population of five hundred and fifty-two thousand one hundred and nine.



CHAPTER XXXIX.

GOVERNOR BASHFORD'S ADMINISTRATION.

1856-1858.

Coles Bashford.—Bashford-Barstow Contest.—The State's Progress.—Political.

COLES BASHFORD, the successor of Governor Barstow, was born at Cold Springs, Putman county, New York, January 24, 1816. He was educated at the Wesleyan Seminary, Lima, New York. He studied law with John M. Holley at Lyons, New York, and was admitted to the bar in 1841. After



practicing law for several years, and occupying the position of district attorney of Wayne county, he removed to Oshkosh, Wisconsin, in 1850, and at once became a prominent figure at the bar, as well as in politics. The next year he was elected to the state senate as a Whig and Free Soiler. Being one of our most able and useful senators, he was re-elected in 1854 for the years 1855-1856, but resigned in 1855, and became the Republican candidate for governor. After a hotly-contested campaign, the first and true returns

showed that Mr. Bashford was elected by a small majority, while all the other Republican nominees at that election were defeated.

The zealous friends of Mr. Barstow, however, improvised several sets of supplemental returns, which were overwhelmingly in favor of their candidate, Governor Barstow, and were of sufficient number to overcome Mr. Bashford's small but honest majority. The state board of canvassers, being ardent partisans of Governor Barstow, received and counted the spurious returns, and declared him duly elected.

Mr. Barstow took the oath of office in the executive chamber, January 7, 1856, and continued in charge of the office. On the same day at noon, Mr. Bashford appeared before the supreme court, and was sworn in as governor, by Chief-Justice Whiton. Governor Bashford then proceeded to the executive chamber and demanded possession of Mr. Barstow. The polite and affable Mr. Barstow extended his compliments and respects to his visitor, but declined to vacate the office. The attorney general of the state, in behalf of Mr. Bashford, immediately filed an information with the supreme court, inquiring

by what right or title Mr. Barstow held the office of governor. Governor Barstow, in pursuance of a summons issued by the court, appeared February 2, 1856, and was represented by Harlow S. Orton, Jonathan E. Arnold and Matt H. Carpenter, who moved to quash all proceedings under the writ, upon the ground that the court had no jurisdiction of the case. Governor Bashford's interests were ably presented by the attorney general, Edward G. Ryan, Alexander W. Randall and Timothy O. Howe. The motion to quash the writ was denied, and an order entered requiring Mr. Barstow to appear and plead to the writ before a certain day. Upon the court's sustaining the demurer interposed by Mr. Bashford, and the entry of an order requiring Mr. Barstow to answer within four days, his attorneys withdrew from the case, on the ground that their further appearance would be an admission that the court had jurisdiction, although the court held that everything pleaded by Mr. Bashford was admitted by the default of Mr. Barstow, yet declined to enter judgment for the plaintiff, but ordered him to produce evidence to prove his case. The evidence produced, upon the examination, so clearly established the spuriousness of the supplemental returns, that Mr. Barstow resigned on March 21, 1856, and Arthur McArthur, the lieutenant-governor, became acting governor, as the supreme court had not yet rendered a final decision. The supreme court finally entered judgment in favor of Mr. Bashford, declaring him duly elected to the office of governor, and entitled to the executive chair. On the 25th of March the lieutenant-governor vacated the chair, and Mr. Bashford became governor.

This is a memorable event, both on account of the principals and the high standing of the attorneys,⁵ as well as the intense excitement attending all the details of the case. The excitement was so great that bloodshed would have followed, had it not been for the extraordinary coolness of both Barstow and Bashford. The Republicans proposed, if Barstow should refuse to obey the order of the court, in case it should be against him, to take possession and inaugurate Mr. Bashford by force. The Democrats, on the other hand, claimed that the court had no right to inquire whether Barstow had been legally or fraudulently elected, and were prepared to resist with force and arms any movement the Republicans would take. Arms and ammunition were stored in the basement of the capitol, as well as in some of the hotels in Madison, and, for a while, civil strife seemed inevitable.

The administration of Governor Bashford was devoid of matters of vast importance, save the disposal of the St. Croix land grants, which disastrously involved a large number of prominent men. At the end of his term, the leading Republicans were desirous of again nominating him for governor, but he declined to be a candidate for re-election, and resumed his law practice at Oshkosh.

In 1863, Mr. Bashford removed to Tucson, Arizona, where his upward career was as rapid and popular as it had been at Oshkosh. In 1864, he was elected to the territorial council, and chosen president of that body with little opposition. In 1866, he was made attorney general of the territory, and delegate to congress. At the expiration of his term in congress, he was appointed secretary of the territory, which position he held until 1876, at which time he resigned it to again resume the practice of the law. Governor Bashford died on the 25th of April, 1878, of heart disease. He was possessed at the time of his death of an ample fortune. He was well read in the law, genial and popular, even tempered, and cool at all times, and even during the gubernatorial contest, was said to have been the coolest man in Madison.

On June 23, 1857, the legislature met in joint convention, for the purpose of electing a United States senator, in place of the Hon. Henry Dodge, whose term of office expired March 4, 1857. James R. Doolittle received seventy-nine votes on joint ballot, and Charles Dunn thirty-six. The president, thereupon, declared the votes given for James R. Doolittle to be out of order and void, for the reason that Mr. Doolittle had been chosen the circuit judge, in 1853, and that the term for which he was chosen had not expired. An appeal was taken from the decision of the chair, and, a vote being taken, it appeared that forty votes were for sustaining the president, and seventy-one against it. In consequence, James R. Doolittle was declared duly elected.

Among the important bills passed at this session was one relating to writs of *habeas corpus*, for the benefit of fugitive slaves, and the right of trial by jury to prevent kidnapping. This was the Personal Liberty Bill, and was intended to invalidate the acts of congress on that subject. This act was virtually held unconstitutional by the supreme court of the United States, in the Glover case.

After the organization of the state government in 1848, the capitol building not being sufficiently large to accommodate the different departments which had been increased on account of the growth of the state, it became apparent that a new capitol must be built without delay. The people of Madison for good reasons, believed that the capitol might be removed to some other part of the state, and, in consequence, donated to the state \$50,000 in city bonds, to aid in the construction of a new capitol on the old site.

The proposition was accepted by the legislature. On March 3, 1856, an act was passed authorizing the enlargement of the state capitol. On February 28, 1857, an act was approved authorizing the governor and secretary of state to adopt a plan, and to let the contract for the east wing of the building. This contract was awarded to John Rycraft, of Milwaukee, at \$92,000.00, he being the lowest bidder. Mr. Rycraft subsequently gave up his contract, and it was awarded to A. A. McDonnell. The work was completed in time to be occupied by the assembly, in 1859.

The Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad Company completed its road to the Mississippi river in April, 1857. This was the occasion of great rejoicing, and, on the 16th of the same month, a grand excursion trip was made which was largely attended. The opening of this road placed the people in the western part of the state in communication with the lake shore.

On February 28, 1857, the legislature approved of an act enabling the regents of the State University to borrow \$40,000.00 of the university funds for the construction of a main edifice for the university. The contract for the construction of the building was awarded to James Campbell at \$36,550.00, he being the lowest bidder.

The year of 1857 was a year of disastrous failures throughout the west. Wisconsin was affected quite severely by this monetary panic.

The November elections, in 1857, resulted in the election of A. W. Randall, Republican, governor, by four hundred and fifty-four majority, E. D. Campbell, Democrat, lieutenant-governor, by one hundred and seven majority; D. W. Jones, Democrat, secretary of state, over Carl Schurz, by one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six majority; S. D. Hastings, Republican, treasurer, three hundred and seventy-nine majority; Gabriel Bouck, Democrat, attorney-general, five hundred and sixteen majority; L. C. Draper, Democrat, superintendent of public instruction, three hundred and ninety-one majority; J. C. Squires, Democrat, bank comptroller, eight hundred and thirty-five majority; Edward M. McGraw, Republican, state prison commissioner.

The presidential election, which had taken place in 1856, resulted in the election of the Republican ticket in the state. The electoral college cast the vote of the state for John C. Fremont for president, and William L. Dayton for vice-president.



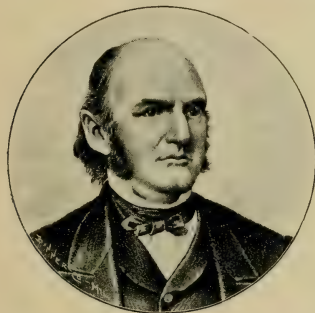
CHAPTER XL.

GOVERNOR RANDALL'S ADMINISTRATION, 1858-1862.

Alexander W. Randall.—A Special Investigation Committee Brings to Light the Bribery of the Legislature of 1856.—Legislation.—Political.—Governor's Message to Legislature.—War Inevitable.—Bursting of War Clouds.

ALEXANDER WILLIAMS RANDALL, Wisconsin's fifth governor, was an able, strong, patriotic and honest man. A man of deep convictions, who always expressed his views in an unmistakable manner, and placed them into practical effect with wonderful force. Mr. Randall was of Scotch descent, and was born

at Ames, Montgomery county, New York, October 30, 1819. After a course in the village school, he completed his education at Cherry Valley, Schoharie county, New York, then studied law and was admitted to the bar at the early age of nineteen. Being ambitious, he started west and finally located at Prairieville, now Waukesha, in 1840, where he at once opened a law-office. Being a handsome, genial, friendly fellow, he soon established a profitable business, so prosperous in fact that, in 1842, he returned to New



York for his bride, Susan Van Vechten.

Although Mr. Randall was very popular as a lawyer in those days, yet he gave so much of his valuable time to politics and general public affairs as to materially interfere with his income. In 1846, he was elected a member of the constitutional convention. Although he joined the Free Soil Democracy, he did not become very active with that party, on account of the radical ideas of some of its leaders, and in consequence remained nominally a Democrat until the organization of the Democratic party in 1854. In 1847, Mr. Randall became a prominent factor in furthering the interests of the first railroad in Wisconsin, the Milwaukee and Mississippi, now a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railway system. He drafted the charter, and was one of its first directors. In 1854, he was elected to the assembly, and the next year was nominated, by the Republican party, attorney-general, but was defeated with the other nominees, except Coles Bashford. In 1856, he was made judge of the Second judicial district, composed of the counties of Waukesha and Milwaukee.

Governor Randall was one of the first to prophesy the "War of the Rebellion," and his one desire was to see that Wisconsin was prepared for it. In January, 1861, in his message to the legislature, he said, "Secession is revolution; revolution is war; war against the government is treason. * * * It is time now to know whether we have a government, and, if so, whether it has any strength. Is our written constitution more than a piece of parchment? The nation must be lost or preserved by its own strength. Its strength is the patriotism of the people. Now is the time when politicians must become patriots and men, and show their love of country by every sacrifice save that of principle."

This able and remarkable message he completed by urging the legislature to prepare "to respond to the call of the national government for men and means to preserve the integrity of the union."

The real character of Governor Randall was amply shown when, three months later, Fort Sumter was fired upon. It was then that his ability and energy were put to the test. The state was without military organization, or an overflowing treasury, in 1861; but Randall was fully prepared to cope with the situation. Bonds were issued, authority granted to place the state on a war footing, camps established, military appointments made and all preparations possible throughout the state. When Randall heard of the firing on Fort Sumter by Beauregard, he said: "The rebellion begins where Charleston is; let it end where Charleston was."

Governor Randall was always willing to address words of cheer and encouragement to the soldiers. He aided materially in conceiving and executing those plans of the "War Governors," which were of so much service to the government.

In January, 1862, Governor Randall's second term expired. He was then made minister to Rome by President Lincoln. In 1863, he was made assistant postmaster-general, and, upon the resignation of William Denninson, in 1865, was appointed postmaster-general by President Johnson. This office he held until the accession of President Grant in March, 1869. Mr. Randall then resumed the practice of law, but, because of failing health, was obliged to retire. In 1865, Mr. Randall removed from Waukesha to his old home at Elmira, New York, where he continued to reside up to the time of his death, which occurred on the 26th of July, 1872.

Personally, as a jovial, friendly, fun-loving fellow, Mr. Randall probably had no equal. His witty sayings were famous for years. He was one of the first members of the secret organization called the "Ancient Evanic Order of I. O. O. I.," and was the author of many of the bright and ludicrous "initiatory" ceremonies for which that order was renowned. He was familiarly known as "Aleck" and, though occupying such high positions of honor, was always the same warm-hearted and genial man to his many friends.

Governor Bashford's administration having closed on the 4th day of January, 1858, his successor, Alexander W. Randall, took the oath of office as governor upon that day. Among other important matters recommended in his message to the legislature which convened in January, 1858, he alluded to the alleged frauds and corrupt conduct by the legislature of 1856, in granting lands to aid in the construction of railroads by an act of congress approved June 3, 1856. On January 21, 1856, a select committee of the assembly made a report and recommended and adopted a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee, consisting of three members of the senate and five of the assembly, to investigate and inquire into the alleged frauds and corrupt conduct of divers members of the legislature of 1856. The resolution was duly passed by the assembly, and concurred in by the senate, upon which the committee was duly appointed with the Hon. Dennison Worthington as its chairman.

It appears that congress, in order to aid in the construction of railroads in Wisconsin, made two liberal land grants in June, 1856. One of the proposed lines was to run, either from Madison or Columbus via Portage City and the St. Croix river, to Bayfield, Lake Superior. The other contemplated line stretched northward from Fond du Lac to some point on the Michigan state line. Each alternate section of land designated by odd numbers four sections in width on each side of the contemplated railroad was to be given to the companies constructing them. The legislature accepted these grants in the fall of 1856 from the general government; then commenced a struggle among the railroad magnates to capture the offered prizes. The legislature decided, however, not to give the lands thus ceded to any of the corporations already organized, and proceeded to charter two new companies, one for each of the contemplated lines. The La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad Company, created by this legislature, captured the grant for the road to Lake Superior, while the company styled The Wisconsin and Superior Railroad Company received the grant for the road from Fond du Lac northward. These companies were new in name only, as that colossal company which afterward became known as the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul was alleged to be backing one of the nestlings, while the corporation which grew into the Chicago and North-Western was said to be the paternal ancestor of the other. It is unnecessary to say that the grantees of the old incorporations soon absorbed the new ones.

On May 13, 1856, the joint committee of investigation made a voluminous report, together with the testimony taken in the case. Many persons of high standing in both political parties were involved in the report. They reported that "the managers of the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad Company had been guilty of numerous and unparalleled acts of mismanagement, gross violation of duty, fraud and plunder." They reported that thirteen senators, fifty-

nine members of the assembly, the bank comptroller, lieutenant-governor, private secretary of the governor, three officials of the assembly, thirty-three prominent lobbyists and other prominent men, together with a judge of the supreme court, were implicated. They also reported, upon the evidence taken, that bonds and stocks at the par value of \$175,000.00 were given or assigned to the senators, four of whom received the sum of \$20,000.00, and the remainder \$10,000.00 each, while, in the assembly, bonds and stocks were assigned to the value of \$355,000.00, one member receiving \$20,000.00, eight \$10,000.00, and the remainder \$5,000.00 each. The three state officials received \$10,000.00 each, and the private secretary of the governor, \$5,000.00.

The report also contained a list giving figures indicating the number of bonds to the extent of \$50,000.00, the receiver of which was indicated by dashes, which were intended to represent Governor Bashford. It was believed, at the time, that Governor Bashford was the only one who realized upon his bonds, as the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad Company failed to materialize and, in consequence, the bonds became valueless.

On February 3, 1859, Ex-Governor Bashford requested the assembly to appoint a committee to investigate the charges that had been preferred against him in the public prints and elsewhere. Upon receipt of a communication, the governor appointed a committee of five to examine witnesses, take evidence, and report upon the same. On the 9th of March, the committee reported that it had taken a large amount of testimony, relating to the charges brought against Ex-Governor Bashford, with reference to alleged bribery, and that it was of the unanimous opinion that the evidence showed that the fifty bonds referred to in the previous report of the investigating committee were received by Mr. Bashford, as a gratuity from the La Crosse company, after the grant had been disposed of, and without any previous understanding that he was to receive the same or any favor from the company. The committee in its report, however, strongly disapproved of the governor's acceptance of said gratuity, or a similar acceptance by any public officer of favors from those having business relations of an official character. It cannot be said that this report detracted in any manner from the position the public had previously taken as to Governor Bashford's guilt or innocence.

Among the various bills introduced into the legislature during the session of 1858, was one introduced near the close of the session, for the temporary removal of the state capital to Milwaukee. The bill came up on May 15th, in the assembly, having been ordered to the third reading the day previous. On the first vote there was a tie, the speaker not voting. Mr. J. H. Knowlton, who opposed the bill, changed his vote for it which carried it, but immediately moved a reconsideration, which was carried by one majority. The final vote then resulted in an exact tie, and as it required a majority, the bill was lost.

At the November elections, 1858, John F. Potter, C. C. Washburn, and Charles H. Larrabee were elected members of the Thirty-sixth congress. Potter and Washburn were Republicans, while Mr. Larrabee was a Democrat.

Edward V. Whiton, the celebrated jurist, and chief justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, died on April 12, 1859, at his residence in Janesville. On August 24, 1859, the Democratic state convention placed in nomination Harrison C. Hobart for governor; A. S. Palmer, lieutenant governor; A. B. Alden, secretary of state; Lion Silverman, state treasurer; J. C. Squires, bank comptroller; Samuel Crawford, attorney general; L. C. Draper, superintendent of public instruction, and H. C. Fleck, state prison commissioner.

The Republican state convention met on August 31st, and placed in nomination Alexander W. Randall for governor; B. G. Noble, lieutenant-governor; L. P. Harvey, secretary of state; S. D. Hastings, state treasurer; James H. Howe, attorney general; G. Van Steenyck, bank comptroller; J. L. Pickard, superintendent of public instruction, and H. C. Heg, state prison commissioner.

At the November election, the whole Republican state ticket was elected. Governor Randall received 63,466, H. C. Hobart, 59,516, giving Governor Randall a majority of 3,950.

Governor Randall and the balance of the state officers-elect were inaugurated on Monday, January 2, 1860, at 11 A. M., at the assembly chamber. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice L. S. Dixon, in the presence of a large number of prominent citizens.

The thirteenth annual session of the state legislature convened on January 10, 1860, and adjourned to April 2, 1860. Governor Randall, in his message to the legislature, after quoting statistics of a general nature, said: "It is a matter of congratulation, that the finances of the state are in so sound a condition. Unlike most new states, Wisconsin has paid for her public improvements without creating a permanent state debt for such purposes. The school fund, on the 1st of October last, amounted to \$3,001,297.30, producing on interest at seven per cent., \$210,090.81; and the amount to be appropriated in March next is \$245,272.41. The University fund, at the same time amounted to \$300,725.22, and the interest therefrom \$21,050.76, which amount is the income of the University, adding \$501.04, the balance in the treasury. The swamp-land fund amounted to \$988,712.88, and the interest, \$69,209.90. The number of acres of land in the state, assessed last year, was 17,411,418, and the equalized valuation \$6.78 per acre; the aggregate valuation of personal property is \$13,607,893, and the total value of all property, as equalized, \$168,620,233. The total taxation levied last year was one and four-tenths mills on the dollar valuation, producing in aggregate the sum of \$234,310.11."

The November election, in 1860, was an exciting one. The Republican electors received 86,110 votes, the Douglas electors, 65,025, the Breckinridge electors 881; and 161 votes for electors who favored John Bell for the presidency. The Republican majority was 21,089 over Douglas. The electors, at a meeting in the electoral college, cast their vote for Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin. At this election, John F. Potter, Luther Hanchett and A. Scott Sloan, Republican candidates for congress, were elected, over John E. Arnold, J. D. Reymert, and Charles H. Larrabee, Democratic candidates. These candidates represented the First, Second and Third congressional districts.

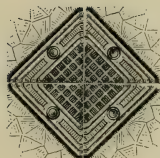
The fourteenth session of the state legislature convened January 9, 1861, and adjourned April 17. Governor Randall, by proclamation, convened an extra session on May 15th. The governor's message was delivered, in person, before the two houses in joint convention. The message was an able and lengthy one, and contained recommendations and suggestions for the immediate consideration of the legislature at that session. The statistical review of the state's affairs, for the year previous, was voluminous.

At this time the whole number of persons within the state, subject to military duty, exceeded 130,000. The governor recommended that steps be taken to place the volunteer militia upon a more efficient footing. In conclusion he used the following language, with reference to the slavery question, then agitating the minds of the people throughout the United States: "The hopes of civilization and Christianity are suspended now upon the answer to this question of dissolution. The capacity for, as well as the right of, self-government, is to pass its ordeal, and speculation to become certainty. Other systems have been tried, and have failed; and, all along, the skeletons of nations have been strewn as warnings and landmarks upon the great highway of historic government. Wisconsin is true, and her people steadfast. She will not destroy the union, nor consent that it shall be done. Devised by great, and wise, and good men in days of sore trial, it must stand. Like some bold mountain, at whose base the great seas break their angry floods, around whose summit the thunders of a thousand hurricanes have rattled, strong, unmoved, immovable, so may our union be, while treason surges at its base, and passions rage around it. Unmoved, immovable, here let it stand forever."

On May 17th, Governor Randall issued a proclamation in which he said: "For the first time in the history of this federal government, organized treason has manifested itself within several states of the union and armed rebels are making war against it. The proclamation of the President of the United States tells of unlawful combinations too powerful to be suppressed in the ordinary manner, and calls for military forces to suppress such combinations, and to sustain them in executing the law. A demand made upon Wisconsin by

the president for aid to sustain the federal arms must meet with prompt response. One regiment of the militia of this state will be required for military service, and further service will be required as the exigencies of the country may demand. Opportunities will be immediately offered to all existing military companies, under the direction of the proper authorities of the state, for enlistment to fill the demands of the government."

The governor requested the patriotic citizens of the state to enroll themselves into companies of seventy-eight men each, and to advise the executive of their readiness to be mustered into the service of the United States forthwith.





CHAPTER XLI.

Wisconsin in the Civil War.

1861—1865.

The Call to Arms.—Wisconsin's Wonderful Response.—One Hundred Thousand Volunteers.—All Classes and Conditions Represented.—Sunday Service Suspended.—Wisconsin Women in the War.—The Christian and Sanitary Commissions.—Skulkers to Canada.—The Loyal League and the Knights of the Golden Circle.—The First Regiment Ordered to the Front.—They Engage and Drive the Enemy.—Anecdotes and Incidents.—The Old Iron Brigade.

INTO the immense armies and navies, on the union side, between the 16th day of April, 1861, and the same month in 1865, Wisconsin contributed nearly one hundred thousand of her loyal sons.

It is impossible for even the most intelligent of the present generation to appreciate the material composing the numerous organizations of these wonderful human forces.

Not infrequently, every civilized nation on the face of the earth was represented in the rank and file of the same regiment.

Every condition of social, religious and political faith, all the trades, occupations and professions were represented. The same tent covered the banker, lumberman, medical student, lawyer, merchant and machinist. The millionaire's son touched elbows with the son of his father's hired man.

When the war commenced Wisconsin had been a state scarcely twelve years, so that, comparatively speaking, only a few of these volunteers were native born; while the sons of New England, and all other of the loyal states, who had settled there, helped to fill the quotas called. But whether born in America, or across the ocean, they were patriotic and proud of their new home, and the Badger commonwealth had no more gallant defenders on land or sea than those who were bred beyond her borders, or in foreign climes. The earlier volunteers were usually young men, the average age being less than twenty-five years. Such a variety, such a mixture of manual and mental strength, when harmonized and disciplined for effort in a common cause, and that the cause of a generally-united country dedicated to freedom, against an unholy sectional rebellion to maintain human slavery, constituted a force which only needed wise leaders or commanders to become irresistible to all the combined armies of the world.

HOW THE NEWS CAME.

It was Friday morning, April 12th, 1861, when the slaveholders' rebellion first opened fire on the flag of the national government, flying from Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, South Carolina. On the 14th (Sunday), President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers, to protect Washington and the public property. Wisconsin's share, or quota, was fixed at one regiment of infantry.

This call for troops was first heard of from the pulpits of the principal churches, at the close of the morning service, in the cities of Wisconsin having telegraphic communication, on April 14th, 1861. The effect of the announcement can hardly be told upon those who had persistently insisted, notwithstanding all the threats which had been made, that no American would ever open fire upon an American flag. Then came a palsied numbness, and from those of hotter temperament—those who had met the threat of secession with the counter-promise of hanging—there was instant willingness to make the promise good.

The noon Sunday schools were not well attended by the older boys that day. They were out on the corners listening, thinking and talking, as they had not listened, thought nor talked before. There was very little loud expression, and no boasting or cheers. The saloons were not patronized by even those who habitually frequented such resorts. There was a most ominous quietness among those who gathered on the streets from the different congregations. This semi-silence was more expressive than can well be described. It forbode a terrible storm.

THE PRECEDING PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN,

of the previous autumn and fall, had been waged with surprising vigor by the three contending parties. The organized marching columns constituted remarkable and conspicuous figures. They were usually composed of representative citizens, according to their respective political affiliations, the country on horseback and the city on foot. It may be truthfully stated that they were the only practically organized forces in the country. They differed in politics, social condition, religion and business, but as a general rule they were all union men. They were not soldiers, but they were patriots. The shots at Sumter, and the president's call for volunteers to protect the national capital, harmonized, for the time being, all other differences. These were the men who consulted together that Sunday noontime. They united in sending dispatches to Governor Randall, at Madison, tendering their services. The next morning (April 16th) that official was able to wire to the secretary of war that in place of one, Wisconsin tendered three regiments of infantry to the national government, and that they awaited muster-in and marching orders.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE WHO

went out from the state to represent at the front the patriotism of its new and mixed population found such service for the maintenance of the national cause in seventy-four different organizations, besides those who did duty on the water as naval officers, seamen and marines.

There were fifty-three regiments of infantry, besides one company formed of the most skilled riflemen, which was called Co. G, of the celebrated United States Berdan Sharpshooters Regiment. Four regiments of cavalry, thirteen light batteries, and one full regiment of heavy artillery, besides a battalion of the last-named regiment, who at the expiration of their term of service, re-enlisted, and until the close of the war were known as such. The service of each of these will be given, so far as can be, in the numerical order of their organization and departure from the state.

WISCONSIN'S TRIBUTE TO THE NAVY NUMBERED

more than one thousand able-bodied men, but because we had no seaport city, and, with a single temporary exception, no recruiting station for such service, nearly all those who entered from Wisconsin had to leave the state to do so, and our commonwealth never received the credit from this class of enlistment. But this fact is known, that the Badger State was represented by one or more of her citizens on four hundred and eighty-seven different vessels, which served and fought on the union side. The names and experiences of these several boats, will be hereafter recorded.

WISCONSIN WOMEN IN THE WAR.

Those who think that the union soldiers, in the south, won the final glorious victory by their own heroic efforts, are in error. They did their part, and did it splendidly. They could not have remained a single day before the enemy—much less four long years—except for that great supporting rear-line of battle at home. The great loyal north was always actively engaged in backing them up.

Individual efforts of men, women and children at home contributed their immeasurable weight to the national cause, while organizations in infinite number aided the government in its great cause. Among the latter are conspicuously mentioned in all histories

THE CHRISTIAN AND SANITARY COMMISSIONS.

While men of means poured out their wealth most bountifully, it was the mothers, wives and sisters, who stirred men to organized action. None but a soldier or sailor, who, when in grievous trouble, whether in camp, hospital, prison or on the march, has received the contributions of thoughtful women at home, can fully appreciate even a fractional part of what these two generous

commissions did for the country's cause. Their record—although not as full as it should be made—will be found in its proper place in later pages.

THE LOYAL LEAGUE.

The general government had its bitter enemies in large numbers scattered here and there among the loyal people of the north, and while such were not brave enough to go openly and fight on the side of slavery, they secretly organized and in midnight meetings laid plans to discourage enlistments, and by the back-fire process aid the enemies of the union. They were principally known as "Knights of the Golden Circle," "Copperheads," and "Canada Skulkers." The surrender of the confederacy, and capture of all its archives, exposed the treason of all those who belonged to these several organizations—and the story is told for the first time, as far as Wisconsin citizenship is concerned, in the following pages. It constitutes one of the most interesting features of Wisconsin in the war. Some skipped to foreign parts, and were there relegated to the rear—for everybody hates a coward. Others through a vicious or mistaken theory as to state rights and the slavery issue, remained at home, frequently stabbing their own government in the back. There were other individuals who were too pure, good and holy to take part on either side, or do anything except find fault with everybody and hide behind one excuse and another, and often behind the skirts of a slender woman.

There was another class (or at least person) without mention and record of which no History of Wisconsin in the War would be complete, and it has never been given until now. At least one prominent citizen of the Badger State had the courage to fight for his convictions, although it required him to leave his home, enlist and serve in the army against his former neighbors, who were in the union army. Major Chas. H. Gardner, at the present time one of the prominent members of the legal profession, and a leading politician of the state, a man of great mental and physical vigor, believing that the southern idea was the right one and the most beneficial to the nation, voluntarily cut loose from his associates and business at Watertown, went to Kentucky, and enlisted as a private soldier in the confederate ranks, served through the war, receiving various promotions, and, after the war was over, returned to his Watertown home.

THE FIRST (THREE MONTHS) REGIMENT,

after its organization, went immediately into camp at Milwaukee, and shortly after left the state for Washington, eight hundred and ten strong. It is true that several of the ten companies were organized around a small nucleus of the remnants of a former state militia company, but a large majority of the volunteers were never members of a military company, and first saw an army musket and a military uniform at the

camp in Milwaukee. The people having for years followed peaceful pursuits, such an army as the present National Guard, now so well known in nearly all the states, had no existence in 1861.

But the public schools and colleges of the nation were more or less represented in every mess. They learned quickly. They merited all the praises bestowed by army officers after their first engagement with the enemy, and the spontaneous and wonderful reception tendered them upon their return from the front. Nearly all re-entered the service for three years after the expiration of their short-term service in Virginia, during which, July 2d, 1861, at Falling Water, Va., they met and fought a victorious combat, driving the force of the celebrated "Stonewall" Jackson for miles beyond its selected position, capturing camps and prisoners.

Col. John C. Starkweather was the commanding officer, and it has been well said that his confidence in his men was only equaled by their faith in him. He was over six feet tall, with elegant military bearing, and had so strong a voice that, oftentimes, amidst the rattle and roar of battle, the enemy heard the commands he gave to his brigade a full quarter of a mile away. He was a good disciplinarian, but recognized that his men, although able and willing to learn, were green and unsophisticated, as the following illustrates:

One of the volunteers, on a wet night, had been detailed as guard over some bales of hay. Having full confidence that the forage would not run away on such a stormy night, the soldier made a hole in the pile, crept in and slept. McCracken, for such was the guard's name, should have known that on such nights the colonel would be sure to visit all the sentinels and outposts, to praise the vigilant and punish those derelict in duty. After a restless nap he awoke only to find his gun gone; the condition of his situation flashed upon him in an instant. Rushing off to his mess, he quickly secured another musket, and aroused a comrade, to secure, if possible, the one taken from him, and which doubtless had been sent to regimental headquarters, to be used as evidence against him, when summoned to arrest in the morning. The scheme worked, and when, three-quarters of an hour later, the colonel returned with a guard to take the place of the sleeper, McCracken brought the party to a sudden "Halt! who comes there?"

"Look here, McCracken, where did you get that musket? Less than an hour ago I found you here asleep, and took yours away from you, now what do you think of it?"

"What do I think of it?" stammered the confused guard.

"Yes, what do you think of it? That's the question for you to answer."

"I think any d—d fool can rob a sleeping man of his gun or anything else, without much credit to the robber."

* * * * *

In the midst of an active, hot summer's campaign, the regiment was hurriedly marched through the streets of a southern city.

"What dirty ragamuffin regiment is that?" asked a bystander on the walk, and within hearing of Starkweather, who instantly wheeled his horse to the speaker, and replied:

"That's the dirty ragamuffin First Wisconsin, sir. By G-d, sir, I'm its commander, and if there is any man in it, who doesn't know more than you do, who isn't a better gentleman than you are, and who can't whip a dozen like you, I'll have him courtmartialed and shot."

From scores which might be given, a single other incident will be here narrated. Col. Starkweather's elegant manners and social disposition brought him many invitations, and when off duty and in convivial company, he maintained his leadership, sometimes to his own detriment. On one occasion a party of kindred spirits, from the different regiments of the brigade, were enjoying themselves, in the rear of the sutler's tent, and fell to discussing the merits of their respective colonels, each of course championing his own. One of them in the heat and enthusiasm of debate, alleged in detriment to the Wisconsin commander, that he sometimes got tipsy, and was promptly called down by the same McCracken, before named, who captured the house, and proved his fidelity to his colonel, by proclaiming that Starkweather drunk was a better officer than all the others put together when sober, and he stood ready to prove it, if the others would ever get sobered up.

REORGANIZED FOR THREE YEARS.

After serving more than their enlistment called for, the (3 months) First Regiment, being relieved by the Third Wisconsin, at Harper's Ferry, returned to Milwaukee, and were there mustered out August 21st, 1861. Many of them then, on the same day, re-enlisted in the Three Years First, among them the then veteran Col. Starkweather. All of those who returned from their short service were deemed veterans, and, as such, readily received commissioned or non-commissioned places in the regiments organized after their return. Seven full regiments had been sent out since the first call, and in reorganizing, the original First would naturally have been designated as the Ninth Wisconsin Infantry. But Col. Starkweather insisted on holding his priority in regimental order, so that the new and reorganized First, Three Years Volunteers, maintained their place as No. 1, while they were in fact the Ninth regiment organized for service. This fact has been omitted by official reports, and all histories of Wisconsin in the War.

It is also worthy of note that more than 95 per cent. of the original list re-entered the service, and that to the 810 men who composed it, there were subsequently issued over 1,200 commissions, ranging from

lieutenant to brigadier-general. Among the survivors after the war were men who occupied front positions in civil, official life, governors of states, judicial officers, foreign ministers and national representatives. Such were the union volunteers of 1861-1865.

It was a typical Wisconsin regiment, and much here narrated as to the material composing the same is equally applicable to every other organization. The service of the Three Years First will appear in its place later on, in its order with other regiments as they left the state for the front.

THE BADGER BOYS IN BATTLE.

It may be truly said, without danger of denial, that from July 2d, 1861, until the last confederate forces surrendered, May 26th, 1865, there were no important campaigns or battles in which Wisconsin had not its armed representatives actively engaged.

Prior to the earlier date given there had been a few unimportant occupations, reconnoissances and a few minor affairs, where shots were exchanged between union and secession forces, usually of a naval nature, wherein less than a hundred in total had been touched by lead or iron.

The first campaign or organized movement against confederate forces, originated by General Scott, who (next to President Lincoln, was the commander-in-chief of all the national armies and navies), with full approval of the war department, sent General Patterson with a well-equipped column of 32,000 men across the Potomac into the famous Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, to threaten, attack, fight and beat General Jackson's army if he could, but in any event to prevent him from reinforcing General Beauregard at Bull Run, when the union army under General McDowell should assault and seek to capture or annihilate the rebellious forces principally congregated there a few days later.

Patterson crossed the river on the 2d of July, 1861, with the First Wisconsin infantry in the lead, and engaged and drove Jackson from his position at Falling Water, ten miles southward to Bunker Hill and Winchester. This was the first time that Wisconsin troops met the enemy. The last shots fired by Wisconsin troops were at Talladega, Alabama, April 22d, 1865, by the Fourth Wisconsin, who, on Wilson's cavalry raid, captured the enemy and first learned that Lee had surrendered and the war was over.

FACTS TO BE REMEMBERED.

Before narrating the organization and service of other forces that went to the front from Wisconsin, it is worth while to call attention to a few conditions existing at the time.

General Scott, who in 1861 was in command, was a firm believer in the infantry arm of the service for fighting the rebellion. He had no

use for cavalry or batteries, or heavy artillery, except in extremely exceptional cases. Hence the first calls made by the president on the loyal states were for regiments of infantry. All through the loyal north were thousands of horses and expert horsemen. In squads and squadrons they poured in tender of military service. The states in turn reported such offers to the general government and asked permission to organize cavalry and battery companies. They were declined. When Scott retired, McClellan, who succeeded him, took a different and correct view.

Again, it was the desire of Governor Randall, Wisconsin's first and splendid war governor, that, as far as practicable, volunteers from each state should serve together. He called a meeting of the loyal governors to consider this and other questions in which all were mutually interested, with the hope of influencing the general government. The meeting was held, and favored the scheme, but the necessities were such that the secretary of war could not reasonably grant the request made. The result was that in place of the west massing to take care of southwestern enemies, the east of southeastern rebels, and Ohio and Indiana of the foe in their nearest and immediate front, the Minnesota volunteers were transported to Virginia, and New England soldiers to Cairo, Illinois. However desirable or undesirable it may have been to mix up the troops in this way may never be known for certainty, but the shake of a dice-box could not have made the intermixture more complete. Train-loads of western troops and material going east, met and passed train-loads of men and material from the east going west.

In response to public opinion and personal inclination, each state sent to the camps and battlefields sanitary and relief committees to attend the needs of the sick and wounded, who were scattered along thousands of miles of front, much of it not easy of access. Had the general government in its arrangements said to Wisconsin and the western states, "You look after the Mississippi valley;" to Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio, "Virginia is in your charge," emulation would have worked wonders, and the aggregate cost very nominal compared to what it was.

THE IRON BRIGADE.

Governor Randall's efforts met with only slight success. But the endeavor at least demonstrated the wisdom of his advice. Hon. Rufus King, of Milwaukee, was authorized to organize into a brigade such regiments as might arrive in Washington from Wisconsin. Ultimately the 2d, 6th and 7th Wisconsin, with two other western regiments, subsequently served under the same brigade commander, and the record made is without a parallel in the annals of the war. It missed no important campaign, and participated actively and successfully in every historic battle in Virginia and Maryland. It was always

ready for a fight, and fought it to the finish. Its history is that of the Army of the Potomac, from the autumn of 1861 to the final surrender at Appomattox in April, 1865.

On its battle-flags are inscribed, among others, such well-known bloody fields as Rappahannock Station, Gainesville, Second Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Fitzhugh Crossing, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Weldon Railroad, Reams Station and Appomattox. In a letter to a Wisconsin comrade, General George B. McClellan, among other things, thus speaks of the Iron Brigade.

“No one remembers your heroic deeds and soldierly bearing more clearly, and with greater pride, than does your old commander, who always numbers you as among the very best of the brave soldiers with whom he had the honor of associating.”

It was never better commanded than when in charge of General Edward S. Bragg, who went out as captain in the Sixth Wisconsin, and by successive promotions for soldierly conduct and ability, reached the rank of brigadier-general.





CHAPTER XLII.

WISCONSIN'S INFANTRY REGIMENTS.

1861—1865.

Organization of the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Regiments.—Campaigns and Engagements.

THE FIRST WISCONSIN INFANTRY REGIMENT.

MUSTERED into service October 8th, 1861.

Mustered out of service October 21st, 1864.

Campaigned in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia.

Engagements: Granny White Pike; Brainbridge Ferry; Munfordsville; Chaplin Hills; Stone's River; Chickamauga; Lookout Mountain; Mission Ridge; Resaca; Dallas; Kenesaw Mountain; Peach Tree Creek; Atlanta.

Original strength, 945. Total strength, 1,508. Death loss, 235. Killed and wounded, 386.

Being ordered to report to General W. T. Sherman, at Louisville, Kentucky, this regiment, after having returned from its brief but victorious four-months campaign in Virginia, moved from old "Camp Scott" in Milwaukee, October 28th, 1861, and found its brigade-commander, Gen. W. T. Sherman, the same officer who had lead the Second Wisconsin into battle at the First Bull Run, in July 1861. By way of Salt River, Elizabethtown and Bacon Creek, it went into camp at Munfordsville, Tennessee.

The middle of February, via Bowling Green, the regiment marched towards Nashville, and arrived March 2, 1862; a week later it met the enemy. Shortly afterwards, its colonel was assigned to command the brigade, which performed severe marching and fatigue duty, often having minor brushes with the confederates in the meantime. The battle of Chaplin Hills, or Perryville, was fought October 8th, 1862, where the regiment was for long hours in the severest of the two-days battle, in which it cost one hundred and fifty in killed and wounded. Three months later, December 30th, Starkweather's brigade, at Murfreesboro, assailed the confederates, recapturing an immense supply and ammunition train which had been surrendered to the rebel General Wheeler's cavalry forces, and with the prisoners, trains and guns there taken, the First moved forward to take part in one of the most desperate and decisive engagements of the war—Stone's River—moving into line at midnight, December 31st, and holding the position assigned, under constant fire of the enemy, January 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th.

After this prolonged battle, the regiment, while doing active duty common to our soldiers while in the enemy's country, was not again in serious conflict with the rebels until the enemy, having secretly massed its most veteran troops from the east, south and west, assailed the union army, with fully two men on the confederate side to one on the union side, at Chicamauga. The confederate general, Braxton Bragg, had in his command one hundred thousand men, most of whom had seen previous service, and nearly one half being paroled prisoners captured at Vicksburg and elsewhere, who had never been exchanged. To meet these tried and battle-scarred men, the union general had barely fifty thousand men in line, which included five of Wisconsin's decimated regiments, among them the *First*.

This vital contest opened during a dense fog on Saturday morning, September 19, 1863, and continued until the night of the 20th, with a total loss on both sides of nearly thirty-five thousand men, substantially equally divided except that the enemy, as the assailing party, suffered a small percentage in excess of half. It was a fight to the finish, with charges and counter-charges, retreats and advances, giving and gaining ground, in which brave men on each side showed their mettle, and others their lack of that element. While at Perryville, the regiment met a loss of fifty per cent. of its members; here it equalled eighty per cent. before the overwhelming forces of the confederates who were successfully resisted and driven back. It was a battle against heavy odds, and the minority won. It was the staying quality of the north against the hot dash of the south, the dash that swept almost everything before it the first day of the fight, but which had exhausted itself before the second day's battle was over. Although not in conflict, the First, as a supporting regiment, is entitled to its share of the victory at Mission Ridge, won under the command of General Joe Hooker, November 25th, 1863, sometimes called the "Battle Above the Clouds."

Then the First was hastened forward to relieve Burnside, who was entrapped at Knoxville, but the enemy having taken flight, the regiment hastened on towards Atlanta with Sherman, first engaging the enemy at Resaca, then at Dallas, afterwards at Kenesaw Mountain, Peach Tree Creek, Jonesboro and Atlanta.

Its term of service having recently expired, it was shortly afterwards mustered out, excepting some veterans and recruits, who were transferred to the Twenty-first Wisconsin, and the regiment proper returned to Wisconsin during October, 1863, and closed its record as an organization.

THE SECOND WISCONSIN INFANTRY REGIMENT.

Mustered into service June 11, 1861.

Mustered out of service July 2, 1864.

Campaigned in Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland.

Engagements: First Bull Run, Blackburn's Ford, Gainesville, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Laurel Hill, Hatcher's Run, Weldon Railroad, Petersburg.

Original strength, 1,051. Total strength, 1,266. Death loss, 261. Killed and wounded in action, 787.

This was the first three-year regiment to reach Washington. It had been organized and equipped (except arms) by the state before any call had been made on the governor for another regiment. When that call came, it was for three-years instead of three-months men. Excepting a single company, it re-enlisted for the longer term, and the place of the excused company was at once filled. On the 20th of June, 1861, it left the state, and just a month later to a day, as a part of Colonel Wm. T. Sherman's brigade, made a splendid record during the unfortunate First Bull Run fight. Limited space prevents the details of the marvelously heroic service rendered by this regiment on this dreadful field. Mistaking orders and without officers to command, it was the first to meet and resist the onslaught of Jackson's fresh troops, those who had escaped from Patterson in the Shenandoah, the very men whom the First Wisconsin had only a few days before driven from their isolated position and captured their camps.

General Patterson's failure to destroy or follow Jackson's rebel force doubtless lost the first battle of Bull Run to the federal cause. Had the Wisconsin's earliest regiment been permitted to assail the enemy on the rear when Jackson's troops, as fresh troops fell upon the Second Wisconsin in its eighth hour of active and severe battle on the bloody crest of Bull Run, which had been captured and recaptured three times during the day, at frightful cost, and was in possession of the rebels when Jackson's rebel column who had escaped from Patterson's command drove them from the prize so often gained, a different result might have been witnessed.

Its heroism and fighting qualities are attested by its frightful losses in scores of battles, for, when mustered out of service, it numbered only one hundred and thirty-three all told. No other union regiment has a record like this. The commanding general of the corps, departing from the usual policy, issued a special order from which the following sentences are here selected:

"Three years ago you entered the service more than a thousand strong. You have never failed in any duty required of you. You have a right, and your state has a right, to be proud of the record you have made, in camp, in campaign and in battle. Those living honor the memory of the dead, and the memory of those dead honors the living."

The history of the "Iron Brigade," heretofore outlined, and the Sixth and Seventh regiments following, substantially give the record of the Second, after the first Bull Run fight, for they constituted a most material factor of that famous organization.

This regiment being so sorely reduced at the expiration of its three-years' service, made no attempt to veteranize the new recruits, whose enlisted term not having expired, were assigned to and served in the Sixth Wisconsin regiment, while the remnant, less than one hundred in number, of the battle-scarred Second, were mustered out of their never-to-be-forgotten heroic service, July 2, 1864, amidst the battles and scenes they had so bravely made historic.

THIRD WISCONSIN INFANTRY REGIMENT.

Mustered into service, 1861.

Mustered out of service, 1865.

Campaigned in Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York City, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina.

Engagements: Bolivar, Winchester, Cedar Mountain, Strasburg, Antietam, Kelly's Ford, Chancellorsville, Beverly Ford, Gettysburg, Resaca, Dallas, Powder Springs Grove, Peach Tree Creek, Atlanta, Savannah.

Original strength, 979. Total strength, 2,156. Death loss, 247. Killed and wounded in battle, 636.

Rendezvoused at Fond du Lac, and departed for the front from there, just as the First had done from Milwaukee, and the Second from Madison. Charles S. Hamilton, was its colonel, he having been graduated at West Point, and served as a company officer in the Mexican war. No one ever questioned his bravery, for he was in conflict with some one all the time. His associates suggested promomotion to cure the malady, and he was ultimately made a major-general. He resigned repeatedly, in fact, once too often. The attempt of his many friends to get him back into the service failed, the war progressing to a successful termination without his help. His son, who was not born when the war commenced, is a prominent practitioner before the courts, and a member of the military order of the Loyal Legion.

It was a most excellent regiment. Relieving the First Wisconsin at the expiration of its short term of service, at Harper's Ferry in August, 1861, and after dispersing the rebel legislature at Frederick, Maryland, it served with the army of the Shenendoah, having frequent engagements with the enemy, always doing its full duty, advancing and retreating up and down that beautiful valley of Virginia, as the fortunes of war favored, first one and then the other side. Its repeated losses were so severe, that at the close of the battle of Antietam, whither it had been rushed to help McClellan save Washington from Lee's invasion of Maryland, less than fifty men were able to do duty. This was September 17, 1862. Thereafter, the regiment was a part of the Army of the Potomac, and participated in all its campaigns and battles, including Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, until August 1, 1863, when it was sent to New York city to suppress the draft riots.

Soon after, the Twelfth corps to which it belonged, was by order assigned to the Army of the Cumberland, and the regiment lost all connection with the eastern army. In Alabama and Tennessee it bore its share of the military operations until Christmas, when, having veteranized, the officers and men returned to the state on the prescribed thirty-days' furlough. By recruits and returns, the regiment numbered nearly six hundred men in February 1864, when it rejoined its brigade, then in Georgia, and began that famous "Sherman's March to the Sea," which resulted in the surrender of the last rebel army of any proportions. Its heroism elsewhere was superb, and its losses dreadful. It was the only regiment on whose blood-stained banners could properly be inscribed some of those most important battles fought by those two widely separated-armies, the Potomac and the Cumberland.

THE FOURTH WISCONSIN INFANTRY AND CAVALRY REGIMENT.

Mustered into service, July 15th, 1861.

Mustered out of service, May 28, 1866.

Campaigned in Maryland, Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Texas.

Engagements: Quarantine, New Orleans, Grand Gulf, Bayou Black, Baton Rouge, Bayou Teche, Brasher City, Port Hudson, Clinton, Liberty, Highland Stockade, Laredo.

Original strength, 1,047. Total strength, 2,305. Death loss, 350. Killed and wounded in battle, 211.

The reader should remember that Wisconsin, during the first two years of the war, prepared in advance for expected calls for troops. Within the required time to fill a quota, its regiments in numerical order went forward during 1861, excepting the Ninth and Twelfth, which although organized and ready, did not get away until January, 1862. According to population and calls, this response is without precedent among the other states.

BOTH INFANTRY AND CAVALRY.

No regiment had a more varied experience than the Fourth. It was organized at Racine, each company from a different locality, and with a different name, the "Oconto River Drivers" being one of the ten. From a personal acquaintance with many of the survivors, the writer may truthfully say, it is difficult to describe any one of them. Its colonel, Paine (repeatedly under arrest for insubordination or disobedience of orders), subsequently became a brigadier-general, and afterwards served six years in congress, while an enlisted man (Geo. W. Carter), by successive promotions became a colonel, and served six years in the state prison, as superintendent and manager. These may be regarded as "samples."

While it is also true that the First, Second and Third cavalry regiments from the state, were organized (in a hap-hazard way) the next became the Fourth cavalry without any such action.

The regiment, as infantry, went from its camp at Racine direct to Baltimore, Maryland, and in that vicinity performed various guard duties, with occasional excursions against the enemy, until the 19th of February, 1862, when it embarked in crowded transports, and a month later, after great suffering, during which many were buried at sea, took part in the capture of New Orleans, being the second regiment to land after the surrender of the city. It was actively engaged in various expeditions, against Vicksburg, Baton Rouge, Grand Gulf, Carrolton, and other places and camps held by the rebels, whom it often engaged and drove; the last important and severe engagement in which the regiment took part, as infantry, being on the 12th of April, 1863, at Bayou Teche, where the enemy, mostly cavalry, fell back under cover of darkness. It was a stern chase, with Wisconsin infantry following Texas horsemen, and the Fourth was ordered to skirmish the surrounding country and secure horses and such equipments as could be found. In three days it was mounted and again in pursuit. This exploit has no parallel in history. On the 7th of May, 1863, it entered Alexandria, as the enemy vanished from the other side of town. Conflicts and skirmishes continued for months, many prisoners and considerable property being captured.

June 1st, following, it was attached to General Grierson's cavalry command, and thenceforward took part in that fearless rider's excursions and expeditions against bands of guerrillas, that so long infested the country. Subsequently, during the same year, the state supplied the regiment with full cavalry equipments, and it is known on official records as the Fourth cavalry. As such it served in the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Texas, reaching as far south as the Mexico line. It was nearly always in the saddle and never met defeat.

Congress having enacted that no troops could be used to return escaped slaves to their former masters, Colonel Paine, on that ground, refused to obey the order of his superior officer by which every regiment was directed to expel from within its lines all colored refugees. The masters stood on the outside ready to re-enslave and convey back to bondage all who might be thus forced out. For this he was arrested, but the order was modified so as to permit him to take command of his men whenever an active campaign or battle was under way. The danger or emergency over, the order again deprived him of his command, and this sort of thing was permitted to go on for months. Meantime, no slaves were driven from the protecting folds of the Fourth Wisconsin banners.

THE FIFTH WISCONSIN INFANTRY REGIMENT.

Campaigned in Virginia, Maryland, New York City, Pennsylvania.

Engagements: Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Savage Station, Crampton Gap, Antietam, Marye's Heights, Bank's Ford, Gettysburg, Rappahannock Station, Locust Grove, Wilderness, Chancellorsville, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Charleston, Cedar Creek, Hatcher's Run, Ft. Fisher, Appomattox.

Original strength, 1,058. Total strength, 2,285. Killed, 285. Wounded, 227.

This regiment went into its first camp at Madison, Wisconsin (Camp Randall), the latter part of June, 1861, and left for the front a month later, arriving at Washington the third day following its departure. Here, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, it remained performing the usual duties until the commencement of McClellan's operations in the spring of 1862, then, with that noted general, took an active part, being engaged in the campaign with the enemy as often as any other organization, and always with glory to its name. The unfortunate Peninsula campaign having been brought to an end, the Fifth left its camp near Washington, September 6th, 1862, and marched to the battle-field of Antietam, and did its full share in driving back Lee's army from its first invasion of northern soil.

At Marye's Heights, near Fredericksburg, on the 3d of May, 1863, the regiment performed prodigies of valor in that long and desperate struggle, which no historian can ever fully narrate.

A month later, Lee again invaded the north, and the Fifth was hurried forward to oppose the rebel general's advance on Washington. It was present at the famed battle of Gettysburg, where the rebellion received the most serious blow dealt during the war, and from the effects of which it never recovered.

After serving in New York city in suppressing the so-called draft riots, until the latter part of October, 1863, the troops were returned to Virginia, and at Rappahannock Station, on the 7th of November, fought a hard battle, capturing many of the enemy with much field artillery.

The next serious engagement was at the Wilderness, May 5-7, 1864, during which three day's battle the contending forces met with greater losses than in any other conflict of the Civil War.

From this time on, the Army of the Potomac fought as a unit and our Fifth was always with it at Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Weldon Railroad, Ream's Station. On July 11th, 1864, by transports it moved to Washington for the protection of the capital, which was then menaced by a confederate column. After the danger was over, most of the men, whose term of service had previously expired, returned to Wisconsin, where they re-organized, and, October

2d, 1864, again started for Virginia. After campaigning in the Shenandoah Valley, under Sheridan, they again joined the forces about Petersburg, taking part in the fight at Hatcher's Run, in February, 1865, and in the movements under General Sheridan, which culminated in the final surrender of all the confederate forces. They moved to Washington and took part in the grand review. Here a portion of the regiment was sent home for muster out, while the balance accompanied the Sixth corps to Louisville, Kentucky, reaching Madison, Wisconsin, July 13th, and was discharged.





WALTER SANGER.—CHAMPION BICYCLE RIDER.



J. ALDRICH LIBBEY.—THE PEERLESS BARITONE.

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GOVERNOR GEORGE W. PECK.

CHAPTER L.

Condensed History of the Celebrated Berdan Sharpshooters.—Organization and Engagements of the First, Second, Third and Fourth Cavalry.—Milwaukee Cavalry.—The First Heavy Artillery Regiment.

COMPANY G, BERDAN SHARPSHOOTERS.

Mustered in, September, 1861. Mustered out, 22d of September, 1864. Campaigned in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Engagements: Great Bethel, Cockledown, Yorktown, Hanover Court House, Mechanicsville, Gaines Hill, Charles City Court House, Malvern Hills, Bull Run, Antietam, Blackburn Ford, Fredericksburg, Ely's Ford, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wapping Heights, Auburn, Kelly's Ford, Locust Grove, Mine Run, Wilderness, Todds Tavern, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Tolopotomoy Creek, Cold Harbor, Jerusalem Plank Road, Charles City Road, Deep Run, Petersburg.

Original strength, 105. Total strength, 194. • Death loss, 34. Killed and wounded in action, 52.

This company was organized at Camp Randall during the early part of September, 1861. Being intended that the best marksmen possible should be procured, it was ordered that "No man be accepted who cannot, when firing at rest, at two hundred yards, put ten consecutive shots in the target, not to exceed five inches from the center of the bul's eye."

Eighty strong it reached Weehawken, New Jersey, October 3, 1861, and while there recruited to over one hundred. This regiment of sharpshooters was composed of ten companies raised in the states of New York, Michigan, New Hampshire, Vermont and Wisconsin. Their uniform consisted of a dark green coat and cap, with light blue trousers.

The spring campaign of 1862 found them in the rifle-pits before Yorktown, and thence constantly employed in their hazardous duties during McClellan's Peninsula campaign, which ended so disastrously to the national cause. The campaign and battles of Mannassas, Second Bull Run and Antietam followed in quick succession and then later Fredericksburg, in all of which the sharpshooters earned great honors by their daring conduct and skillful marksmanship. In fact, theirs is the history of the Army of the Potomac repeated.

Starting from their winter quarters at Falmouth on the 28th of April, 1863, they reached Chancellorsville, and took part in the desperate engagement on the 2d and 3d of May, remaining in one position constantly under fire for seventeen hours, without being relieved even to obtain water. Then followed the Gettysburg campaign and the battle, and subsequent pursuit of the defeated enemy. They occupied various camps near Culpeper Court House, until the 11th of October, and then took part in the movement of the army to intercept the confederate attack on our rear, which having been accomplished, the company was employed at Cedar Runs in picket and outpost duty, until the 7th of November, 1863, at which date it participated in the battle at Kelly's Ford. For the gallantry displayed in this action the sharpshooters were highly complimented. From the 8th to the 26th of November the regiment was in winter quarters at Bott's Farm, at which date it crossed the Rapidan and took part in the successful battle at Locust Grove.

Participating in the general movement of the army under Grant, the sharpshooters arrived on the evening of May 5th, 1864, at the battle of the Wilderness, while the armies were engaged. Into this seething cauldron of flame and death, as well as the succeeding battles of Spottsylvania, South Anna and Cold Harbor, the company entered, and its heroism at all times is attested by its losses. On the 15th of June the sharpshooters took position before Petersburg and remained engaged in picket, fatigue and guard duty, and excursions against the confederate right and left wings until the expiration of their term of service on the 22d of September, 1864, and were mustered out on the field, after three years of hazardous and successful exploits unparalleled in the history of the war.

THE FIRST WISCONSIN CAVALRY REGIMENT.

Mustered in, March 8, 1862. Mustered out, July 9, 1865. Campaigned in Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia.

Engagements: Patterson, Chickamauga, Anderson's Gap, Mossy Creek, Danbridge, Vanell's Station, Burnt Hickory, Chattahoochie, Beechtown, Campbelltown, Hopkinsville, Elizabethtown, Centerville, Montgomery, Tuskegee, Fort Tyler.

Original strength, 1,124. Total strength, 2,602. Death loss, 373. Killed and wounded in battle, 204.

The first cavalry regiment from Wisconsin left the state on the 14th of March, 1862, and was quartered at Benton Barracks until the 28th of April, when it embarked for Cape Girardeau, from where companies of the regiment were detached and sent to various points in Missouri, and reunited in October. They moved by way of Greenville to Patterson and there remained during the months of November and December. In the beginning of 1863 the regiment

was at West Plains, Pilot Knob, St. Genivieve and Cape Girardeau. Leaving the latter place on the 31st of May it was assigned to position in the cavalry corps of the army of the Cumberland, and thereafter stationed at various points during the summer. It was engaged with the cavalry at Chickamauga and went into camp at Larkinsville, Alabama, and remained until the first of October, at which date, marching with the brigade to Jasper, Tennessee, it was learned that Wheeler's command had burned a supply train near Anderson's Gap, on the Nashville and Chattanooga railway. The advance moved rapidly and encountered the rebels a short distance from the train. The enemy retreated for a few miles and in the skirmish which took place, thirty-seven of them were killed and wounded, and forty-two prisoners captured, our regiment's loss being about eight.

We next find it on the 16th at Winchester, Tennessee, where they remained in camp until the 20th of November, when, moving by way of Murfreesboro, Alexandria and Sparta, they took part in the affair at New Market. On the 29th, the cavalry met the rebel forces at Mossy Creek, driving them across the stream, with the loss of a number of prisoners. Our regiment encamped at that place until the 14th of January, when again mounting moved to Danbridge and participated on the 17th in the battle at that place, losing thirty-two in killed and wounded. May 3d they accompanied the march of General Sherman's forces, taking part in daily actions. On the 26th of May five companies of the regiment attacked a brigade of rebel cavalry near Dallas, routing the enemy with great loss and capturing forty-seven men.

The First cavalry participated in the skirmishes at Ackworth and Big Shanty, taking part in frequent engagements before Lost Mountain and finally moving with the expedition to the rear of Atlanta, on the 27th of July. The regiment, in passing through Campbelltown, attacked a force of two thousand rebels, and after a severe engagement were compelled to retire, and returned to Marietta and thence to Cartersville, where they remained employed in scouting and forage duty until the 16th of October, 1864, when they were ordered to Louisville, reaching that place November 9th.

After being reunited, the regiment left here on the 4th of December, and by way of Bowling Green to Hopkinsville, where, on the 16th, they drove the enemy, capturing two pieces of artillery and fifteen prisoners. Moving in pursuit they again encountered the confederates at Elizabethtown and pursuit was abandoned. Returning to Bowling Green, Kentucky, it again broke camp on the 2d of January, 1865, marching by way of Franklin, Nashville and Columbia to Waterloo, Alabama, arriving on the 24th of January and remained until the 10th of March, at which date the regiment went by way of Chickamauga to Jasper, and thence to Clayton and Montevallo. Early on the morning of the 2d of April, the First cavalry engaged in a skirmish with Jackson's cavalry, los-

ing five men. On the 6th they arrived at Selma, Alabama, moving eastward on the 9th and encountering the enemy's cavalry, forced it back and entered Montgomery on the 12th. In April it engaged the enemy near Tuskegee, capturing one hundred prisoners and losing sixty in killed and wounded. Again taking up the march, our men captured Fort Tyler, with two hundred prisoners, during which they lost twenty-one men in killed and wounded. They remained in camp at Macon until the 6th of May, when ordered to intercept the flight of Jefferson Davis.

While on the march, the First cavalry met the Fourth Michigan cavalry, under Colonel Pritchard, who informed Colonel Harden that he was ordered to Abbeyville to watch for Davis and at the same time offered the First regiment some of his men, if needed. These Colonel Harden refused, and, with the understanding that the Michigan regiment was remaining at Abbeysville, set out in pursuit of the fleeing confederate president. Advancing rapidly forward the force encountered a detachment of the Michigan cavalry, and each supposing the other to be rebel cavalry, a short engagement at once ensued, which ceased only after a loss of several men in each regiment. The regiment captured the ex-president of the confederacy and immediately returned to Macon, remaining there until the 24th, when they set out on the northward march, going into camp at Edgefield, Tennessee, where the First Wisconsin cavalry was mustered out on the 12th of July and shortly after paid and disbanded.

THE SECOND WISCONSIN CAVALRY REGIMENT.

Mustered in, March 12, 1862. Mustered out, November 17, 1865. Campaigned in Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas.

Engagements: Vicksburg, Redbone, Yazoo, Egypt Station, Prairie Grove, Lane's Prairie. Original strength, 1,127. Total strength, 2,510. Death loss, 293. Killed and wounded in action, 116.

The Second cavalry regiment left the state a week after the First, with orders to proceed to St. Louis, where it remained in camp at Benton Barracks until thoroughly mounted and equipped, marching then to Springfield. The regiment was here divided. The First battalion remaining in the vicinity of Springfield and Cassville, Missouri, during the summer months of 1862, marching in October to Osage Springs, Arkansas, leaving there the middle of December for Forysth, then the latter part of March, 1864, to Lake Springs, Missouri, in June to Rolla and in September, 1864, moving to Vicksburg.

The Second and Third battalions leaving Springfield on the 14th of June, 1862, and, joining General Curtis' forces, marched with them to Helena, where they remained until the latter part of January, 1863, when they moved to Memphis. In the middle of June, 1863, they left Memphis and moved down the

river to take part in the operations against Vicksburg, occupying the position at Snyder's Bluff. On the 4th of July they left Vicksburg to take part in the expedition under Sherman to Jackson, returning and encamping on the 29th at Big Black River, removing shortly afterward to Redbone Church and remained until April, 1864. From Redbone they moved to Vicksburg, doing picket duty until the 6th of November, when they joined the expedition to Gaines Landing, Arkansas, returning on the 12th.

As a part of the cavalry expedition under Colonel Osland, they left Vicksburg, November 23d, and on their way burnt a large bridge across the Big Black river, destroying thirty miles of railroad track and many railroad buildings, with large accumulations of cotton and military stores. Near Yazoo City the 1st of December they met rebel forces, and in the engagement which followed sustained a loss of forty killed, wounded and missing. They re-entered Vicksburg December 5th, having marched during the expedition about three hundred miles. The early part of December, the regiment moved to Memphis, leaving there the 21st, on a southward expedition. As they advanced, the brigade destroyed railroad bridges, cars and quantities of stores, and on the 28th took part in a skirmish at Egypt Station, which resulted in the capture of five hundred prisoners. Returning in charge of its captives it passed through Lexington and Benton, destroying all rebel railroad property on the line of march, entering Vicksburg January 5, 1865.

March 3d the command again set out for Memphis on an expedition into Northern Mississippi, returning a week later, when it was employed in guard and picket duty until the 9th of May, when a battalion of the regiment (Major DeForest's squadron) left Granada, and on the 24th of June joined the regiment at Alexandria. It remained here until early in August and then rode to Hempsted, Texas. The march was through a desolate country and all suffered from lack of food and water. Here, being on ordinary camp duty until October 30th, when it again marched (as infantry) to Austin, Texas, and was mustered out on the 15th of November, 1865, having turned its horses over to other regiments. The first hundred miles of homeward path were accomplished with much fatigue. At Brenham it moved by rail and steamer, arriving at Madison on the 11th of December, and disbanded.

THE THIRD WISCONSIN CAVALRY REGIMENT.

Mustered in, January 21, 1862. Mustered out, September, 1865. Campaigned in Missouri, Kansas, Indian Territory and Arkansas.

Engagements: Church-in-the-Woods, Taberville, Coon Creek, Fort Blunt, Cabin Creek, Honey Springs, Perryville, Waldron, Clarksville, Baxter's Springs, Bull Creek. Original strength, 1,186. Total strength, 2,523. Death loss, 215. Killed and wounded, 213.

The muster of this regiment was completed about the 21st of January, 1862, and they left the state on the 26th of March for St. Louis. On the way twelve men were killed and twenty-eight injured in a railroad accident near Chicago. From St. Louis the regiment moved to Fort Leavenworth where Colonel Barstow was appointed provost marshal of Kansas, with his regiment. Four companies were sent to Fort Scott with orders to keep careful watch of the enemy, stamp out bushwhackers and keep the peace generally in the surrounding country. The rebels, two thousand strong, having been discovered at Church-in-the-Woods, Captain Conkey, in his effort to inform Colonel Barstow, charged through the rebel ranks and escaped without loss, and a short time afterwards was attacked by a superior force and lost all his transportation. The battalion took part in several engagements, receiving much praise for their gallantry.

Four companies, I, M, C, and F, remained at Fort Scott until July, 1863. The 13th of September, 1862, six companies were ordered to the front, accompanying the movement of the forces under General Solomon, participating in the battles of Cane Hill and Prairie Grove and in skirmishes with the guerrillas, arriving at Fort Scott on the 5th of July, 1863. During May and June, 1863, Companies B, G, H, I and M were engaged in escorting supplies. They took part in the battles near Fort Blunt, at Cedar Creek and Honey Springs. On the 19th of August they returned to Fort Blunt and on the 22d again left the fort on a forward movement, capturing a large quantity of rebel stores, and also captured and burned Perryville. They were frequently dispatched on scouting expeditions, and had daily encounters with bands of guerrillas. From October 16th the detachment remained at Van Burne, until February, 1865, engaged in guard, escort and scouting duty. On the 6th of October, 1863, Company I was attacked at Baxter's Springs and after a gallant resistance was finally overpowered and compelled to retire with a loss of twenty-two killed and four wounded. Of the regimental band, which was with the company, not a man escaped, the rebels robbing and murdering them when prisoners and causing their bodies to be burnt. The confederate commander at this battle was Quantrell, the famous guerrilla chief.

During the winter of 1864 about three-fourths of the regiment re-enlisted, arriving on the 13th of May at Madison on their thirty days' furlough. Leaving Wisconsin on June 16 they proceeded by way of St. Louis and Memphis to Duval's Bluff, Arkansas. During August and September the regiment was engaged in scouting and in expeditions in pursuit of Shelby's men. On September 30th the various companies were detached and sent to points in Missouri and Kansas, engaged in guard, picket and scouting duty. At the expiration of the term of service of the original organization, April 19, 1865, the regiment was reorganized. The portion of the regiment stationed at Little

Rock set out on the 21st of April for Duval's Bluff, where it remained until the 3d of June, and during the months of July and August was engaged in post duty at St. Louis, Springfield, and Fort Leavenworth. This battalion was mustered out at the latter place on the 8th of September. The other companies of the battalion were mustered out during September and October.

FOURTH WISCONSIN CAVALRY.

(See Fourth Wisconsin Infantry.)

MILWAUKEE CAVALRY.

This company left the state, under command of Captain Gustav Van Deutsch, in September, and was mustered into the United States service as an independent acceptance on the 23d of that month, at St. Louis. It served a short time as body guard to General Fremont and was afterwards incorporated as Company M with the Fourth Missouri cavalry and served with that regiment until mustered out.

Its original strength was eighty-three.

THE FIRST HEAVY ARTILLERY REGIMENT.

Mustered in at various dates from the 11th of June, 1861, to the 30th of September, 1864. Mustered out at dates from the middle of June until the last of September, 1865. Campaigned in Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Kentucky. Total strength, 882. Death loss, 73.

After the first battle of Bull Run, Company K, of the Second infantry, was ordered on duty at Fort Corcoran, near Washington. This was the nucleus of the First Wisconsin heavy artillery. On the 8th of December, 1861, it was permanently organized as an artillery company and so placed in garrison at Fort Cass. August 28th a detachment was sent to garrison Fort Buffalo, where it was attacked by the enemy, who, however, soon withdrew. The danger having passed, the detachment returned to Fort Cass ten days later. During the early winter the battery was transferred to Fort Ellsworth and thence in the spring to Fort Worth. On the 8th of June, Captain Mersevey was authorized to recruit four batteries of heavy artillery, using the first battery as a basis for that purpose. September 9th, 1863, the regiment was fully organized, being stationed by companies at the following points :

Battery A moved in October, 1863, to Battery Rodgers, where it remained until May, 1864, and then was transferred to Fort Willard, returning in August, 1864, to Battery Rodgers. Battery B was assigned to Fort Terrel, Kentucky, in October, 1863, and on the 4th of January, 1864, to Lexington, Kentucky. Battery C was sent to Fort Wood, Chattanooga, and moved in January, 1864, to Fort Creighton and in May to Fort Sherman. Battery D

was stationed at Fort Jackson on the 8th of January, and in February, 1864, moved to Berwick, near Brashier City, Louisiana. July 25th Batteries E, F, K, H and G occupied part of the defense at Washington.

Battery B remained at Lexington until its discharge from the service on the 30th of August, 1865. Battery C remained at Fort Sherman until the 29th of March, 1865, when it successively occupied Athens, Mouse Creek, Strawberry Plains, and was mustered out on the 21st of September, 1865. Battery D was occupied at Brashier City, Louisiana, until June, 1865, when it was ordered to Washington. The remaining nine companies of the regiment were engaged at Washington until the companies from E to M inclusive were mustered out on the 26th of June. Companies A and D were mustered out on the 18th of August, 1865.



CHAPTER LI.

Startling Historical Account of the Movements and Engagements of the First, Second Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Wisconsin Batteries.

THE FIRST WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, October 10, 1861. Mustered out, July, 1864. Engagements: Tazewell, Vicksburg, Arkansas Post, Anderson's Hill, Black River Bridge, Jackson, Liberty. Original strength, 155. Total strength, 203. Death loss, 25. Killed and wounded in action, 4.

This battery left Wisconsin on the 27th of January, 1862, and remained at Louisville until April 3d on drill duty, then joined the expedition towards Cumberland Gap, the men hauling their guns over the mountain passes with long ropes. August 6th it took part in the battle of Tazewell, and on the 16th of August four thousand rebels invested Cumberland Gap, when the federals were obliged to retreat. Having marched over two hundred miles, during which the battery suffered severely, it arrived at Greensborough October 31st, and then proceeded to Portland, where the Badger boys were refitted, and on the 25th of the month joined the forces of General Cox, proceeding so far east as Red House Landing, when they were ordered back. From Cincinnati they joined General Sherman's forces at Memphis and then moved to Vicksburg and remained until 1863, when Sherman withdrew the army and moved to Arkansas Post, there doing their full duty and returning to the mouth of the Yazoo on the 14th of January. During the winter, spring and summer of 1863 they took part in the battles of Champion Hills, in which they were held as a reserve, Black River Bridge, Vicksburg and Jackson, acquitting themselves in the praiseworthy manner in which all their work was done, whether in battle or fatigue duty. During Grant's campaign in the Mississippi valley the battery fired more than *twelve thousand rounds* of ammunition.

July 24th it returned to Vicksburg and went into camp near that place. Its guns were found unserviceable and it was furnished with new thirty pounders and ordered to the Gulf. The battery was then sent to the defense of New Orleans, where it remained and was equipped, as horse artillery, with three-inch guns. April 22, 1864, it was ordered to assist in the ill-fated Red river expedition and participated in the engagements near Alexandria, returning with the expedition and encamped near Morganzia until June 23d, when it returned to New Orleans. In August the Wisconsin boys moved to Baton Rouge. In October eight men of the battery, whose time had expired, returned home by

way of the ocean, escorting two hundred and eighteen rebel prisoners. The remainder of the battery remained at Baton Rouge until it was ordered home on the 7th of July, and was discharged at Milwaukee on the 18th.

THE SECOND WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, October 10th, 1861. Mustered out, July 10th, 1864. Campaigned in Virginia. Engagements: South Mary Bridge. Original strength, 153. Total strength, 243. Death loss, 12.

This battery was mustered into the United States service the 10th of October, leaving the state on the 21st of January and moving by way of Baltimore to Fortress Monroe, where they remained until September, when ordered to Camp Hamilton on garrison duty. The 10th of January, 1863, the battery left this station and moved to Suffolk, Virginia, and were engaged in the battle near South Mary Bridge. During March and April it was divided, part being stationed at Fort Dix and Union and the remainder at Nausemond river. May 6th, the men marched by way of Williamsburgh to Yorktown, remaining there until the 20th of January, 1864, when they embarked and proceeded by steamer to point Lookout, Maryland, and were mustered out, July 10, 1864.

THE THIRD WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, October 10th, 1861. Mustered out, July 20th, 1865. Campaigned in Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama.

Engagements: Chaplin Hills, Stone River, Crab Orchard, Chickamauga. Original strength, 170. Total strength, 270. Death loss, 26. Killed and wounded in action, 9.

This Badger battery left the state on the 23d of January, 1862, under orders for Louisville, Kentucky, where they were placed in camp of instruction until the 10th of March, when it proceeded to reinforce Grant on the Tennessee river. During the summer it moved from place to place in Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky, and on the 8th of October, took part in the battle of Chaplin Hills, and then accompanied the army in its southward march. During December they remained stationed at Nashville, going into camp after the battle of Stone River, early in January, 1865, leaving this place July 5th, and accompanying the general movement of the union army. The battery remained at Chattanooga until the spring of 1865, when they moved to Murfreesboro and there remained until ordered to Wisconsin to be discharged, being mustered out, July 20th, 1865.

THE FOURTH WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, October 1st, 1861. Mustered out, July 3d, 1865. Campaigned in Virginia and Maryland.

Engagements: Fort Monroe, Suffolk, Bermuda Hundreds, Petersburg. Original strength, 151. Total strength, 2,947. Death loss, 24. Killed and wounded in battle, 8.

This battery was mustered in on the first of October, 1861, leaving the state January 21st, 1862, and arriving on the 28th, at Fortress Monroe, where they remained as part of the garrison until the 13th of September. The battery had charge of the barbette guns, handling them during the engagements between the Monitor and the Merrimac. Moving to Camp Hamilton, it did garrison and guard duty until ordered to Suffolk. While here they were constantly on duty during the month of April, the rebels under Longstreet having besieged the city. On the 29th of June, it moved with the advance column on an expedition up the Peninsula. They went into camp at Yorktown, July 10th, remaining about two months, when ordered to Gloucester Point. The service had been so severe that early in October, out of one hundred and twenty-four in the battery, only four enlisted men were able to do duty. Ten days later it was ordered to Portsmouth, and there remained until the 4th of July, 1864. On the 22d, the battery moved to Bermuda Hundreds, where on May 9th, it took position before Fort Clifton. Although under fire nearly all day on the 14th, the command maintained its position. The battery remained at Bermuda until the 16th of June, and then participated in the assault on Petersburg. They took part in the engagements before this city until its capture, all of their work being done with the bravery that characterized Wisconsin's previous service. The battery was mustered out, on the 3d of July, 1865.

THE FIFTH WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, October 1, 1861. Mustered out, June 14, 1865. Campaigned in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina.

Engagements: New Madrid, Corinth, Chaplin Hills, Nashville, Stone River, Chickamauga, Rocky Face Ridge, Resaca, Dallas, Kenesaw Mountain, Peach Tree Creek, Atlanta, Jonesboro, Bentonville. Original strength, 155. Total strength, 304. Death loss, 24. Killed and wounded in battle, 13.

After its organization, this battery reported at St. Louis on the 16th of March, 1862, and proceeding to New Madrid was employed in building and guarding forts until the surrender of Island No. 10, and then moved to Pittsburg Landing, remaining there until the evacuation of Corinth. It moved on the 23d of June to Ripley, Mississippi, and then August 14th to Iuka, where

the battery was transferred to the Army of the Tennessee, participating in the various conflicts, and at the battle of Chaplin Hills displayed such gallantry as to be highly complimented by the commanding general. In pursuit of the enemy, it reached Crab Orchard, and then countermarched to Nashville, arriving December 7th, after an absence of nearly two months, during which it traversed five hundred miles of roadways. After taking part in the battle of Stone River, the battery went into camp at Murfreesboro, and afterwards at Manchester, leaving that place for Chattanooga.

Having re-enlisted, the men left the camp for Madison on their thirty days' furlough, returning on the 23d of February.

At the battle of Resaca the battery was actively engaged, resuming their advance May 16th. During the campaign following, this battery took part in the battles at Kenesaw Mountain, Peach Tree Creek, Atlanta, Jonesboro and a few minor engagements, returning in the early part of October to its old camp near Rome, Georgia, and refitted preparatory to Sherman's northward march through the Carolinas. Its record in this never-to-be-forgotten march is not unlike that of the others, and it is sufficient to say that it was always on hand when there was work to do or battles to be won.

Arriving at Washington, it took part in the Grand Review on the 24th of May, and remained in camp near the city until orders were received to proceed home for discharge. It was mustered out at Madison.

SIXTH WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, October 2, 1861. Mustered out, July 3d, 1865. Campaigned in Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee.

This battery, known as the Buena Vista artillery, left the state on the 15th day of March, 1862, proceeding to New Madrid, where it was first placed in charge of its guns. After the surrender of Island No. 10, and about the middle of May, the command took position before Corinth. During this battle, the loss was twenty-five in killed and wounded. Participating in the general southward movement of our forces, it moved to the Yacona river, returning to Lumpkin Mills, whence the battery was sent by way of Holly Springs to Buntyn Station. March 3d it proceeded to Helena, and took part in the Yazoo Pass expedition. Early in April the battery marched as a part of the forces for the reduction of Vicksburg. On the way, and while at Cross Roads it engaged and drove the enemy. It participated in the battle at Jackson, and later at Champion Hills and Mission Ridge.

Owing to the lack of horses it turned its guns over to the ordinance department at Chattanooga, and on the 2d day of December, 1863, went into camp at Larkinsville, Alabama, and there remained until January, 1864, when, at Huntsville, it was equipped with horses and new twelve pounder

guns. During the spring of 1864 the battery was often engaged with the enemy, campaigning at Kingston, Cartersville and Fort Etowah, Georgia, and was assigned to the reserve corps early in December, 1864, at Fort Gillian.

On the 12th of January the horses were again turned over to the quartermaster's department and the men with muskets detailed on provost duty in Nashville. The battery left the city on the 17th of February, arriving at Chattanooga where it was placed in permanent camp. It remained here until ordered to Wisconsin to be discharged from the service, arriving at Madison on the 3d of July, 1865.

THE SEVENTH WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, October 4, 1861. Mustered out, July, 1865. Campaigned in Tennessee, Mississippi, Missouri.

Engagements: New Madrid, Island No. 10, Parker's Cross Roads, Gun Town. Original strength, 158. Total strength, 314. Death loss, 30. Killed and wounded in battle, 32.

This battery, known as the Badger State Flying artillery, left the camp at Racine on the 15th of March, 1862, and by way of St. Louis, where it received its orders, and proceeded to Madrid to take part in the siege of Island No. 10 and was constantly employed until the surrender on the 8th of April, when fully equipped, it engaged in garrison duty until the 11th of June, and then moved to Union City, Tennessee, thence marching to Humbolt and was engaged in guarding an important point at the junction of the Mobile and Ohio railroads. The confederates having made a feint of attacking Jackson, the greater part of the garrison hurried to its defense. Two days later, the enemy having accomplished its object, by drawing the troops away, entered Humbolt and captured thirty-nine men and all the garrison and camp equipage, the company books and records. They also entered Trenton, capturing and destroying garrison equipage. On the 24th of December the battery moved to Trenton, whence the pursuit of Forest was commenced, coming up with the enemy at Parker's Cross Roads, and during the affair there one-half of the battery lost thirty-one men in killed, wounded and prisoners and all but one horse. Pursuit was kept up until the foe crossed the Tennessee, the battery returning to Jackson. June 1, 1863, it was assigned to garrison duty at Corinth, moving thence on the 31st to Memphis, where it was placed on permanent garrison duty. February 25th, 1864, the re-enlisted men of the Badger State battery proceeded to Wisconsin to enjoy their brief thirty days' furlough, reporting for duty at Memphis on the 9th of April. They remained here until their term of service ended, with the exception of a few expeditions against the enemy. On the 21st of August, 1864, the battery lost fifteen men in the rebel raid on Memphis. In July the command was ordered to Wisconsin to be discharged.



SOME WISCONSIN BOYS.

CHAPTER LII.

Startling Historical Exploits of the Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Wisconsin Batteries.

THE EIGHTH WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, January 8, 1862. Mustered out, August 10th, 1865. Campaigned in Kansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi.

Engagements: Chaplin Hills, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Mission Ridge, Lookout Mountain. Original strength, 161. Total strength, 329. Death loss, 25.

Lyon's Pinery battery left the state on the 18th of March, 1862, and proceeded by way of St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, with orders to take part in the great Southwestern expedition. This having been abandoned, they left for Columbus, Kentucky, marching thence to Humbolt, and there remained doing guard duty until the first of July, moving again southward, arriving on the 9th at Corinth, Mississippi. In the beginning of August, they took part in the movement on Bay Springs, taking part in the skirmish there on the 12th. Reporting at Nashville, Tennessee, they participated in the battle of Chaplin Hills on the 8th of October, and, going in pursuit, engaging the enemy at Lancaster, when they returned to Nashville. Leaving this place on the 26th of December, the battery was engaged in the battle of Stone River, going into camp early in January, 1863, at Murfreesboro. They also took part in the battle of Chickamauga on the 19th of September, and at Mission Ridge and Lookout Mountain on the 24th and 25th, reaching Nashville on their return on the 8th of December.

The battery was here supplied with new guns and equipments and on the 26th of January eighty-two members re-enlisted. Returning from their brief thirty days' furlough the men arrived at Murfreesboro on the 25th, where they remained as permanent garrison until the close of the war, and were mustered out at Milwaukee on the 10th of August, 1865.

THE NINTH WISCONSIN BATTERY.

The Randall battery was organized in Racine county, and pursuant to orders reached St. Louis, January 20, 1862.

Captured guns from Fort Donelson constituted its equipment, with three full sections. At Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, it was furnished with horses and otherwise equipped for its long journey to Fort Kearney, and thence to Den-

ver, a march of over five hundred miles, which was accomplished in thirty-eight days. Early in June, the right section left for Fort Union, New Mexico, a distance of over two hundred and ninety miles, arriving on the 24th of that month, from which place, a few days later, it marched two hundred and sixty miles to Fort Lyon, Colorado.

The left section had almost a similar experience, leaving Denver on the 14th of June, and after a short stop at Fort Lyon, reached Fort Larned, nearly five hundred miles from its starting point.

The center section of the battery, after a midsummer march to Fort Lyon was ordered back to Denver, leaving there on the 11th, but later on in the season, in December, again marched to Fort Lyon, joining the right section.

This battery was engaged in various expeditions, particularly against the Indians, during the long marches and great exposure, repeatedly testing the endurance and discipline of the men.

For a time the right section served with General Curtis in his well-known expedition. While the right section went into camp at Council Grove, the center section, after dispersing a body of Indians, rested at Fort Riley, Kansas.

In October, 1864, all divisions of this battery proceeded on a forced march to Shawneetown, in pursuit of General Price's retreating army.

Various engagements occurred, but no rest was allowed to the fatigued men until over one hundred and fifty miles had been consumed in stern chase and the enemy been driven across the Arkansas river. In January, 1865, two sections, whose terms of enlistment had expired, were mustered out, and the battery made headquarters at Fort Riley.

On the last day of September following, the balance of the battery was mustered out, and proceeded to Madison, Wisconsin, arriving there four days later, and there received its discharge.

The total loss of this battery was six men, of whom five died of disease and the other by drowning.

THE TENTH WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, February 10, 1862. Mustered out, April 26, 1865. Campaigned in Missouri, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina.

Engagements: Corinth, Resaca, Calhoun Ferry, Red Oak, Lovejoy Station, Jonesboro, Burnt Bridge, Moses Creek, Waynesboro, Buckhead Church, Jones Plantation, Salkahatchie, Gunter's Bridge, Hornsboro, Monroe Cross Roads, Averysboro. Original strength, 47. Total strength, 179. Death loss, 27. Killed and wounded in battle, 10.

The Tenth battery left the state on the 18th of March, going into camp at Benton Barracks. Here sixty-five men were transferred to other batteries, leaving but forty-seven men in the Tenth. They were joined on the 18th and 24th of April with recruits, and on the 30th proceeded by the Tennessee river to Pittsburg Landing, and in the action before Corinth lost two men. After the evacuation they marched in pursuit of the enemy as far as Boonsville. July 10th they were assigned to the First brigade, Army of the Mississippi, and on the 21st marched to Iuka, remaining there until the 12th of August, when they joined the Army of the Tennessee. Proceeding northward, by forced marches, they met and routed a body of Van Dorn's cavalry, reaching Nashville September 14th. During the fall the battery was almost entirely engaged by sections in guard duty. Early in January, 1863, they were ordered to escort a train to Murfreesboro, participating on the way in the battle of Stone River. The battery remained at Nashville and in the vicinity employed in garrison duty until the 16th of July, when it moved to Murfreesboro, remaining there until the 19th of August, and then proceeded by way of Columbia, Athens, Huntsville, Stevenson to Bridgeport, where it engaged in guarding bridges until the 10th of October, at which date they were sent to Anderson's Cross Roads, and on the 18th to Dallas Landing, remaining guarding the river until the 1st of January, 1864, when one section crossed the river and marched to Calhoun, where it was joined by the remainder on the beginning of February, and the entire Tenth battery was engaged in guard duty until the 27th of April.

Having been assigned to the Third cavalry corps of the Army of the Cumberland, the battery with our forces engaged the enemy at Resaca and Calhoun's Ferry, and was highly praised by the division commander. On the 22d, the Tenth posted at Adairsville, remaining in the vicinity engaged in guard duty until the 3d of August, 1864, when it marched to Sandstown, setting out from here on the 14th, as a part of the raid on Atlanta. It participated in the actions of our army at Red Oak, Jonesboro, Lovejoy Station, returning to Sandstown on the 23d. On the 1st of October, 1864, the command broke camp at Sandstown and marched with Sherman's army, taking part in the battles during that general's celebrated campaign, earning their full share of the glory that surrounds all who marched with Sherman through the Carolinas. On its arrival at Goldsboro, North Carolina, the non-veterans of the battery were sent to Wisconsin for muster out, arriving there on the 20th of April. The remainder of the Tenth joined the Twelfth battery and continued the march, taking part in the Grand Review at Washington, and was sent home on the 7th of June, 1865.

THE ELEVENTH WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, June, 1862. Mustered out, July 10, 1865. Campaigned in Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia.

Engagements: Greenland Gap, Mossfield, Fairmount, Bloomington, Flock's Mills, New Creek. Original strength, 87. Total strength, 134. Death loss, 3. Killed and wounded in action, 12.

The Oconto Irish guards was originally intended to serve as a company of the Seventeenth infantry regiment, but on arriving at Camp Randall that organization was complete and permission was secured to organize as an artillery company.

On the 6th of April the battery was sent to Camp Douglas. It remained there until the 14th of June, when it moved to New Creek, West Virginia. During the summer, fall and winter the battery made its headquarters at this place, going out on a few expeditions to capture a few thousand pounds of tobacco. The forces stationed in this part of Virginia being ordered to co-operate with the Army of the Potomac, the battery left New Creek July 6, 1863, and proceeded to Hodgeville, remaining until the first of August, going into camp at Burlington. The battery was employed during the months of September and October in scouting, being mounted as cavalry for that purpose. During November and December the different sections were sent on expeditions against the enemy. The 30th of January, 1864, at the advance of the rebels under Early, our troops retreated to New Creek, their old camping place. April 3d, a section was ordered to Greenland Gap, and on the 30th of May marched to intercept a rebel force who were engaged on a raid on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, overtaking and routing them at Burlington.

One section of the battery attacked the enemy at Flock's Mills on the 31st of July, driving them off with severe loss; another section being attacked by the same rebel force at New Creek and again defeated him. October 1st, the Eleventh battery was stationed as follows: One section at Grafton, another at Clarksburg and the left at New Creek.

November 26th, one section, in connection with the Sixth West Virginia cavalry, encountered a superior force of the confederates and lost six men, eleven horses and one gun. On the 28th the enemy attacked New Creek and captured forty-nine men and sixty-eight horses. January 21st, 1865, the battery was ordered to Harper's Ferry, remaining there until discharged from service.

THE TWELFTH WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, March, 1862. Mustered out, June 7th, 1865. Campaigned in Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina.

Engagements: Corinth, Iuka, Jackson, Champion Hills, Vicksburg, Altoona, Savannah. Original strength, 99. Total strength, 342. Death loss, 30. Killed and wounded in battle, 22.

This battery was recruited during the early spring of 1862, and mustered into service in squads, being hurried forward to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, with the understanding that they were to become a part of the First Missouri artillery. This led to a misunderstanding between Captain Pile, of Missouri, who refused to follow certain instructions given by the governor of Wisconsin, resulting in a joint order made by the state and general government relieving him from duty. Early in May two sections of the battery proceeded by steamer up the Tennessee river, joining General Pope's command in the siege of Corinth. During the siege the other section of the command arrived and entered the hot engagement, driving the foe and destroying the fort built to command the Memphis and Charleston railroad. With such determination did the young officer in command (who was a theological student of the German Methodist church) advance his battery from position to position during the engagement and subsequently following the retreating enemy with speed of cavalry movement, that he was promoted to be captain and his command supplied with a full set of Parrott guns, which they first took into action at Iuka, and again following the enemy on its retreat from that place, halting in camp near Corinth. Thereafter the battery was almost continually in movement from point to point in Missouri and Tennessee until the 14th of January, 1863, when, after a short rest, they proceeded to Memphis, Yazoo Pass, Miliken's Bend, Grand Gulf and Big Black River, but were brought to a halt near Raymond, where an engagement ensued, the enemy retreating towards Jackson, followed, of course, by the enthusiastic battery boys. Then commenced the well-known advance towards Vicksburg, resulting in the severe contest of Champion Hills, where the enemy was again driven, and the road to Vicksburg closed forever against them. After the siege of that place, the command was sent to Helena, Arkansas, advancing by boat to Memphis and later by rail to Corinth and then by marching to Glendale, Missouri, guarding the railroad, so important for the supplies of our army. After a few weeks of such duty this Wisconsin battery moved by a circuitous route to Chattanooga, taking a position to cover the passage of our troops in a movement for the capture of Mission Ridge and Lookout Mountain. With a view to the health of the men, various camps were established, doing usual duty at Bridgeport, Larkinsville and Huntsville; winter quarters were established at the latter place. Here, by reason of their efficiency and merit, they were furnished with a complete set of Rodman guns, and early in the summer proceeded to Bellefonte and from that place by way of Chattanooga and Kingston to Altoona, where, October 5th, 1864, the battery won great honors in the celebrated defense of the place against the attack of the confederate forces. Taking his battery outside of the fortifications, the intrepid Captain Zickerick boldly and successfully assailed an equal number of guns which had been established under cover of darkness

in a manner calculated to rake the lines of the federal fortification. In less than seventy minutes the enemy sent up its flag of truce, the commanding general, in special orders commending the service of the Wisconsin battery as unsurpassed in any modern warfare in Europe or elsewhere. This disaster only redoubled the efforts of the increasing foe, and to save his men and guns the gallant captain unlimbered and withdrew, pouring heavy volleys on the enemy as they steadily advanced until within the earthworks, outside of which they had been fighting. Having placed his men in advantageous positions, he waited until the assailing column "could almost touch the men through the embrasures" when terrible volleys of grape and cannister at short range drove back the confederates, leaving many dead and wounded to attest the heroism of both the assault and defense. Said General Corse, in reporting this battle: "No one is entitled to more credit for the salvation of this post than the Twelfth Wisconsin battery, commanded by Captain Zickerick, whose name is recommended for any promotion that the government feels at liberty to grant." From Altoona they took up the March to Savannah, accompanying Sherman's army in that historic march. Having reached the sea-coast the battery advanced under the heavy fire from the confederate works and established themselves within easy range of the opposing fortifications, on the 21st of December, 1864. About the middle of January the battery was embarked and arrived at Beaufort, South Carolina, three days later, marching thence and by rail to McPhersonville. After a brief rest they arrived near Columbia and the next day occupied that city. Crossing the Wateree river, they passed through Success and reached Goldsborough, North Carolina, on the 24th of March. Two weeks after, having met with some opposition, the battery entered Raleigh and went into camp at Beaver Dam Creek, where the news of Lee's surrender was received and the march for Washington commenced. Participating in the Grand Review, this famous battery left for home, and upon arriving at Madison were mustered out on the 26th.

THE THIRTEENTH WISCONSIN BATTERY.

Mustered in, December 24th, 1863. Mustered out, July 20th, 1865. Campaigned in Louisiana. Original strength, 156. Total strength, 188. Death loss, 14.

On the 28th of January, 1864, this battery left the state under orders to proceed to New Orleans, and thence to Baton Rouge. Here it was assigned to duty at Fort Williams, and on March 20th, fully equipped as light artillery, and soon after placed in charge of some ten guns. On the 17th it was ordered to provost duty at Baton Rouge, returning on the 8th of July, when they took charge of the guns of the Third Vermont battery, remaining here until the 4th of August, moving thence to Highland Stockade and then back to Baton Rouge, remaining until discharged from service on the 20th of July, 1865.

CHAPTER LIII.

WISCONSIN'S STATE GOVERNORS.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR LOUIS POWELL HARVEY.

January 6, 1862—April 19, 1862.

Early History of Louis Powell Harvey.—The Drowning of Governor Harvey in the Tennessee.—His Wife Enters the Army as a Nurse.

LOUIS POWELL HARVEY, our seventh governor, was born July 22, 1820, at East Haddon, Connecticut. His family being poor, they moved, in Louis' eighth year, to Strongsville, Ohio. Here he did rude work. His ambition, however, being to gain a good education, he studied while he worked, and, at the



age of nineteen, was prepared to enter the Western Reserve college, at Hudson, Ohio, where his board was paid by doing odd jobs. For a while he worked in a book bindery, and so worked and studied until his failing health compelled him to leave college before he was graduated.

After he had recovered sufficiently, he taught school at Nicholsonville, Kentucky, which position he filled until the better one of tutor in the Woodward college was offered and accepted. In 1841, Mr. Harvey came still farther west, and settled at Kenosha, Wisconsin, where he established an academy. He also became editor of a Whig newspaper called the "American." This paper was well written, and the courteous, but spirited

political items wielded much influence. President Tyler appointed him postmaster of Kenosha, which capacity he filled in a very creditable manner.

In 1847, Mr. Harvey again gave up his home and went to Clinton, where he started a general store. In the same year, 1847, he was elected to the second constitutional convention, and helped to frame the organic law of the new state.

He then bought the water-power at Shopiere, in Rock county, built a large flouring-mill, opened a retail store, and to him in a great measure belongs the praise of building up this place. The Congregational church edifice was built mainly by him, and the public schools always received much of his attention.

In 1853, he was elected to the state senate, and was re-elected in 1855. In 1859 he was made secretary of state, and served most efficiently. He was considered one of the rising men of the state, and, in consequence of his ability and energy, was nominated for governor by the Republicans in 1861. He was elected, and on the 20th of January, 1862, delivered his first message, in person, saying: "No previous legislature has convened under equal incentives to a disinterested zeal in the public service. The occasion pleads with you in rebuke of all the meaner passions, admonishing to the exercise of a conscientious patriotism becoming the representatives of a Christian people, called in God's providence to pass through the furnace of a great trial of their virtue, and of the strength of the government."

Shortly after the battle of Pittsburg Landing, which occurred on the 7th of April, 1862, Governor Harvey organized an expedition for the relief of the wounded and suffering soldiers. In a few hours a large amount of supplies was gathered, and on the 10th day of April this benevolent expedition started southward. On their arrival at Chicago, they found nearly eighty cases of supplies which had been forwarded to accompany the party. These supplies had been sent from Milwaukee, Madison, Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Kenosha and various other places in the state. After distributing their supplies, and administering to the wants of the soldiers at Mound City, at Paducah, and Savannah, their labors were nearly completed.

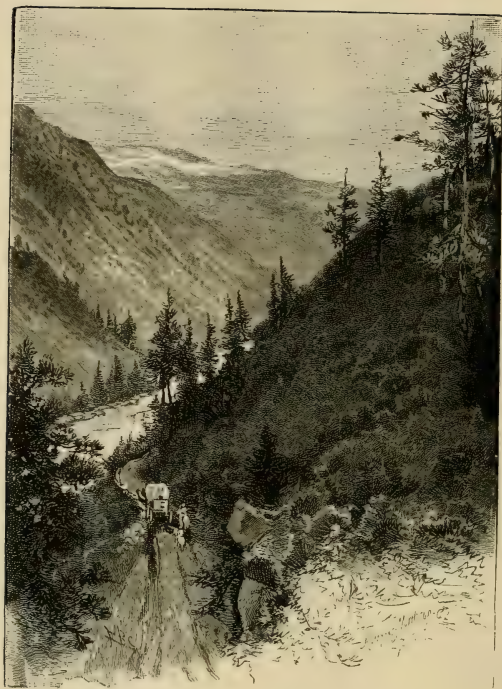
On April 19th, Governor Harvey bade farewell to the soldiers at Pittsburg Landing, and after visiting Savannah, which is a distance of ten miles down the river, he retired for the night on the steamer "Dunleith," with the expectation of taking the "Minnehaha" on the following morning. That night, at ten o'clock, the steamer "Minnehaha" came along side the "Dunleith," and, in the darkness and the rain, while the governor was attempting to step from one boat to the other, or, as some authorities state, accidentally stepped backwards, missed his footing, and fell between the two steamers. Dr. Wilson, of Sharon, Wisconsin, being present, immediately reached down his cane, which the governor grasped with such force as to instantly pull it from the doctor's hand. Dr. Clark, of Racine, after securing himself from drowning by a rope attached to the rigging about the wheel, jumped into the water and made every effort to save the governor, but did not succeed in getting hold of him.

The rapid current, it is thought, immediately swept him down and under a flatboat, that lay just below, where he drowned. A few days later his body

was discovered, sixty-five miles down the river, by children, and was buried by residents of the neighborhood. General Brodhead offered a reward of \$1,000 for the recovery of the body. This offer was ratified by the state authorities. The governor's body was identified by his watch and other property found upon his person. The remains were sent to Chicago by express. From Chicago, a special train conveyed the body to the capital, arriving May 7th, where, after lying in state, they were buried with imposing ceremonies in Forest Hill cemetery.

Shortly after the death of Governor Harvey, his estimable wife entered the army as a nurse, and there carried forward the noble work her husband had so well begun. The memory of Mrs. Harvey will ever be entwined with recollections of sympathy, love and esteem by all who knew her.





LOWER CANYON, YELLOWSTONE.

CHAPTER LIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR EDWARD SALOMON.

1862—1864.

Lieutenant-Governor Salomon Becomes Governor upon the Death of Governor Harvey.—Exigencies of War.—Messages.—Extra Session of Legislature.—Elections.

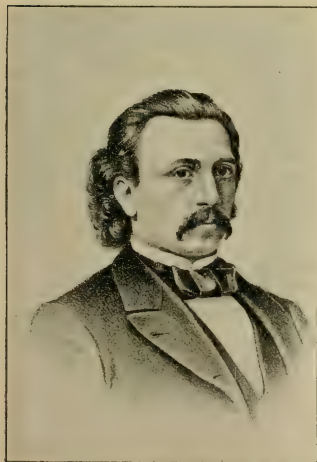
The gubernatorial chair has never been filled by but one German—Edward Salomon—who was a credit both to the nation he represented, as well as the state he served.

Edward Salomon was born in 1828, near the city of Halberstadt, in Prussia, where his father was a prominent civil and military official. In his native country he was educated in the Lutheran faith, and afterwards attended the University of Berlin. Being of an enterprising and ambitious turn of mind

he emigrated to America in 1849, where he settled at Manitowoc, Wisconsin. Being a polished, handsome and courtly gentleman, he soon came into public favor. After serving as a school teacher, county surveyor and deputy clerk of the court, at Manitowoc, he moved to Milwaukee, where he studied law. In 1855 he was admitted to the bar after a thorough examination by the justices of the supreme court, and at once formed a partnership with that estimable lawyer, Winfield Smith, which continued until Mr. Salomon removed to New York in 1869.

Mr. Salomon originally espoused the doctrines of the Democratic party, but, during Buchanan's time, became estranged from the cause on account of

some of its leaders, who advocated slavery. In 1860 he openly advocated the Republican principles. In 1861 he was nominated and elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Louis P. Harvey. On account of the death of Mr. Harvey, Mr. Salomon was called upon to exercise the functions of chief



executive, which position he well filled until January, 1864, at which time he was succeeded by Jamse T. Lewis. Governor Salomon has been one of New York's most able lawyers since he adopted that state for his future home.

EVENTS OF 1862-63.

On April 22, 1862, the Hon. Edward Salomon, lieutenant-governor, issued a proclamation announcing the death of Governor Harvey. He recommended that for a period of thirty days all public offices, court-houses and other public buildings be draped in mourning, and that during that time the people wear the usual badges of mourning. He appointed the 1st day of May, 1862, as a day of public rest, and recommended to the people that on that day, between the hours of ten and twelve in the morning, they assemble in their respective towns, cities and villages and commemorate the death of the late lamented governor by such public demonstrations as might be appropriate to the occasion.

Governor Salomon, on August 28th, issued a proclamation calling a special session of the legislature to meet on the 10th day of September. On September 10th, the legislature convened according to the proclamation, and was in session until September 26th.

At the convening of the extra session on September 10, 1862, Governor Salomon in his message to the two houses referred to the fact that, since the previous adjournment, six hundred thousand men had been called for by the government for putting down the rebellion, and that it was necessary to rely upon a system of drafting to furnish the quota for this state. He recommended an effective organization of the state militia and a supply of arms and ammunition for emergencies. He also recommended the enactment of a law to give soldiers then in the army from this state the right to vote at the next general election.

During the extra session, which lasted until September 26th, seventeen laws were enacted, the most important of which was one for the levying and collecting a special tax of \$275,000, to be applied for the aid of volunteers; one to enable the militia and volunteers of this state, when in the military service of the United States or in this state, to exercise the right of suffrage; one to empower towns, cities and counties to raise money for the payment of bounties to volunteers.

The legislature, in 1862, in conformity with that portion of the governor's message relating to the extraordinary expenditures in the executive department, during the administration of Governor Randall, appointed a joint select committee, who, after taking testimony, made and filed a majority and minority report. According to the majority report, the negotiation of the war bonds of the state was not conducted according to law, but that the same were

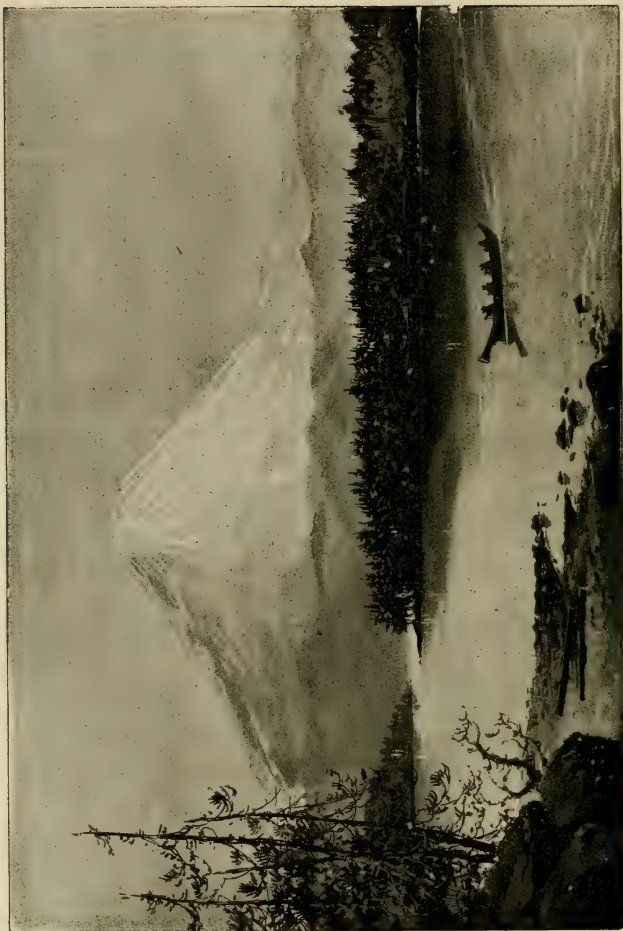
sold to Wisconsin bankers at a depreciated value, and without any effort to negotiate them in Eastern cities, in consequence of which the state was defrauded out of a large amount of money. They further reported that the manner in which army supplies were procured was injudicious, to the extent that a large amount of money had been squandered. This majority report was signed by senators F. O. Thorp and T. R. Hudd, of the senatorial committee, and J. V. V. Platto, S. F. Ellis, H. T. Moore and W. C. Hamilton, on the part of the assembly committee.

According to the minority report, the charges of waste and extravagances in the management and disbursement of funds in the offices of the quartermaster and commissary generals' department were greatly exaggerated. They concluded by saying that the majority of the committee, in their report, had discovered no facts reflecting in the slightest degree upon the integrity of the loan commissioners, but, on the contrary, the minority of the committee believed that in the sale of such bonds, as large, if not a larger, sum was realized than could have been in an Eastern market.

The sixteenth session of the legislature convened on January 4, 1863, and adjourned April 2, 1863, after holding a session of seventy-nine days. The senate was composed of seventeen Republicans and fifteen Democrats, while in the assembly there were fifty-three Republicans, forty-five Democrats and two Independents. On January 15th the two houses met in joint convention and listened to the reading of Governor Salomon's message. The message referred principally to matters pertaining to the military affairs of the state. During this session of the legislature the majority of the most important bills were of a military character.

At the November election in 1862, James S. Brown, I. C. Sloan, Amasa Cobb, Charles A. Eldredge, Ezra Wheeler and W. D. McIndoe were elected members of congress for two years from March 4, 1863.

At this election James T. Lewis received 72,717 votes for governor, and Henry L. Palmer 49,053. The whole Republican ticket was elected.



MT. TACOMA.

CHAPTER LV.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR LEWIS.

1864—1866.

Life of Governor Lewis.—Inaugural Address.—Legislature.—War Measures.—Drafts.—Political.

JAMES TAYLOR LEWIS, one of Wisconsin's able war governors, was born at Clarendon, New York, October 30, 1819, his father being a New Englander and his mother of good old Scotch parentage. After receiving a common school education, he was sent to Clarkson academy, and then to the Clinton



seminary, where he obtained a thorough English classical course. Being fond of military tactics, he, at an early age, joined the state militia, and became an active and enthusiastic soldier. In 1840, after first being sergeant, he was made lieutenant of the 25th regiment. In the early 40's he gained a deep knowledge of human nature by teaching school. By patience, economy and integrity he earned and saved enough money to pursue the study of law, which he began in the office of Governor Henry Selden, at Clarkson, in 1842. After his admission to the bar he started westward without money or books, and finally settled at Columbus, Wisconsin, where he has since continuously resided. From the time that he established his residence at Co-

lumbus, in 1845, his law practice continued to increase, as well as his promotion in public favor. After holding the important positions of district attorney and county judge, he was chosen a member of the constitutional convention of 1847.

In the intervening years, between 1847 and 1863, he occupied the positions of colonel of the Fourteenth regiment, brigadier-general of the Wisconsin state militia, member of assembly, state senator, member of the court of impeachment that tried Judge Levi Hubbell, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, and regent of the state university.

In 1863, Mr. Lewis was elected governor by 23,664 majority over Henry L. Palmer, his Democratic opponent. The administration of Governor Lewis was marked by extreme wisdom and judiciousness. In 1865, by his able administration, the state tax was reduced several hundred thousand dollars, while, during his incumbency, none of the military contingent fund was used. In order to further economize he requested the legislature not to vote the usual appropriation of \$5,000. as a contingent fund for the use of the executive.

In 1865 Mr. Lewis declined a renomination, whereupon the Republican Union convention passed appropriate resolutions, commending the able administration of Mr. Lewis.

Mr. Lewis visited Europe during the Franco-Prussian war, and afterwards, in 1882-83, made a journey round the world. During Mr. Lewis' whole public career he has not changed his place of residence, his business, political principles, his friendships, nor has he lost the love and esteem of his neighbors.

IMPORTANT EVENTS OF 1864.

The Seventeenth session of the state legislature convened January 13, 1864, and was in session until April 4, 1864.

Governor Lewis, in his inaugural address, pledged himself to use no patronage for a re-election, to administer the affairs of the state without prejudice or partiality, to preserve economy, promote agriculture and the arts, to foster education, and to inculcate morality and benevolence, to employ his executive power to suppress the rebellion and to terminate the civil war. The records of Governor Lewis' administration show that he made no idle promises, but lived up to those sacred pledges he made to the people in his inaugural address.

The governor, in his first annual message, gave a condensed statement of the different funds in the state, together with a report of the state officers and state institutions, and a synopsis of the statistical status of our financial affairs.

The governor, in his able message, recommended the continuance of a generous policy by the state for her army citizens, and their families at home. He recommended the completion of the south wing of the capitol at a cost not exceeding \$30,000, and the immediate selection of the agricultural college lands donated to the state by the general government.

One of our able writers, in speaking of the legislature of 1864, used the following language:

"It was one of the most intelligent and harmonious public bodies that ever convened in the state. There was less political discussion and fewer exhibitions of party feeling than we have witnessed in any previous legislature. The measure which excited most public interest was the *pro rata* bill. It failed

to pass. Its death, however, was not solely attributable to railroad opposition. As the subject was discussed, quite a powerful hostility was developed from sections of the state interested in unfinished or projected railroads, and from the districts of the state lying upon portions of completed railways distant from the markets. These found that, under a *pro rata* bill, their freights were likely to be increased; the others feared that the bill would retard and discourage the building of roads. The agitation of the subject, however, will not be without beneficial results. Its effect will be to restrain the railroads from adopting exorbitant tariffs, and will exert a wholesome influence, and may render legislation unnecessary."

Among the numerous important acts passed by this legislature pertaining to military affairs were the acts authorizing towns, cities and villages to raise money by special tax for the payment of bounties to volunteers; an act revising, amending and consolidating all laws relating to extra pay of Wisconsin soldiers in the service of the United States; to authorize the governor to purchase flags for regiments; providing for levying a state tax of \$200,000 for the support of families of the volunteers; authorizing the governor to care for the sick and wounded soldiers, and appropriating \$100,000 for that purpose.

Two important acts were also passed, authorizing the state to borrow money for repelling invasions, suppressing insurrections and protecting the state in times of war. One of these acts authorized the state to borrow \$350,000, and the other for \$300,000.

Governor Lewis, on February 18, 1864, sent to the legislature a message, accompanied by a document from W. Y. Selleck, the military agent for Wisconsin at Washington, D. C., in reference to the establishment of the Soldiers' National cemetery at Gettysburg. The legislature, to aid the establishment of this cemetery, appropriated the sum of \$3,523.

On April 24, 1864, a proposition was made by the executives of the states of Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa to President Lincoln, tendering for extra service 85,000 troops for the term of one hundred days; this organization to be governed by the War department; the proposition was gratefully accepted, and Governor Lewis proceeded at once to carry out the arrangement.

The Thirty-ninth, Fortieth and Forty-first regiments were soon organized, and left the state about the middle of June, for Memphis, Tennessee. On July 18th, President Lincoln called for 500,000 volunteers for one, two and three years' services. The Wisconsin quota was given at 19,032. The state having already sent forward three regiments, in accordance with a proposition made to President Lincoln, Adjutant-General Gaylord proceed at once to Washington, and succeeded in reducing the state's quota 15,341.

On September 14th, the governor was authorized to organize eight companies to complete the First regiment of heavy artillery. The companies were soon organized, and before November 12th, were en route for the field. The state's quota not yet being filled, a draft took place on September 19, 1864. The following are the draft statistics :

Total number subject to draft, 94,068; number drafted, 17,534; mustered in, 2,494; substitutes after draft, 945; discharged after draft, 6,724; failed to report, 7,367; paid commutation, 4; amount of commutation, \$1,200.

At the November election, in 1864, the Union Republican party elected W. W. Field, George C. Northrop, Henry Blood, Jonathan Bowman, Allen Warden, H. J. Turner, H. F. Belitz and A. S. McDill, electors. At the electoral college these electors cast the vote of the state for Abraham Lincoln, president, and Andrew Johnson, vice-president.

EVENTS OF 1865.

The eighteenth session of the state legislature convened at Madison on January 11, 1865, and adjourned after a session of ninety days. Governor Lewis, in his message to this legislature, in speaking of the financial condition of the state, said: "The financial condition of the state, considering the drafts that have necessarily been made upon the treasury, is very flattering . . . Great credit is due to the secretary of state and state treasurer for their management in bringing about this result, and for the able and efficient manner in which they have discharged the duties of their respective departments."

On February 17, 1865, Governor Lewis submitted to the legislature the proposed constitutional amendment abolishing slavery in the United States. The governor, in his message, says: "Upon its adoption hangs the destiny of four millions of human beings, and, it may be, the destiny of the nation. I trust, and doubt not, the legislature of Wisconsin will record its decision firmly, and I hope unanimously, in favor of the amendment. Let us wipe from our escutcheon the foul blot of human slavery, and show by our action that we are worthy of the name of free men."

This legislature passed a long list of important measures, both civil and military. On the 10th day of April, the last day of the legislative session, Governor Lewis sent to the legislature the following message :

"Four years ago, on the day fixed for adjournment, the sad news of the fall of Fort Sumter was transmitted to the legislature. To-day, thank God, and, next to Him, the brave officers and soldiers of our army and navy, I am permitted to transmit to you the official intelligence, just received, of the surrender of General Lee and his army, the last prop of the rebellion. Let us rejoice, and thank the Ruler of the union for victory, and the prospects of an honorable peace."

The State Journal, in speaking of this legislature, says :

“ About all the important Republican measures brought before the legislature were disposed of. The appropriation bills all passed, except that of \$30,000 for the enlargement of the hospital for the insane, and also the bills for a temporary loan and special tax of \$850,000 for war purposes and a general tax of \$350,000 for general expenses. The bill increasing the rate of interest was defeated in the assembly; also the bill allowing the Racine and Mississippi railroad to build branches to Milwaukee and Chicago.”

The Republican convention, held at Madison, September 6, 1865, placed the following ticket in nomination : Governor, Lucius Fairchild ; lieutenant-governor, Wyman Spooner ; secretary of state, Thomas S. Allen ; state treasurer, William E. Smith ; attorney-general, Charles R. Gill ; bank comptroller, J. M. Rusk ; state prison commissioner, Henry Cordier ; superintendent of public instruction, J. L. Pickard.

The Democratic convention, held at Madison, September 20th, nominated the following ticket : Governor, Harrison C. Hobart ; lieutenant-governor, D. W. Maxon ; secretary of state, L. B. Vilas ; state treasurer ; J. W. Davis ; bank comptroller, Thomas McMahon ; state prison commissioner, C. Horneffer ; superintendent of public instruction, J. B. Parkinson. The whole Republican ticket was elected by an average majority of 9,000.





YELLOWSTONE RIVER.

CHAPTER LVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR FAIRCHILD.

1866—1872.

Biographical Sketch of Governor Fairchild.—Legislation.—Mrs. Harvey Establishes a Home for Soldiers' Orphans.—Political.

The ninth governor of Wisconsin was General Lucius Fairchild, who was born September 27, 1831, at Franklin Mills, Ohio. Colonel J. C. Fairchild, the father of Governor Fairchild, was of English descent, while his mother, Sallie Blair Fairchild, was of pure Scotch-Irish ancestry. In 1837, Colonel Fairchild, with the view to the better education of his children, removed with

his family from Columbus, Ohio, to Madison, Wisconsin, then a thriving village. Lucius, being an energetic young man who preferred to glean knowledge by experience, and not wholly from books, started, in 1849, with a horse and saddle and "prairie schooner" for California. Six years later, he was one of the few who returned with a "pile of gold." His mental and physical powers had been greatly improved and strengthened by coming in contact with the vicissitudes of western life, which well fitted him for his eventful future.



The first shot fired at Fort Sumter found Mr. Fairchild occupied as clerk of the district court of Dane county. He responded to Lincoln's call for troops with the same zest that he had started for California in '49, by offering his services to the government as a private. Governor Randall, knowing the material with which Mr. Fairchild was made, offered him the lieutenant-colonelcy of the First regiment. His knowledge, however, of military affairs being that gained by belonging to the governor's guard, he felt himself inefficient to

occupy a position so responsible. However, he was elected captain of Company K in the First regiment.

At Gainsville, Colonel O'Connor was killed and Captain Fairchild assumed full command of the Second Wisconsin. At the battle of Gettysburg, the Second regiment, which was a part of the "Iron Brigade," was reduced to a handful of men, whose field officers were either killed or wounded. At this battle Colonel Fairchild left an arm as a reminder of that eventful occasion. For gallantry at Gettysburg he was made a brigadier-general of volunteers.

Prior to 1863, Mr. Fairchild, while not active in politics, was a Democrat, but became estranged from the party on account of their indifference and coldness towards him. In the fall of 1863, he allowed his name to go on the Union Republican ticket. In order to accept the office of secretary of state, he was obliged to give up his hard-earned rank in the army. In November, 1865, General Fairchild was elected governor, which office he held for three consecutive terms.

In January, 1872, he retired to private life, but on the following October was appointed by President Grant to serve as consul at Liverpool. At the end of five years of useful and pleasant service as consul at Liverpool he received a commission as consul-general at Paris, where he again had an honorable and successful public career. Again, when he had decided to resign and return home, he was appointed by President Hayes to succeed James Russell Lo well as minister at the Spanish court. After serving in this capacity for two years with honor to himself, and credit to the government he represented, he felt that he could no longer keep his family in exile, and therefore resigned.

Upon his return to Wisconsin in March, 1882, he was welcomed home by all classes and given an ovation of the most enthusiastic description. In February, 1886, he was elected commander of the Wisconsin department of the Grand Army of the Republic, and in the following August, commander-in-chief of that body.

General Fairchild still retains his interest in all the political questions of the day, and during the general election campaigns works from Maine to Texas and at his own expense. The general lives in the home built by his father more than forty years ago, on the banks of Lake Monona, and there, amidst old associations, dispenses hospitality in a manner characteristic of his bright and cheerful disposition.

IMPORTANT EVENTS DURING 1866-1867.

On January 1, 1866, the newly-elected state officers were inaugurated and entered upon their official duties. The inauguration ceremonies took place on the evening of the 1st of January at the capitol. At eight o'clock in the evening the outgoing and incoming officers entered the hall in a body. After

Governor Lewis delivered a valedictory address, Governor Fairchild appeared and took the oath of office, which was administered by Chief-Justice Dixon, of the supreme court. The state officers-elect then came forward, separately, and took the oath of office.

The nineteenth session of the state legislature convened on the 10th day of January, 1866, and, after being in session ninety-three days, adjourned on the 12th day of April.

The governor's message contained numerous important recommendations, among which were the proposition to cancel the state bonds, subsequently invested in the trust funds, substituting non-negotiable certificates of indebtedness in their place; recommendations respecting assessments of taxation; the revision of the statutes, necessitated by over six hundred amendments; the completion of the capitol; the acceptance of the agricultural college grant; the enlargement of the hospital for the insane; and the establishment of a home for the soldiers' orphans. The message closed with a beautiful and eloquent tribute to the brave and patriotic men for their services in behalf of the union.

Mrs. Governor Harvey conceived the idea of converting the Harvey U. S. A. general hospital into a soldiers' orphan home. The home was opened January 1, 1866, through this estimable lady's influence. The necessary funds, \$12,834.69, were raised by private subscription. The grounds were those upon which Governor Farwell erected buildings in 1856, and are situated about a mile from the capitol square. The home became a state institution March 31, 1866. Prior to the purchase of the property by the state, the home had been opened by Mrs. Harvey, with the co-operation of a board of trustees. Under their management the building was thoroughly refitted. At the time the state took possession, there were eighty-four orphans duly admitted and properly cared for. Mrs. Harvey was the first superintendent of this institution. On May 1, 1867, she resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. F. B. Brewer, who occupied the position until January 1, 1868, at which time the Rev. I. N. Cundall was elected to the position.

At the congressional election in November, 1866, Halbert E. Paine, Benjamin F. Hopkins, Amasa Cobb, Charles A. Eldredge, Philetus Sawyer and C. C. Washburn were elected members of Congress.

On January 22d, the state senate cast the following vote for United States senator: Timothy O. Howe, twenty-three votes; Charles A. Eldredge, nine votes; E. S. Bragg, one vote. In the assembly the votes cast for United States senator were as follows: Timothy O. Howe, seventy-two votes; Charles A. Eldredge, thirty-one votes; E. S. Bragg, one vote; J. J. Guppy, one vote. On January 23d, in a joint convention of the two houses, Timothy O. Howe was declared duly elected for the term of six years, commencing March 4, 1868.

The Republican Union state convention convened at Madison on the 5th day of September, 1867, and made the following nominations: For governor, Lucius Fairchild; lieutenant-governor, Wyman Spooner; secretary of state, Thomas S. Allen; state treasurer, William E. Smith; attorney-general, Charles R. Gill; bank comptroller, J. M. Rusk; state prison commissioner, Henry Cordier; superintendent of public instruction, A. J. Craig.

The Democratic convention met at Madison on the 12th day of September, 1867, and placed the following gentlemen in nomination: For governor, J. J. Tallmadge; lieutenant-governor, G. L. Park; secretary of state, Emil Rothe; state treasurer, Peter Rupp; attorney-general, L. P. Weatherby; bank comptroller, R. J. Harvey; state prison commissioner, Ole Heg; superintendent of public instruction, Lyman C. Draper. Mr. Draper declined the nomination and his place was filled by substituting the name of William H. Peck.

At the November election the Republican ticket was elected by majorities ranging from four thousand to six thousand.

EVENTS of 1868-1869.

The twenty-first session of the state legislature convened on January 8, 1868, and adjourned March 6, after a session of fifty-nine days.

Governor Fairchild, in his message, gave important facts relative to the several departments of the state and its reformatory and benevolent institutions. Among other matters contained in his message, of great importance to the state, was his recommendation that the state should promptly call upon congress for relief in auditing the claims against the general government of \$248,000, which was just and equitable.

During this session of the legislature seventy-eight laws and five hundred and fourteen private and local laws were enacted and passed.

The Republican nominees for congress, in 1868, were as follows: H. E. Paine, B. F. Hopkins, Amasa Cobb, L. F. Frisby, Philetus Sawyer, and C. C. Washburn. The Democratic nominees were: Alexander Mitchell, John Winans, T. F. H. Passmore, C. A. Eldredge, Joseph Vilas and A. G. Ellis. The whole Republican congressional ticket was elected, except L. F. Frisby, who was beaten by Charles A. Eldredge from the Fourth district.

The twenty-second session of the legislature convened on the 13 of December, 1869, and adjourned March 11th, after a session of fifty-eight days. The senate was organized by the Honorable Wyman Spooner, lieutenant-governor, taking his seat as president. L. B. Hills was elected chief clerk, and W. H. Hamilton was elected sergeant-at-arms. In the assembly, the Honorable A. M. Thompson was elected speaker, E. W. Young, chief clerk, and Rollin C. Kelly, sergeant-at-arms.

The most important business transacted by this legislature was the election of the United States senator to succeed the Hon. James R. Doolittle, whose term of office expired March 4, 1870. The Hon. Matthew H. Carpenter received the nomination, on the sixth ballot, by a vote of forty-four against forty-three for other candidates. Mr. Carpenter's principal opponent was the Hon. C. C. Washburn.

The Republican state convention, on September 1, 1869, nominated the following state officers: For governor, Lucius Fairchild; lieutenant-governor, Thaddeus C. Pound; secretary of state, E. A. Spencer; state treasurer, Henry Baetz; attorney-general, S. S. Barlow; state-prison commissioner, Geo. F. Wheeler; superintendent of public instruction, A. J. Craig. Mr. Spencer declined the nomination, and Llewellyn Breese was appointed to fill the vacancy.

On September 8th, the state Democratic convention, held at Milwaukee, placed in nomination the following ticket: For governor, C. D. Robinson; lieutenant-governor, H. H. Gray; secretary of state, A. G. Cook; state treasurer, John Black; attorney-general, S. U. Pinney; state-prison commissioner, C. M. Bordoe; superintendent of public instruction, F. K. Gannon.

At the November election, the whole Republican ticket was elected, Governor Fairchild's majority being 8,343.

EVENTS OF 1870.

On January 3d, 1870, Governor Fairchild entered upon his official duties for a third term, which fact was conclusive that his services had been duly appreciated by the people of the Badger state.

On the 12th day of January, 1870, the twenty-third session of the legislature convened, and, after being in session sixty-five days, adjourned on March 17th. On the 13th day of January, Governor Fairchild appeared before the joint convention of the legislature and delivered his annual message.

In January, 1870, Governor Fairchild received official information that the claims of the state of Wisconsin against the general government for equipping troops for the union army, to the amount of \$219,742.06, previously suspended or disallowed, had been audited and the sum placed to the credit of the state. During the previous year the sum of \$131,000 had also been allowed, leaving a large amount of other claims remaining suspended and unpaid.

On July 2d, 1870, the Honorable A. J. Craig, state superintendent of public instruction, died. General Samuel Fallows was appointed by Governor Fairchild to fill the place of the late superintendent.

In July, 1870, the board of commissioners appointed by the governor, to locate a site for the new hospital for the insane, recommended, subject to the approval of the governor, a site on Lake Winnebago, four miles north of Osh-

kosh, on the main line of the Chicago and Northwestern railroad. The legislature authorized the appropriation of \$10,000 for the original purchase, which was about three hundred acres of land. The commissioners, under the provisions of the act were authorized to obtain plans for the buildings, and to contract for the immediate erection of the same. For this purpose the sum of \$125,000 was appropriated, \$40,000 to be expended or drawn from the state treasury during the year of 1870.

During the month of July bids were opened for the erection and completion of the female college building on the state university grounds. The amount appropriated by the legislature was \$50,000.

At the congressional convention, the following nominations were made: Democratic, Alexander Mitchell, A. G. Cook, John Strachan, Charles A. Eldredge, Joseph Stringham and Alexander Meggett. Republican, William P. Lyon, G. W. Hazelton, J. Allen Barber, J. A. Watrous, Philetus Sawyer and J. M. Rusk.

At the November election in 1870, Alexander Mitchell and Charles A. Eldredge, Democrats, and G. W. Hasleton, J. Allen Barber, Philetus Sawyer and J. M. Rusk, Republicans, were elected members of congress.

The government census taken this year shows the population of Wisconsin to be 1,540,670, an increase of 278,789 since 1860.

EVENTS OF 1871.

The twenty-fourth session of the state legislature convened on the 18th day of January, 1871, and adjourned, after a session of twenty-four days, on March 25th. On January 12th, the governor met the legislature in joint convention and delivered his annual address.

The distinguished jurist and one of the associate justices of the supreme court, Honorable Bryon Payne, died on the 13th day of January, 1871. A few days after the governor appointed William P. Lyon, of Racine, to fill the vacancy until the general election in spring, when a justice was elected by vote of the people.

The building commissioners of the Northern Wisconsin hospital for the insane met in February, 1871, and, after examining the bids for the erection of the asylum, awarded the contract to James Reynolds, of Milwaukee, who was the lowest bidder, for \$146,581.

The Republican state convention which convened at Madison on the 30th day of August, 1871, placed the following gentlemen in nomination: For governor: C. C. Washburn; lieutenant-governor, M. H. Pettitt; secretary of state, Llewellyn Breeze; state treasurer, Henry Baetz; superintendent of public instruction, Samuel Fallows; attorney-general, S. S. Barlow; state-prison commissioner, C. F. Wheeler; emigrant commissioner, O. C. Johnson.

On August 23, 1871, the Democratic state convention convened at Madison, and placed in nomination the following ticket: For governor, James R. Doolittle; lieutenant-governor, John A. Rice; secretary of state, Milton Montgomery; state treasurer, Anton Klauss; attorney-general, E. S. Bragg; state-prison commissioner, L. E. Johnson; superintendent of public instruction, Warren D. Parker; emigrant commissioner, Jacob Boden.

It was in October, 1871, when the disastrous Chicago fire occurred, which was shortly followed by great fires in Northern Wisconsin. The fires in Wisconsin devastated millions of dollars worth of property, thousands of homes, and an innumerable loss of life. At Peshtigo alone four hundred and seven bodies were found. Destructive fires also took place in Northwestern Wisconsin, in the Black river pineries. It is estimated that over one thousand lives were lost during the month of October through this source. The people throughout the state with one accord, with their accustomed liberality, sent large supplies of food and clothing to the destitute. The humane and charitable institutions made praiseworthy efforts to alleviate the suffering and privations of those demanding their sympathy.

At the November election this year the whole Republican ticket was elected. The Republican candidates received majorities ranging from eight thousand to ten thousand.





MAMMOTH HOT SPRINGS HOTEL AND STAGES.

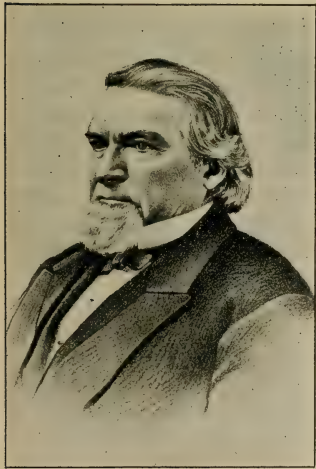
CHAPTER LVII.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR WASHBURN.

1872—1874.

Biographical Sketch of Governor Washburn. — Important Events. — Disasters. — Political.

CADWALADER COLDOON WASHBURN was our next governor. He was of good old English family, and in his youth was quiet, studious and thoughtful. While a boy he worked on the farm and went to the town school until he reached his seventeenth year, at which time he entered a store at Hallowell, a thriving little



place, where both his social and business opportunities were unusually good. During the winter of 1838-39 he was employed as teacher of the principal school at Wiscasset, and so earned enough money to start west. He went so far as Davenport, Iowa, where he taught a private school for three months. On the day following the close of his school, he accepted a position with D. D. Owen, on the Iowa geological survey, which congress at that time had just ordered to be made.

In the winter of 1839-40, Mr. Washburn came back east to Rock Island, Illinois, where he began the study of law with his old-time friend, Joseph B. Wells. In the election of 1840 he supported General Harrison, and was himself elected surveyor of Rock Island county. In March, 1842, Mr. Washburn removed to Mineral Point, Wisconsin, and there, after being admitted to the bar, first began the practice of his profession.

Mineral Point at this time was a thriving little mining town, and Mr. Washburn, by his integrity and ability, soon built up for himself a large and profitable practice.

In 1844 he joined himself with Cyrus Woodman, and for years the firm of Washburn and Woodman transacted a large and lucrative financial and land business.

In 1852 Mr. Washburn was invited by Governor Farwell and Justice Harlow S. Orton to go to Madison and assist in framing a general banking law. Under this law the Mineral Point bank was established by Mapes, Washburn and Woodman. In March, 1855, Mr. Woodman retired from the firm, and the entire management of the business fell on Mr. Washburn alone.

At the previous November election, Mr. Washburn had been elected by the Republicans, entirely without solicitation on his part, to be a member of congress. His brothers, one from Maine, the other from Illinois, were also members of congress, and for the ensuing six years these three brothers used their united efforts in behalf of their country.

In 1861 Mr. Washburn removed to La Crosse, but hardly had he settled down when, perceiving the North was in need of men, he raised the Second regiment of cavalry, he being its colonel, and reported for duty October 10, 1861. He was made major-general in November, 1862, and was an energetic, successful commander up to the time of his resigning in May, 1865.

In 1861 Mr. Washburn joined in the minority report against slavery and secession. His speech to the house on the subject was as follows :

“ Sir, I have no special dread in regard to the future of this Republic. Whatever may come, I have an abiding faith in a kind Providence that has ever watched over us, that passing events will be overruled for good, and for the welfare of mankind in this and other lands. If this union must be dissolved, whether by peaceable secession, or through fires and blood and civil war, we shall have the consolation of knowing that when the conflict is over, those who survive it will be, what they never have been, inhabitants of a free country.”

In 1866, Mr. Washburn was again elected to congress, and in 1868 re-elected. In 1871, at the close of his term in congress, the Republicans made him their candidate for governor. By ten thousand majority he was elected over James R. Doolittle.

His administration was marked by usefulness and economy. He was re-nominated in 1873, with William R. Taylor as his opponent. William R. Taylor was elected and the official career of Governor Washburn was ended.

In private life, Mr. Washburn attracted more, if possible, attention than in public. He was the first to purchase pine lands, and held them while other purchasers were selling their lands for a mere nothing. He made millions of dollars in the manufacture of lumber and flour. In 1878, he went to Europe, and there learned the various methods of making flour. He was the first to

introduce into this country the Hungarian system and the patent process of producing flour. His mill became the largest and best in the world.

Governor Washburn's charitable purposes were conducted in a noble but modest manner—Washburn observatory to the Wisconsin state university, at Madison; People's library in La Crosse; Minneapolis Orphan asylum, in honor of his mother; his beautiful home and grounds, near Madison, to the Catholic Sisters, and numerous lesser gifts. His death occurred at the age of sixty-four, at Eureka Springs, Arkansas, on May 14, 1882.

EVENTS OF 1872.

The twenty-fifth session of our state legislature convened on January 1, 1872, and, after being in session seventy-seven days, adjourned on the 27th day of March.

Hon. H. M. Pettitt, of Kenosha, the lieutenant-governor, took his seat as president of the senate, while J. H. Wagner was elected chief clerk, and W. D. Hoard, sergeant-at-arms. Daniel Hall, was chosen speaker in the assembly, E. W. Young, elected chief clerk, and S. S. Fifield, sergeant-at-arms.

On January 11th, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, Governor Washburn delivered his first annual message to the two houses of the legislature in joint convention. The message was long, and set forth in detail the general condition of state affairs. He also referred to recent great conflagrations within the state and suggested appropriate measures to afford relief. In this able document he recommended the civil service reform, a return to specie payments at an early day, and the adoption of a general telegraph system in connection with our postal system.

The governor, in speaking of the great fires of 1871, said :

“During the last days of September, and during the first days of October, the northeast part of the state was overrun by fires, destroying much property, and causing great distress, but nothing compared to what was soon to follow; for on the 8th and 9th of October a conflagration, unparalleled in the world's history, swept over portions of the counties Oconto, Brown, Door and Kewaunee, consuming all before it.

“In vain the unhappy people sought refuge in open fields, swamps, lakes and rivers. The fire-blast, which seemed to come down from Heaven, was so sudden and appalling, that many believed that the long fore told destruction of the world was at hand. By this conflagration it is estimated that over a thousand people lost their lives; and many others were horribly burned and maimed, and doomed to drag out a life more intolerable than death itself. As soon as intelligence of this great calamity reached the executive office, my predecessor, with that promptitude and humanity which are to be expected from him, proceeded at once to the scene of the disaster, to lend such aid as was

within his power. Appealing at once to the charitable for relief to the sufferers, the great heart of the country responded with a generosity that calls for the warmest gratitude.

"The people of the state, in the most prompt and liberal manner, sent forward money, clothing and supplies for their suffering fellow-citizens. The people of other states were not less prompt and generous in their liberal offerings; and even Canada and Europe heard our cry, and manifested their sympathy with a liberal hand.

"I place before the legislature the full and satisfactory report of my predecessor, detailing his action in regard to the sufferers. The responsibility taken by him and the state treasurer cannot fail to meet your approval. The urgency of the case fully justifies their action. It cannot be regarded as a precedent; and such an occasion is not likely to again arise.

"The total amount of money received at the executive office for the benefit of the sufferers, January 1, 1872, was \$166,789.96, of which sum \$46,900 was transmitted to the relief committee at Green Bay; \$8,005.16 was expended for supplies; \$487.57, for sundry expenses, leaving unexpended, \$111,397.23, for which I hold the receipt of Honorable Henry Baetz, state treasurer, for \$33,539.05, and a certificate of deposit in the state bank at Madison for \$77,858.18.

"In addition to the foregoing contributions of money, large amounts of clothing and provisions have been received through the executive office, and it is understood that large amounts of money, clothing and supplies have also been contributed through the Milwaukee and Green Bay relief committees. It is recommended that a joint relief committee, consisting of one member of the senate and two of the assembly, be constituted at an early day, with authority to proceed at once to the 'burnt district' and investigate the condition of the people there, and confer with the relief committees of Green Bay and Milwaukee, and ascertain what amount of relief will be required to place them in a comfortable condition, and when they can be self-sustaining; and I also ask that you constitute some authority through which the amount now subject to my order may be disposed of so as to give the most relief, and best meet the wishes of the contributors."

At the November election in 1872, the Republican electors were chosen. At the meeting of the electoral college, the ten votes of Wisconsin were cast for U. S. Grant, for president, and Henry Wilson, vice-president. The Republican candidates for congress in the different congressional districts were Charles G. Williams, G. W. Hazelton, J. A. Barber, H. Baetz, F. C. Winckler, Philetus Sawyer, J. M. Rusk, and A. S. McDill.

The Democratic candidates in the eight congressional districts were Scott Sloan, G. B. Smith, A. Warden, Alexander Mitchell, C. A. Eldredge, M. P. Lindsley, S. J. Marston, and William Carston.

The Republican candidates were all elected except H. Baetz and F. C. Winckler. Alexander Mitchell and Charles A. Eldredge, Democrats, were elected in their places.

EVENTS OF 1873.

The twenty-sixth session of the state legislature convened on the 8th day of January, 1873, and adjourned March 20th, after a seventy-two days session. Governor Washburn, on January 9th, delivered his second annual message to the two houses of the legislature. This document was of more than ordinary interest, and far above the standard documents of the kind. The message opened with a clear and brief reference to the excellent returns from agricultural pursuits, the development of the state's industries, the rapid advance in manufacturing, the progress of education, and the rapid and healthful extension of the railways within our borders. The most important business of this session of the legislature was the election of a United States senator to fill the place of Honorable Timothy O. Howe, whose term of office would expire March 4, 1874. On the 22d day of January the two houses met in joint convention and compared the journals relating to the election of the United States senator. In the senate Timothy O. Howe had received twenty-two votes, and Henry L. Palmer nine. In the assembly Mr. Howe had received sixty-one votes and Mr. Palmer thirty-five. The president announced that Honorable T. O. Howe was elected United States senator for the term of six years from the 4th of March, 1874.

DISASTERS.

On July 4th, 1873, eleven persons were drowned on Green Lake. The drowning was occasioned by the hurricane which passed through Green Lake county, devastating considerable property.

On September 14, 1873, the lake steamer Ironsides was wrecked between Milwaukee and Grand Haven and twenty-eight persons were lost.

POLITICAL.

On the 27th day of August, 1873, the Republican Union convention, which convened at Madison, nominated the following ticket: For governor, Honorable C. C. Washburn; lieutenant-governor, Robert H. Baker; secretary of state, E. W. Young; treasurer, Ole C. Johnson; attorney-general, L. F. Frisby; superintendent of public instruction, Robert Graham; commissioner of emigration, G. P. Lindman.

The Liberal Democratic convention met at Milwaukee on the 25th of September, and made the following nominations: For governor, William R.

Taylor ; lieutenant-governor, C. D. Parker ; state treasurer, Ferdinand Kuehn ; secretary of state, Peter Doyle ; attorney-general, A. Scott Sloan ; superintendent of public instruction, Edward Searing ; state prison commissioner, M. J. Argard.

At the November election, William R. Taylor received 81,599 votes, while C. C. Washburn received 66,224 votes. The whole Liberal Democratic ticket was elected, by majorities ranging from thirteen to fourteen thousand.



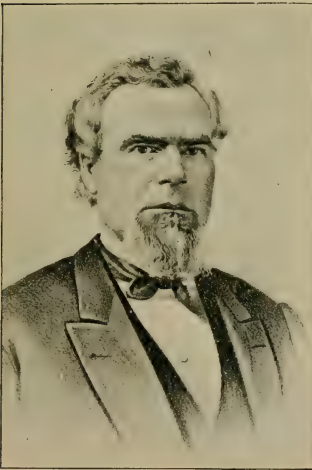
CHAPTER LVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR TAYLOR.

1874-1876.

Biography of Governor Taylor.—His Able Message.—Passage of the Potter Railway Law.—The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company and the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company Defy the Law Until it is Sustained by the Supreme Court.—Pass Bribery.—Defeat of Honorable Matt. H. Carpenter for the United States Senate.—Oshkosh Burned.—Political.

WILLIAM ROBERT TAYLOR is of Scotch parentage, and was born in Connecticut, July 10, 1820. When but three weeks old his mother died. His father was an ocean captain, and was lost at sea when the boy was but five years of age ; thus, at the early age of five, he was left an orphan. He was now placed under severe guardianship in Jefferson county, New York, and there remained alternately studying and working until he had secured a certificate of admission to the third term of the sophomore year of Union college, at Schenectady, New York. Not being able to pay his way in college, he went into a sugar-bush and made maple sugar and molasses with which to pay the tuition already due.



He then taught a private school and afterwards an academy. In 1840 he entered a class at Elyria, Ohio, preparing to become a teacher. At this time the La Porte authorities were offering a large salary to the teacher that could manage their school, which was well known as being the most rough and

ungovernable in that part of the country. Young Taylor undertook the task, and before the end of his third term it became the premium school of the section.

He next undertook the management of a grist mill, saw mill and a cupola furnace, but was obliged to give it up because of his impaired health. He then studied medicine, and in the winter of 1845-46 attended a course of lectures at the medical college at Cleveland, Ohio.

In 1848 he removed to Wisconsin and settled in Dane county. Soon he became officially known, and for forty years thereafter was almost continuously in some position of public trust. He was chairman of his town; superintendent of public schools; three times chairman of the county board of supervisors; was county superintendent of poor for seventeen years; was trustee, vice-president and member of the executive board of the state hospital for insane from its re-organization in 1860 until he became governor in 1874; has been elected to both branches of the legislature; was seven years president of the Dane county Agricultural society; and two years president of the Wisconsin State Agricultural association, and in the civil war was the first man in Dane county to offer a bounty for volunteers.

In 1873 he was nominated by acclamation for governor by a convention of "Democrats, Liberal Republicans, and other electors friendly to genuine reform through equal and impartial legislation, honesty in office and rigid economy in the administration of public affairs."

The most important measure of Governor Taylor's administration was the enactment of the "Potter Law," which aimed to place railways completely under the state's control, limiting charges for transportation, classifying freight and regulating the price for its transportation.

The two principal railway corporations in the state, the Chicago and North-Western Railway company and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, served formal notice upon the governor that they would not respect the provisions of the Potter law. The governor immediately answered this notice by a proclamation, saying, "The law of the land must be respected and obeyed. While none are so weak as to be without its protection, none are so strong as to be above its restraints."

The railway corporations then appealed to the courts, and the governor was forced to confront the best legal talent in the land. Upon the result of this litigation depended not only Wisconsin's constitutional rights, but the constitutional right of all other states to enact similar laws. The contention was carried both to the state supreme court and the supreme court of the United States, the main question being the constitutional power of the state over corporations of its own creation.

The complete and absolute power of the state was finally established. In this manner, by Governor Taylor and his administration, was settled an issue between the people and the corporations which affected materially all the commercial and agricultural interests of the state.

During his administration \$800,000 was obtained from the general government for the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers; the Wisconsin Central Railroad company was compelled, before the governor would sign the

certificates of its land grant, to give substantial assurance that the projected line from Stevens Point to Portage should be constructed.

While William R. Taylor was governor, appropriations were cut down, taxation diminished, department employes lessened, government expenses curtailed, and the total amounts for state purposes were reduced more than a hundred thousand dollars below what they had been in many years.

Governor Taylor devoted his undivided attention to the office in his trust. He attended personally to the many labors of his office, and among all our governors none discharged their duties in a more upright and honorable manner than did William Robert Taylor, our "Farmer Governor."

EVENTS OF 1874.

The Reform party of the state of Wisconsin commenced its administration on the 5th day of January, 1874. The newly-elected officers commenced taking their oaths of offices on the same day at half-past eleven in the forenoon, the oath of office being administered by L. S. Dixon, chief justice of the supreme court.

The state legislature convened on the 14th day of January, 1874. Hon. Charles D. Parker, the lieutenant-governor, took his seat as president of the senate. J. W. Waggoner was elected chief clerk, and O. U. Aken sergeant-at-arms. Gabriel Bouck was elected speaker of the assembly, George W. Peck chief clerk, and Joseph Deuster sergeant-at-arms.

On January 15th Governor Taylor attended the joint convention of the two houses and delivered his first annual message. His message was a bold, clear and able document. He referred to the financial disturbances of the country, and said that accompanying them had come an imperative demand from the people for a purer political morality, a more equitable apportionment of the burdens and blessings of government, and a more rigid economy in the administration of public affairs. The previous suggestion of ex-Secretary Breese, on the subject of taxing railway companies, he commended and thought also that foreign insurance companies should be made to pay more taxes to the state, and recommended that all fees received by the state officers should go into the treasury.

The governor, in a concise and comprehensive manner, presented to the legislature the different features of the railroad traffic question. He laid down certain propositions to guide the legislature in their investigation upon this subject. He also suggested that farmers have rights that legislators are bound to respect, and said that the time had come when some relief should be afforded against the greed and extortion of monopolists. He thought the evils complained of by the people against the great monopolies could better be remedied by state than by federal legislation.

The Madison *Democrat*, in referring to the acts of this session of the legislature, said :

“ It has curtailed the current expenses, and has furnished the people some protection against the extortion of grand monopolies. The new party has inaugurated an era of retrenchment and reform hitherto unknown in the history of Wisconsin. An enumeration of some of the important bills that passed the Reform assembly, to meet with defeat in the Republican senate, are given. The first Reform measure that was killed by the senate was the registry law, that probably would have saved the state at least \$25,000. The warehouse bill, that would have saved the farmers of the state one cent a bushel on all the grain they sold, went through the house to meet its fate in the senate. The bill to tax insurance companies, that would have brought \$400,000 into the state treasury and relieved the people of that amount of burdensome taxes, was killed in the senate, after passing the assembly by a large majority. The best and most restrictive railroad bill of the session was adopted by the Reform assembly, as embodying the legislation required on this subject, and was amended in the senate by the adoption of a substitute very mild in its provisions, and more acceptable to railroad monopolies. The assembly passed a bill increasing the license fee of railroads to five per cent., but the senate reduced the amount to four per cent. The house also proposed a bill abolishing unjust discriminations by railroad companies ; but it was either defeated by the senate, or so modified as to destroy its force. And, to close its labors, the senate refused to concur in the bill passed by the assembly to straighten the line of the Central Wisconsin railroad between Portage City and Stevens Point.”

On April 27, 1874, after the passage of the so-called Potter law, Alexander Mitchell, the president of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway company, and Albert Keep, the president of the Chicago and North-Western Railway company, notified Governor Taylor by letter that their several corporations would disregard that part of the railroad law of Wisconsin pertaining to prices and so forth.

On May 16, 1874, A. Scott Sloan, the attorney-general, filed petitions in the supreme court charging the above railway corporations with violations of the railroad laws and asked leave to bring suits for the forfeiture of their charters.

Upon the reading and filing of the petition of the state's attorney, the court granted the right to the attorney-general to bring an action in the nature of a *quo warranto*, in the supreme court, in the name of the state of Wisconsin, against the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway company, and against the Chicago and North-Western Railway company, for the purpose of vacating their charters and annulling the existence of the respective corporations.

The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway company, on June 1st commenced proceedings to enjoin the state by action in the federal courts.

The railway corporations, through their creditors, served notice upon the attorney-general that application would be applied for in the United States district court, for the western district of Wisconsin, to restrain the state from instituting fixed rates for freight and passenger traffic. Under the new law the railway companies in the intermediate adhered to their former rates without regard to the law of 1874.

On the 4th day of June the case came up for argument in the United States district court before Judges Drummond and Hopkins. C. B. Lawrence appeared in behalf of the Chicago & North-Western Railway company, and Attorney-General Sloan on the part of the state. After some discussion the matter was deferred until the 1st of July. In the intermediate Chief Justice Dixon was retained as associate counsel for the state, he having retired from the supreme bench on the 15th day of June, and his place filled by the appointment of E. G. Ryan, the celebrated jurist.

On July 1st this noted case was brought up for argument in the United States district court, Judges Davis, Drummond and Hopkins presiding. The case on the part of the bondholders for the Chicago and North-Western Railway company was presented by B. C. Cook, of Chicago, C. B. Lawrence and Judge Stoughton, of New York; and on the part of the state by the attorney-general, A. Scott Sloan, assisted by L. S. Dixon and I. C. Sloan, all of whom were legal luminaries. The court, on June 6th, rendered its decision, sustaining the validity of the law, and held that the legislature had absolute authority of the question of rates for freight and passenger traffic from point to point within Wisconsin. As a legal question was involved regulating the commerce between states, the court desired to hear further arguments on that point.

On July 8th Messrs. Sloan and Dixon, in behalf of the state, filed in the supreme court a bill in equity, complaining of the persistent violation of the state law regulating railroads by the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway company, and the Chicago and North-Western Railway company, and prayed that these companies be enjoined and restrained from disobeying said law, so far as it was held valid by the decision of the United States district court.

On the 4th day of August the supreme court met to hear the application in behalf of the state to enjoin the two railway corporations and compel them to obey the laws regulating railroad traffic. The state was represented by Attorney-General A. Scott Sloan, Judge L. S. Dixon, Judge Harlow S.orton and I. C. Sloan. The Chicago and North-Western Railway company was represented by Judge C. B. Lawrence, B. C. Cook, of Chicago, and George B. Smith, of Madison. The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway company was represented by John W. Cary, Judge F. L. Spooner, with J. C. Gregory

and F. J. Lamb, of Madison, and Colonel J. C. Spooner, attorney for the West Wisconsin Railway company, of Hudson.

The decision in this celebrated case was rendered on the 15th day of September, by Chief Justice Ryan. The opinion fully sustained the law passed by the legislature of 1874, and the right of the state to control corporations. The opinion concluded by announcing that the motions of the attorney-general would be granted and that the order issue as to all the roads of the Chicago and North-Western Railway company, and all the roads of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway company, except the railroad from Milwaukee to Prairie du Chien, built under the territorial charter of 1848.

It is a lamentable fact, and one reflecting seriously upon our law-makers, that, since the administration of Governor Taylor, the great railway corporations within the state, through pass bribery, have controlled every legislature so far as legislation affecting *their* interests are concerned; although the last legislature, it is said, passed an act prohibiting future legislators from accepting passes from railway corporations. A law should be passed making it a penal offense for members of the legislature, county, circuit and supreme court judges to accept or use railroad passes.

The Republican conventions of the respective congressional districts placed in nomination for members of congress, C. G. Williams, L. B. Caswell, H. S. Magoon, H. Ludington, Hiram Barber, A. M. Kimball, J. M. Rusk and A. S. McDill.

The Liberal Reform and Democratic conventions placed in nomination N. D. Fratt, A. G. Cook, C. F. Thompson, W. P. Lynde, Sam D. Burchard, Gabriel Bouck, D. C. Fulton and George W. Cate.

At the November election the following congressmen were elected: C. G. Williams, Republican; L. B. Caswell, Republican; H. S. Magoon, Republican; W. P. Lynde, Reform; S. D. Burchard, Reform; A. M. Kimball, Republican; J. M. Rusk, Republican, and G. W. Cate, Liberal.

This election created and changed the political complexion of the next legislature so that it consisted of seventeen Republicans and fifteen Liberal senators, and one Independent, while the assembly consisted of sixty-four Republican members, thirty-five Reformers and one Independent. Both houses of our legislature were again in the hands of the Republican party.

EVENTS OF 1875.

The twenty-eighth annual session of the state legislature convened at Madison, on January 13, 1875. Lieutenant-Governor C. D. Parker, took his seat as president of the senate. After the senators-elect had subscribed and taken the oath of office, that body proceeded to the election of its officers, which was as follows: F. A. Bennett, chief clerk; A. U. Aken, sergeant-at-arms.

In the assembly, A. Scott Sloan, the attorney-general, administered the oath of office, and after having subscribed to the same, the assembly proceeded to elect its officers, consisting of Frederick W. Horn, speaker; Colonel R. M. Strong, chief clerk, and J. W. Bracket, sergeant-at-arms.

On the 14th day of January, the governor met the legislature in joint convention, and delivered his second annual message. He again referred to the needed reforms in laws pertaining to closing the polls; to the corrupt use of money in elections; and to the canvassing of votes. He recommended the encouragement of independent military companies, and called the attention of the legislature to the propriety of passing some law for the protection of railroad employes. The public institutions, educational, charitable and penal, were well considered in this message.

The most important and exciting feature at this session of the legislature was the election of United States senator to fill the place of Honorable Matt Carpenter, whose term of office would expire March 4, 1876. On January 26th, both branches of the legislature proceeded to take a vote for senator. In the senate, Matt H. Carpenter, received thirteen votes; John Black, sixteen votes; Orsamus Cole, three votes, and L. S. Dixon, one vote; in the assembly Matt H. Carpenter, received forty-six votes; E. S. Bragg, thirty-five votes; C. C. Washburn, seven votes; Orsamus Cole, three votes, and L. S. Dixon, four votes; James T. Lewis, two votes; Horace Rublee and H. S. Orton, one vote each. On the 27th the two houses met in joint convention, and, upon the reading of the minutes by the chief clerk, Lieutenant-Governor Parker declared that the balloting had not resulted in the election of any of the candidates. The two houses met daily and balloted for United States senator until the 3d day of January, when the twelfth ballot was taken, which resulted in Angus Cameron receiving sixty-eight votes, Matt H. Carpenter fifty-nine votes, and four scattering, whereupon the lieutenant-governor announced the election of Honorable Angus Cameron, as United States senator, for six years from March 4, 1875.

The cause of Mr. Carpenter's defeat is attributable to the fact that eighteen Republican members of the assembly were pledged to vote against the election of Mr. Carpenter, and refused to meet the Republican members in caucus to nominate. This disaffection and hostility to his re-election was based upon the action of Mr. Carpenter in the United States senate, and his vote on the measures known as the Credit Mobiler and Back Pay bills. Mr. Carpenter had received the nomination in the Republican caucus. The Democrats and Liberal Republicans not having the power to elect their own candidates, and being desirous of defeating Mr. Carpenter, they united with the dissatisfied Republicans and elected Mr. Cameron. Angus Cameron received the solid Democratic vote, together with the votes of sixteen Repub-

lican bolters. The Republican bolters were marshaled by C. C. Washburn, while James R. Doolittle was present, aiding and abetting the Angus Cameron election.

The year previous Mr. Carpenter, in a speech delivered at Ripon, on the "Power of Legislatures to Control Corporations of Their Own Creation," in his forcible and characteristic manner, sustained the constitutionality, necessity and sound public policy upon which the Potter railway law was based.

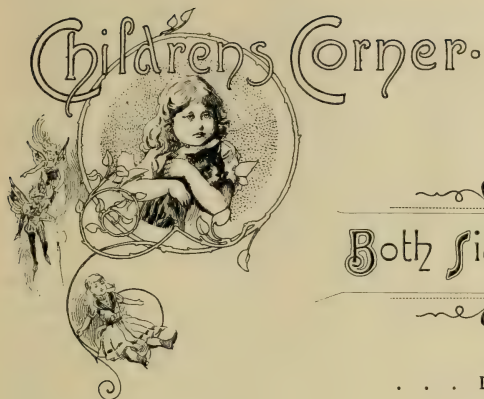
Mr. Carpenter had dared openly to oppose the aggressions of corporate monopolies, and favored legislative control of railways, and must therefore be "turned down." Angus Cameron was at this time an attorney for the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway company. He practiced law at La Crosse and was an ardent Republican. It was the president of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway company that suggested the propriety of Mr. Cameron's election as a suitable successor of Mr. Carpenter.

About the time of Mr. Carpenter's defeat by the coalition, Zack Chandler, in Michigan, and Alexander Ramsey, in Minnesota, were defeated in a similar manner, and for like reasons, while Honorable Charles A. Eldredge, "the great objector," from the fifth congressional district of Wisconsin, failed to be nominated.

The unwise and injudiciousness of these mutinies were well established when General Ramsey became secretary of war, Zack Chandler elected to the United States senate, with increased confidence, and Matt H. Carpenter re-elected at the first opportunity, and, by the votes of some of the former bolters.

On April 28, 1875, the business portion of the prosperous city of Oshkosh was almost totally obliterated by fire.

At the November election in 1875, the following state officers were elected: Harrison Ludington, governor; Charles D. Parker, lieutenant-governor; Peter Doyle, secretary of state; Ferdinand Keuhn, state treasurer; A. Scott Sloan, attorney-general, and Edward Searing, state superintendent of public instruction.



Both Sides of Life.

. . . By E. S. Matteson.

CHAPTER I.

IT was the first week in June, when Elsie and Ted, after a short deliberation, concluded to abandon their adopted home, under the great water tank, in the rear of the old Bowery in New York, and seek their fortune in the country.

Elsie and Ted were street urchins of the higher class. Elsie dressed in a suit of boy's clothes and peddled newspapers, while Ted acted in the double capacity of bootblack and newsboy. The two urchins were rarely separated from morning until night. Their lives had indeed been sad of late, but with brave hearts and a determination that boded success, they made a noble fight for existence.

Elsie was a tall, slim, eleven-year old child, with curly golden locks, dark-brown eyes, shaded by long, heavy lashes, and a face like an Italian sunset. Her brother, Ted, was a nine-year old, full-faced, jovial lad, with light, curly hair, and a face so full of sunshine that even hunger and privations could not change. As young as Ted was, he always looked upon the bright side of everything. Circumstances had molded him into quite a little man for one so young.

The determination to leave their quarters at this time was caused by the imaginary mind of Elsie, who, early that morning, saw a beautiful, but diminutive little fairy, walking on one of the strands of a cobweb that hung over her head. The fairy finally seated herself on one of Elsie's well-worn shoes, and, in a musical voice, said: "Elsie, you ought to leave this terrible place. Take your brother out into the country among the flowers, into the sunshine and pure air." Then the fairy, who was not much larger than a humming bird,

vanished. Elsie then dreamed that Ted and she traveled out into the country, and, at last, arrived, tired and hungry, at a grand old house, back from the highway, near a beautiful river, and among fragrant flowers and foliage. She was now abruptly awakened by Ted, saying: "Come, Elsie, old boy, let's be on the move. Say, Elsie, I'll bet you a dozen marbles that I'll sell as many papers as you this morning." The two waifs brushed the dust from their well-worn clothes, and went out upon the streets to work with a will. That morning Ted was thinking only of the number of pennies that he would have at night, while little Elsie was maturing the plan which changed the whole course of their lives.

That night, in their dismal abode, under the great water-tank, which was a small room only accessible by a ladder, Elsie unfolded to Ted her recently developed plan to leave the great city the next morning. She told him about the fairy's visit and what she had said to her. Ted looked very skeptical, but as a view of the country was to him an unrealized dream, he readily consented.

The next morning at daybreak, with a package of lunch and a small store of pennies, the children started for the country, without any particular locality in view. At noon they were in the suburbs, where they ate their lunch of crackers and cheese and drank at a wayside fountain. Then they boldly took to the great highway leading into the country.

In the afternoon, a German lad, who had been to the city with vegetables, took them into his wagon and gave them a "lift," but as he could talk but little English, and the children could not understand German, the conversation was principally confined to the little travelers, who heartily appreciated the beautiful country through which they were passing. Towards evening, the German boy turned his horses into a long lane, leading westward. To their right was the beautiful, picturesque Hudson river, flanked with old-time residences and cottages. The children now climbed out of the wagon and walked leisurely up the main road, enjoying the sunset and the highly perfumed atmosphere. They shortly seated themselves near a small spring brook, and lunched from the remnants of their dinner and enjoyed the solitude of their surroundings.

Up to this time they had thought of nothing but the pleasure of being in the country, far away from the noise and turmoil of the great city. Elsie suggested that they sleep in the grass, under one of the great trees, and in the morning buy their breakfast at some farm-house, from their scanty store of pennies. Ted was much impressed with the idea, and, as it was now dark, they immediately put Elsie's plan into effect. After selecting a large oak, with dense, overhanging branches as their abode for the night, they were soon fast asleep beneath its protecting foliage.

The weary waifs slept soundly until about midnight, when they were awakened by loud peals of thunder and sharp lightning flashes. The sky was

now so brilliantly illuminated, that they plainly saw a large house and numerous buildings among the trees, well back from the road, and not far from their temporary shelter. As the atmosphere indicated an unusual storm, the children concluded to seek shelter in one of the buildings near the house. Hand-in-hand, the waifs, between electric flashes, groped their way toward the buildings, but, when near to a summer-house, the loud barking of a dog so frightened them, that they turned and went towards the house, where, after stumbling through heavy grasses and rose brush, they found a well-protected arbor, in which they were soon safely ensconced, but not before they were well drenched from the rain, which was already falling in great drops.

After the terrible storm of rain and wind had subsided, the exhausted children went to sleep upon the arbor seats, and did not awake until the morning sun shone into the arbor, through the open entrance.

The children scampered out of the arbor, and beheld a sight that filled them with wonder and admiration. Not far from the arbor, in a grove, stood a stately old mansion, overlooking the beautiful Hudson river on the east, while the well-kept grounds on each side of the mansion were dispersed with beautiful and artistically arranged flower gardens and walks. Elsie had seen this same spot in her dream, after the fairy had visited her. Viewing the surroundings they walked out among the beautiful flowers and foliage, too awed and wonder-struck to utter a word. Practical Ted, after a few moments, began to think of breakfast, and, was about to call Elsie's attention to the fact, when one of the housemaids discovered them. In a tone, other than mild, she asked them who they were, where they came from, and where they were going, and before they could utter a word, ordered them from the premises.

At this moment a kind, gentle voice, near by, said: "Jeannette, take the children into the dining-room, give them a good breakfast, then bring them to my room." The waifs turned and saw, almost beside them, a handsome, kind-faced, middle-aged lady, who evidently was in the habit of being obeyed, for the erratic Jeannette had already been transformed into a smiling, affable creature, who, with a deep courtesy to her mistress, escorted the children into the house.

* * *

Hugh Huntington was the second son of a noble family of Exeter, England, and being a stirring, energetic fellow, preferred to make a mark for himself, instead of living upon the bounty of his brother, Sir John, a gouty old bachelor, went to New York, in the early 60's, and in ten years had amassed a vast fortune. Hugh Huntington's success in life was largely due to the fact that, before leaving England he had married the accomplished Evelyn Mortimer, the only sister of Sir Philip Mortimer, a wealthy member of Parliament, of Essex. Sir Phillip had bitterly opposed the union of his beautiful and only sister, with the portionless Hugh Huntington.

Sir Phillip's opposition to the marriage was not softened by the fact, that his younger and only brother, Edmund, had first ignored his advice, then, after leading a Bohemian life in India, finally disappeared and was heard of no more. Sir Phillip's opposition was entirely disregarded by the young couple, who were quietly married at the old family rectory, near Exeter, and immediately went to New York, where they passed their honeymoon.

Hugh Huntington and his wife, when fortune commenced to smile upon them, selected and purchased a rambling old mansion on the banks of the beautiful Hudson, which they refitted in keeping with their circumstances, and occupied it up to the time of Mr. Huntington's death, which occurred in 1873. His childless widow, with a few servants, continued to live in retirement at the old mansion.

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Jeannette shortly appeared in the room of her mistress with Elsie and Ted, who had each partaken of a hearty breakfast. Mrs. Huntington received them in such an affectionate, motherly manner, that she at once gained their confidence. That morning, when Mrs. Huntington had first seen the waifs, there was something about their forlorn and strange appearance that attracted her to them. What was it in little Ted's large blue eyes, curly hair and very actions, that reminded her of her younger brother Edmund, in his boyhood days? The brother who, in after years, had received honors at Oxford, finally drifting to India, where all traces were lost of him.

Mrs. Huntington, with some difficulty, persuaded Elsie to tell her the story of her life, which she did in a disconnected and childlike manner. Elsie remembered well her father, Edmund Montrose. Her mother was the daughter of an Italian composer at Milan. Elsie's recollections of the pleasant days of her infancy, in their little artistic Milan cottage, brought tears to her eyes. Elsie also remembered of their giving up their beautiful Milan home and coming to New York, that her father's artistic work might be the better appreciated. Elsie's description of her father's struggle for a livelihood, the sale of valuable paintings for small sums of money, his desertion by friends in time of need, his final sickness and death were very sad, but the saddest part of Elsie's narrative was the picture of her mother's fight with poverty and misfortune; the sale of books, paintings and trinkets, that she might support her fatherless children. The Italian mother, far from her sunny clime, among strangers, and battling with poverty, died one Christmas morning in a cheap tenement house in New York, and Elsie and Ted fell into the hands of a professional beggar, one Elihu Sleek, who lived in the same tenement.

The beggar, shortly after the burial of the mother, took the orphans and their only belongings, which consisted of a trunk containing some old clothes, and a few bundles of letters and papers, and moved into meaner quarters in a down-town basement.

The children soon learned that their self-appointed guardian was not only a beggar, but a professional thief, for hardly had he established himself in his new quarters before he commenced teaching them the art of pocket-picking. The children were willing to sell newspapers, as they had nobly assisted their mother in her last illness by selling papers, but in their minds and hearts they rebelled against practicing the arts taught them by their guardian.

On New Year's evening their guardian sent them forth with the pretence of selling papers and button-hole bouquets, while in fact they were instructed to mingle with the crowds and pick pockets. They returned before midnight with a good supply of small silver and pennies, as they had sold their entire stock of papers and bouquets, but had picked no pockets. When Elsie courageously told their guardian that they would not steal, they were both brutally beaten by their inhuman guardian and sent to bed.

The next morning, before uncle Elihu Sleek was awake, Elsie, dressed in a demented suit of Ted's cast-off clothes, and accompanied by that young worthy, stole away from their basement home, and after depositing Elsie's bundle in the East river, which consisted of her dress, hat and shawl, sought a new home, which they found under the great water tank. Here they lived until Elsie's dream had prompted them to go into the country.

At the conclusion of Elsie's narrative, Mrs. Huntington embraced the urchins so heartily, that her sedate neighbors would have been shocked had they seen her. That afternoon the family dressmaker was sent for, and, the next day, Elsie was transformed into a modest young girl, while Ted's wardrobe was speedily replenished by the neighboring village tailor.

Mrs. Huntington had become so impressed with the sad history of the orphans, that she determined to consult the children's wishes, and, if agreeable, to adopt them. So one evening during the following week, Mrs. Huntington called the children into her room and said to them: "Children, I have been asking myself what I ought to do with you. Have you thought of what you would like to do?" Elsie, in her timid, sweet, manner, put her arms around Mrs. Huntington's neck, and said: "Oh, Aunt Evelyn," for such she had been taught to call her, "we would like to live with you always." Ted had in the meantime, silently advanced to Mrs. Huntington's chair, placed one round, dimpled hand in hers, and looked longingly into her face, while a tear gathered in each of his large, blue eyes. This silent appeal went to Mrs. Huntington's heart, and she determined that thereafter her life would be devoted to the homeless orphans.

Mrs. Huntington, with her usual sound discretion, sent for her family lawyer, Enos Hamberton, who was instructed by his kind-hearted client to draw the necessary papers for her adoption of Elsie and Ted. Mr. Hamber-

ton recommended that a certain middle-aged tutor take charge of the children, and prepare them for an academy. This advice Mrs. Huntington gladly accepted.

Elsie and Ted were by no means the ignorant gamins they might be supposed to have been, but, on the contrary, could each read, write and converse upon matters of ordinary importance, as the foundation of a good education had been laid by their mother before her death.

CHAPTER II.

THE first week in September, the New York tutor, James Harcourt, an exceedingly tall, slim, clerical-looking gentleman, but a ripe scholar of nature, arrived at the mansion and took charge of Mrs. Huntington's wards. Mr. Harcourt's hobby was botany and geology, and while he usually wore a dismal, woe-begone look, yet, when interested in his favorite topics, a great change took place in his physical make-up. While discussing or explaining these subjects his sad face would be illuminated by a strange light, and a serene smile would play over his countenance, making him a peculiar and interesting study. The children were by no means confined to house and book-study alone. After the morning hours of study were over, considerable time was passed in the fields, or on the banks of the Hudson, either in the study of plants or the examination of rock formation. Thus from the start the children grew healthier, both in body and mind, under the tutorship of Mr. Harcourt.

Five years and more have passed and gone since Elsie and her brother Ted have been adopted by Mrs. Huntington. All pleasant happy years, both for the children and their kind-hearted guardian. The last three years, except during vacations, have been passed by the children in school at Boston. They had worked hard, and won many laurels, so that their guardian might have every occasion to feel proud of them.

Dear, kind-hearted Mrs. Huntington, her whole life was now centered in her accomplished young wards. Her only happiness was to make them happy. After the summer vacation was over, and the children had returned to Boston, Mrs. Huntington, with all the care of a loving mother, had refitted Elsie and Ted's rooms at the family home, for their reception during the coming holidays. The only luxury the good lady afforded herself was an excellent life-sized painting of her brother Edmund, taken from life, by a celebrated English artist, just before Edmund had left for India. This painting, which was so true to life, she had placed in the drawing room, so as to show to the best advantage when the room was well lighted.

It was in the early twilight on Christmas Eve, when the limited express on the Hudson River railway, rolled into the little depot, at H—, near Mrs.

Huntington's home, and, within twenty minutes, Elsie and Ted were being fondly embraced by their affectionate guardian, who immediately sent them to their rooms to dress for dinner.

Mrs. Huntington sat in her cheerful, well-lighted drawing-room, waiting for her wards, and musing upon the strange incident that had given the orphans a good home, and blessed her with two affectionate children, when the door opened, and that beautiful vision, Elsie, just budding into womanhood, entered the room, followed by the gentlemanly, handsome Ted. Elsie gave a hop, skip and a jump, and the next instant Aunt Evelyn was nearly smothered by that impetuous girl; then Elsie and Ted joined hands around her, and sang a rollicking school song, much to that good and sedate woman's astonishment. The song over, they started, one on each side, to escort their guardian into the dining-room, when Elsie's eyes fell upon the life-like painting of Edmund Mortimer. Elsie gave an astonished little feminine shriek, and almost fell into the arms of Mrs. Huntington, as she exclaimed, "Oh, Auntie, that is papa," while Ted stood dumbfounded, staring at the painting.

The resemblance between Ted and the painting was so striking that when Mrs. Huntington recalled the picture of her brother Edmund at Ted's age, she at once knew that her favorite brother was reproduced in Ted. She was satisfied that Elsie and Ted were her brother's children, but, that there was an unsolved mystery that would soon be solved.

It was a happy little family group that dined together that Christmas evening. It was the happiest moment that Aunt Evelyn had known since the death of her husband, and it was indeed the happiest hour the children had known since the death of their dear Italian mother.

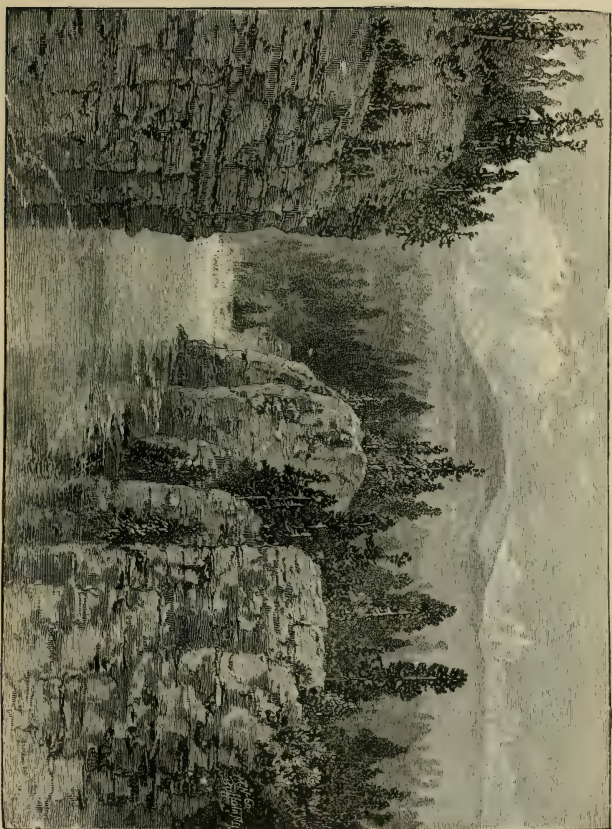
Mrs. Huntington's letter to her attorney, Enos Hamberton, had not yet reached him, before he left New York to consult with her upon important business matters of recent development. One stormy, blustering night, shortly after Christmas, the aged attorney arrived, and imparted to his client the startling information that Lady Mortimer, her brother Sir Phillip Mortimer's wife, had died early in November, and that Sir Phillip had himself died shortly after, leaving all of the Mortimer estate to his sister, except a large entailed estate, which descended to his brother, Edmund Montrose Mortimer. The rent rolls of the estate amounted to £20,000 annually.

Mr. Hamberton staid at the family residence for several days, and before he left for New York he was thoroughly conversant with the early life of Mrs. Huntington's wards. Early in January, after Elsie and Ted had returned to school, the family attorney made another visit to his client and produced records of a startling nature, found in the old trunk, which had been recovered from the possession of Elihu Sleek, the beggar and fence in Low Street, New York.

Among the letters found in the old trunk was one written by Sir Philip Mortimer, and addressed to "Edmund Montrose Mortimer, Esq.," at Calcutta. This letter was evidently an answer to a request for money. Sir Philip, in his sharp, crusty manner, denied the request to forward £500, and closed his letter by saying that Edmund's roving habits were a disgrace to the family name. Edmund evidently dropped the family name when he left India, for there were several letters received by him while at Milan, address, "Edmund Montrose, Esq." Among the important papers was a marriage certificate certifying to the marriage of Edmund Montrose, of Essex, England, to Veola Marcella, of Milan, dated September 27, 1859. There were two certificates of birth registrations from church records; one certifying to the birth of Veola Elsie Montrose, daughter of Edmund Montrose, Esq., and Veola Marcella-Montrose, born at Milan, on June 16, 1864; the other certified to the birth of Edmund Philip Montrose, Jr., son of Edmund Montrose, Esq., and Veola Marcella-Montrose, born at Milan, April 13, 1866. These records established Elsie and Ted's rights, as the heirs of the estate of their father, Edmund Montrose Mortimer, and entitled Ted to be called Sir Edmund Philip Mortimer.

Mrs. Huntington's wards remained at school until the following summer vacation, then, in company with their guardian, Aunt Evelyn, sailed for England, where most of their time has since been passed upon their English and Irish estates.





A SCENE NEAR NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

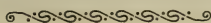


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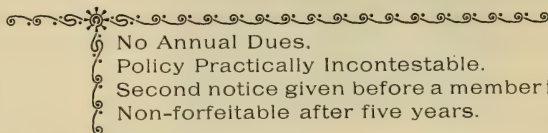
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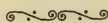


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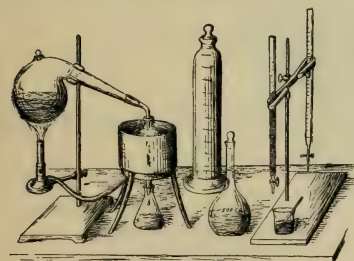


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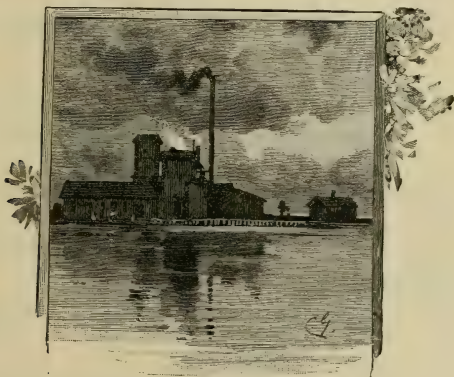
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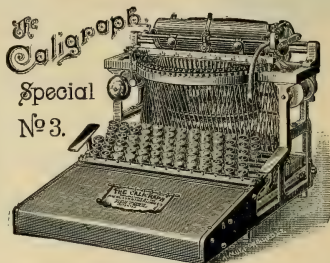
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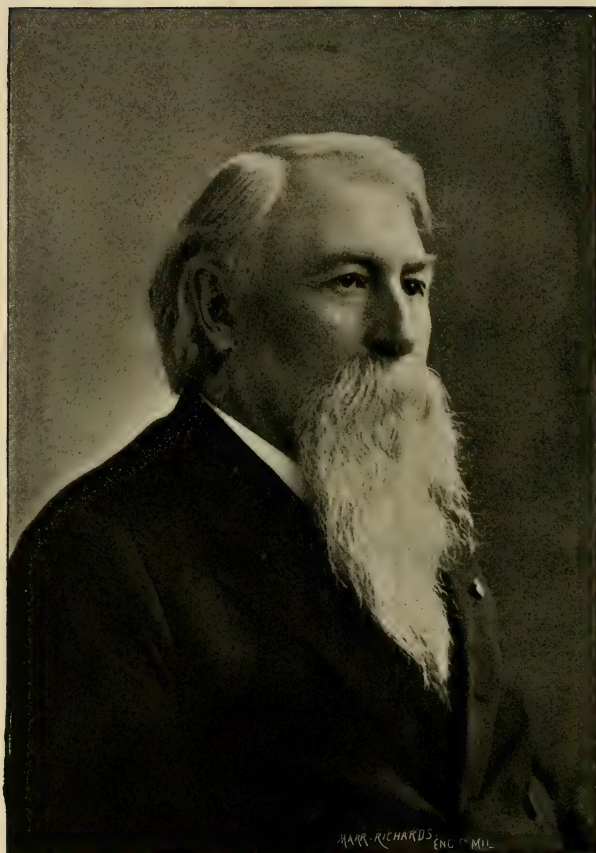
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CHAPTER LIX.

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY.

Organization of Treasonable Orders.—Harrison H. Dodd, a Well-Known Citizen of Wisconsin, the First Grand Commander of the Order of American Knights, and Grand Commander of the Sons of Liberty for Indiana.—Condensed History of the Orders.—Arrest, Conviction and Sentence of the Leaders, for Treason.

THE Knights of the Golden Circle, Order of American Knights, and Sons of Liberty, are entitled to recognition in our historical pages, on account of the numerous sympathizers with those bodies, within our borders, during those stormy days that marked the period from 1861 to 1865, and from the fact that the first grand commander of the Order of American Knights has been an honored citizen of Wisconsin for more than twenty years past, during which time he has been the mayor of the city of Fond du Lac, occupied numerous positions of public trust, is still an honored and respected citizen of that city, and is well-known throughout the state as the genial Commodore Harrison H. Dodd.

The Knights of the Golden Circle were a fraternity organized in the South, prior to the war, and had members in Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois at the outbreak of the civil strife. Another society, known as the Circle of the Mighty Host, existed for a short period, some of its lodges being organized early in 1861. Then there were the Knights of the White Camellia, and in 1863, the Circle of Honor. Next came that extensive order called the American Knights, which had an armed organization throughout the state of Indiana, as well as in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois and Missouri, with sympathizers, aiders and abettors in most of the Northern states. This order having been exposed, its ritual was changed, and the order then merged into that extremely insurrectory and treasonable order, known as the Sons of Liberty, which swallowed up all previous orders organized for treasonable purposes.

From various reliable sources, the author has ascertained the origin of these societies. In 1855, one Charles C. Bickley, a native of Indiana, residing in the South, an ardent advocate of the pro-slavery cause, for the purpose of more effectually establishing and organizing the Southern Rights Clubs, which existed in various parts of the slave states, drafted a constitution, by-laws and ritual, and established the order, which he christened Knights of the Golden Circle, and became its first commander.

The numerous divisions of the order were called "castles," and were divided into subordinate and state castles. The state castles were represented by delegates in the Grand American Legion, from which body emanated the celebrated articles of war, governing the subordinate castles, and requiring military drill. At first the order professed to foster elaborate schemes of conquest. According to its constitution the annexation of Cuba, Mexico and Nicaragua, were among the numerous objects of its creation. While at first the organization was insignificant in numbers, yet some of the wealthiest and most influential men of the South belonged to it.

The real object of this fraternity was the establishment of a slave empire, surrounding the Gulf of Mexico—the establishment of an empire which should rival the Roman Empire of the Old World, was the dream of those ambitious adventurers, which almost became realistic. "The North is vastly outgrowing us in territory and population. If we cannot get territory in the Union, we can out of it." This was the general sentiment in the South, and the people, with few exceptions, were in favor of the Southern Confederacy.

In 1858, many features of the organization were changed. The "castle" was subdivided into the "outer" and "inner temples," while its members were only admitted, after sufficient probation to determine their political principles. Like many of its predecessors, the order now began to acquire great antiquity. Regalia were now provided, together with a close helmet, surmounted by a crescent, with fifteen stars, representing the growing "Confederacy." The skull and cross-bones were also worn as a reminder of the fate of traitors and spies within the order. There was also a temple consecrated to the "Sunny South," with the noon-day sun beneath its dome. Numerous castles now sprang up in the border states, while Northern sympathizers knocked loudly at their doors for admission.

The fraternity was composed of three degrees: Military, financial and governmental. In the first degree, the members were called the Knights of the Iron Hand, and were informed that their first field of operation would be in Mexico, but that it was their duty to offer their services to any Southern state to repel a Northern army. The financial, or second degree, members were known as the Knights of the True Faith, and, were to have their headquarters at Menterly, where stores and munitions of war could be stored. The third degree was composed only of those born in a slave state, while candidates admitted to a "castle" in a free state were required to be slaveholders. The members of this degree were called Knights of the Columbian Star.

Among the obligations in the third degree, were the following: "I will use my best exertions to find out every abolitionist in my county, and forward the name of such to the commander-in-chief. If I know of any who is a stranger or traveler, I will inform the Knights of the Columbian Star in my

county, and call them to meet in council, that proper steps may be taken for his exposure. . . . I will do all that I can to make a slave state of Mexico, and as such will urge its annexation to the United States. . . . Until the whole civil, political, financial and religious reconstruction of Mexico shall be completed, I will recognize a limited monarchy as the best form of government for the purpose, since it can be made strong and effective. To prevent the entrance of any abolitionist into Mexico, I will sustain a passport system."

The knights took an active part in the presidential campaign of 1860, using their efforts to divide the Democratic party, believing that the vote for Breckinridge would show the strength of Northern sympathizers, and deluded themselves with the belief that those who voted for Breckinridge could be relied upon for soldiers of the Southern army.

When Lincoln was elected, the order sent secret agents into the free states to organize castles, believing that the deliverance of the South had come, but, after the fall of Fort Sumpter, they found their mission a dangerous one, consequently the order was principally confined in its workings to the slave and bordering states. Members in the North and border states were to act as spies, and, when possible, to raise military companies to be turned over to the Confederate service. A knight wrote from Madison, Indiana, to Jefferson Castle, in Kentucky, promising one thousand men "who would fight Northern aggressions to the death." A member of the order at Evansville promised that Vanderburg county would be good for a regiment, while an ambitious knight wrote from Washington, Indiana, that there were thirty thousand men in that vicinity who would unite their fortunes with the South. Another ambitious Indianian, one Drongooole, of Martin county, wrote to Jefferson Davis, declaring his ability to muster and furnish six regiments to the Confederacy. Jefferson Davis, in his reply, commended his "noble and patriotic endeavors." This letter was intercepted and Drongooole, after being roughly handled, was sent South.

Another great stronghold for the enemies of the Union was Washington and Orange counties, in the southern part of Indiana. A location well adapted by nature as the rendezvous for the wild and unsettled elements of those days—rough, half-mountainous regions, where the civilization is now a quarter of a century behindhand; impregnable localities, neighborhoods where the roads were rough and almost impassable, and where to-day the local banditti seek refuge in caves and dark recesses of the forests—a locality now universally shunned by the wary traveler.

Among these regions, the French Lick Springs gained much celebrity as being the home of Dr. W. A. Bowles, a man of wealth, who served as colonel of the Second Indiana Regiment in the Mexican war. Dr. Bowles had married a Southern woman, and was an active member of the Knights of the Golden Circle, while his house was a rendezvous for Southern sympathizers.

On May 3d, he writes to his wife, who is then in the South: "If things do not change very soon we shall have fighting here in our midst, for many persons whom I supposed to be true to the South have been silenced, and are afraid to open their mouths in favor of Southern rights. Ayer, Charles Dill, and many others have come out for the North, and call all traitors who do not espouse the cause of the North. God knows what I am to do. If I leave and join the Southern army, my property will all be confiscated; and, besides that, my health is such that I fear I could render no service; but I have already sent some who will do service, and I expect to send more." Later, he becomes discouraged about Kentucky, and writes: "Louisville is in a perfect tumult. The Abolition party is very strong, and I think the worst consequences are in store for Kentucky under her policy of armed neutrality, which I think is a humbug. It is reported that a battle has been fought at Fortress Monroe, and that six hundred abolitionists were killed, and fifty on the Southern side; but I fear it is too good to be true. When the fighting commences, I think I shall go."

Doctor Bowles' fear of the confiscation of his property kept him from going South. He stayed in Indiana, and, according to the testimony taken upon the treason trial, which convicted him and sentenced him to death, became one of the leading conspirators in that great center of secession.

During the early part of the war, the defeat of the Northern armies acted as an impetus to the knights, and at these centers Southern sympathy became more outspoken. The Knights of the Golden Circle now spread their organizations throughout the South, and numerous meetings were held in out-of-the-way places—in woods, in deserted houses; men attended with arms, and sentinels were posted to keep away intruders.

According to the testimony taken in May, 1862, by a grand jury of the United States District Court, the Knights of the Golden Circle numbered some fifteen thousand. This estimate was made by members of the order who had recanted. The grand jury also ascertained that lodges were being instituted in different parts of the state; that among the signs and signals of the order, was one invented for the benefit of such members as should be drafted into the army. It became the duty of the soldiers on the other side, upon seeing the signals of the order, to shoot over the heads of those giving the signals. Some of the members of the grand jury, having learned these signals, went to Camp Morton, at Indianapolis, where, among the Confederate prisoners, they soon found that their signals were received and answered.

The Indiana state election, in the fall of 1862, resulted in the election of the whole Democratic ticket, with both houses of the legislature Democratic. An attempt was made in the legislature to investigate the different secret orders, which were thought to be of a treasonable character. After some discussion,

and many profuse excuses, by the majority, the proposition to investigate was finally laid upon the table by a party vote. While the legislature was still in session, Governor Morton received information "that the knights were armed, and talked of war at home; that they declared that no deserters should be arrested; that abolitionists were to be exterminated, and that the Northwestern states would form a government by themselves."

Governor Morton, on March 26, 1863, sent a telegram from Washington to General Henry B. Carrington, who had recently been appointed to the command of the district of Indiana, informing him that large shipments of arms had been sent from New York to Indiana for insurrectory purposes. General Carrington immediately issued an order restricting the sale of arms, and prohibiting the importation of weapons for such organizations.

On April 18, 1863, one of the leading knights in Brown county, Lewis Prosser, killed a soldier, and in return was himself mortally wounded. Governor Morton, now being satisfied that treason in its worst form was lurking in the state, appointed without law, authority or precedent, a commission to inquire into the facts. Witnesses testified "that their neighbors had been driven from home; houses had been burned; the lives of Union men threatened; soldiers shot, and that bands of men had been seen drilling and passing through the country fully armed." The agency of the knights in these proceedings was clearly shown.

Throughout the state, especially in localities where dissatisfaction existed, every offense, misdemeanor and crime committed was attributed to the Knights of the Golden Circle, although many of these crimes and offenses were committed by parties outside of the order.

It was at this time, when numerous members of the fraternity came to Indianapolis, with the avowed intention of inciting insurrection. It was here that the absurd "battle" of "Pogue's Run" was fought—the battle where numerous members of the order threw their pistols and ammunition into the river, in order to avoid arrest by a handful of soldiers.

The encouragement and inducements held out by these orders prompted the invasion of the state in July, 1863, by a large force under Gen. John L. Morgan, who crossed the river and advanced to Corydon, next to Salem, thence to Vernon. Morgan did not meet with the expected assistance, and, finding that he was being surrounded on every side by troops, crossed the state line into Ohio, and was shortly after captured, and sent to the Ohio penitentiary, from which he subsequently escaped.

Senator Morton, in referring to this organization in the United States Senate, on May 4, 1876, said:

"The state was honeycombed with secret societies, formerly known as the Knights of the Golden Circle, but later as Sons of Liberty. They claimed, in

1864, to have forty thousand members in the state; were lawless, defiant, plotting treason against the United States, and the overthrow of the state government. In some counties their operations were so formidable as to require the militia to be kept on a war footing; and throughout 1863, and until the final explosion of the organizations in August, 1864, they kept the whole state in an uproar and alarm. So bold were their demonstrations in the summer of 1863 that General John Morgan, of Kentucky, was induced to invade the state with his forces, in the belief that there would be a general uprising in his support. In 1864, so numerous were these treasonable organizations, and so confident were they of their strength, that they matured a plan for a general uprising in the city of Indianapolis, on the 16th of August, under cover of a mass meeting of the Democratic party, to be attended by members from all parts of the state. The plan, as shown by subsequent confessions of some of the leading conspirators, was, on that day, to release about seven thousand rebel prisoners confined at Camp Morton, seize the arsenal and arm these prisoners, overturn the state government, and take possession of the state. It was discovered some three weeks before the time fixed, and was abandoned by the leading conspirators, and orders were issued countermanding the march of their forces upon Indianapolis. Subsequently, the discovery and seizure of a large amount of arms and ammunition collected at Indianapolis for treasonable purposes, the seizure of the records and rituals of the order of the Sons of Liberty, giving the names of the principal conspirators, and the arrest of eight of the ringleaders had the effect to break up and destroy the power of the organization; and I regret to have to state that in the list of the principal members of the organization were found three of the state officers, in whose hands the legislature of 1863 had attempted to place the whole military power of the state."

The Knights of the Golden Circle, as an order, for obvious reasons ceased to exist in the fall of 1863, but were generally merged into that more extensive order, the American Knights.

The order of American Knights was established during the summer and fall of 1863. Its first grand commander for Indiana was Harrison H. Dodd, a book publisher, at Indianapolis. His natural ability, gentlemanly appearance and personal magnetism, well qualified him as a powerful leader of a better cause. His political life began as a Know-Nothing. At an early age, he was one of the chief functionaries of the Sons of Malta, and, it is said, that the initiations into that fraternity, as conducted by him, were "most impressive." Mr. Dodd's talents are well-displayed in the following extracts from his instructions to the novice:

"In the economy of the intellectual world, there are some degrees of capacity, which arise mainly from physical development; which result from, and are adapted to the peculiar influences of material nature which surround the

man. The superior, intellectual and physical development must progress, nor must not be impeded, but aided by the inferior and imperfect, even should the subjection of the inferior to a condition of servitude to the superior be necessary to secure such aid; that servitude, however, being so qualified and regulated by enlightened sentiments and wise and humane laws, that while it aids the progress of the superior, it shall at the same time advance the inferior, by subduing and refining influences, toward complete civilization. Hence the servitude of the African to the white man, imposed and regulated by wise and humane statutes, and by suggestions of refined public sentiment, should promote the advancement of both races, and is improved by the sanction of divine economy."

Mr. Dodd's logical demonstration of constitutional law, leads us to believe that he missed his natural vocation in life. Continuing his lecture, he says:

"Whenever the chosen rulers, officers, or delegates to whom the people have entrusted the power of the government shall fail or refuse to administer the government in strict accordance with the letter of the established and accepted compact, constitution, or ordinance, it is the inherent right and the solemn and imperative duty of the people to resist the usurpations of their functionaries, and, if need be, to expel them by force of arms. Such resistance is not revolution, but is solely the assertion of a right, the exercise of all the noble attributes which impart honor and dignity to manhood. Submission to power or authority usurped is unmitigated debasement in an entire people; and the debasement is increased in degree according to the degree of progress which a people shall have attained before the usurpation began, and shall enlarge its measure of shame while the submission continues."

The following is a part of the candidate's obligation :

"I do further solemnly promise that I will ever cherish in my heart of hearts the sublime creed of the Excellent Knights, as explained to me in this presence; that I will inculcate the same amongst the brotherhood, will, so far as in me lies, illustrate the same in my intercourse with men, and will defend the principles thereof, if need be, with my life, whensoever assailed—in my own country first of all. I do further promise that my sword shall ever be drawn in defense of the right, in behalf of the weak against the strong, wherever truth and justice shall be found on the side of the weak, and especially in behalf of the oppressed against the oppressor. I do further solemnly declare that I will never take up arms in behalf of any monarch, prince, potentate, power or government which does not acknowledge the sole authority of power to be the will of the governed expressly and distinctly declared, saving, however, a single instance, where a government shall exert its highest power and authority in raising a people from a condition of barbarism or anarchy to a degree of

civilization and enlightenment until they shall be equal to the noble work of constructing a government of their own free choice, founded upon the principles of eternal truth. . . .

"I do further solemnly declare and swear, in the presence of these Excellent Knights, my witnesses, that I now plight each and every of these my solemn vows, without reservation or evasion of mind whatsoever, and with full knowledge and understanding, and with my full assent, *that the penalty declared against any violation of any or either of these, my vows and promises, will be a surrender of my body to the tribunal of the Order of American Knights, to be burned and its ashes strewn upon the winds, if it shall be so adjudged, and my sword and the emblems and jewels with which I have been adorned in honor shall be forged into one mass and thrown into the sea, and my name shall become a by-word amongst the brotherhood, to be pronounced only with anathema and scorn.* Divine Presence, approve my troth, and ye, Excellent Knights, hear and witness my plighted vows! Amen."

The lecture given to the candidate in the third degree is as follows:

"In the Divine economy, no individual of the human race must be permitted to encumber the earth, to mar its aspects of transcendent beauty, nor to impede the progress of the intellectual or physical man, neither in himself nor in the race to which he belongs. Hence, a people, upon whatever plane they may be found in the ascending scale of humanity, whom neither the divinity within them, nor the inspirations of divine and beautiful nature around them, can impel to virtuous action and progress onward and upward, should be subjected to a just and humane servitude, a strict tutelage to the superior and energetic development, until they shall be able to appreciate the benefits and advantages of civilization. . . .

"The Caucasian or white race exhibits the most perfect and complete development of humanity. Hence, the noblest efforts of that race should be directed to the holy and sublime work of subduing, civilizing, refining and elevating the wild and savage races wheresoever found; nor should those efforts cease until the broad earth shall bloom again like Eden, and the people thereof shall be fitted to hail the dawning light of that millennium which the inspiration of that divinity within us has pictured to our hopes, and whose transcendent glories are even now glowing upon the vision of calm, serene, undoubting faith."

The obligation in this degree contains the following:

"I do further solemnly promise and swear that I will ever cherish the sublime lessons which the sacred emblems of our order suggest, and will, so far as in me lies, impart those lessons to the people of the earth, where the mystic acorn falls from its parent bough, in whose visible firmament Orion, Arcturus, and the Pleiades ride in their cold, resplendent glories, and where the Southern

Cross dazzles the eye of degraded humanity with its coruscations of golden light, fit emblem of truth, while it invites our sacred order to consecrate her temples in the four corners of the earth, where moral darkness reigns and despotism holds sway. . . . Divine Essence, so help me that I fail not in my troth, lest I shall be summoned before the tribunal of the order, adjudged, and condemned to certain and shameful death, while my name shall be recorded on the roll of infamy! Amen."

The existence of the American Knights was both brief and barren, as the knights soon ascertained that the priceless secrets of the order had been discovered by the government; so the Sons of Liberty were organized from among the members of the American Knights; thus the knights ceased to exist under that name. The new order was organized on February 22, 1864, with C. L. Vallandigham as supreme grand commander of the United States.

The order now known as the Sons of Liberty, was in reality a continuation of the order of American Knights, but with the rules, by-laws and ritual changed, while its objects were more clearly defined. It soon had an extensive membership in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri and Indiana. Vallandigham, during the summer of 1864, claimed that its membership in Indiana alone was not less than forty thousand. According to the testimony of the grand secretary of the order, the reports from forty-five counties, in September, 1864, showed a membership of only eighteen thousand. Harrison H. Dodd was grand commander for the state of Indiana, and Dr. W. A. Bowles, L. P. Milligan, Andrew Humphreys and one Yeakle, were "major-generals," commanding the four districts into which the state had been sub-divided for military purposes. John C. Walker was elected in Yeakle's place in June, and Horace Heffren was elected deputy grand commander. Judge Bullitt, of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, was elected grand commander for the state of Kentucky, and Felix Stidger, one of Morton's detectives, was elected grand secretary for Kentucky.

The organization was unwieldy and inefficient, and was composed of too many men like Dr. Bowles, who talked loudly, but failed to furnish the promised regiments when the time came to act, indiscreet men, like Wm. P. Green, and less men of courage and determination, like Harrison H. Dodd, Horace Heffren, Judge Bullitt and C. L. Vallandigham. During the summer of 1864, Deputy Grand Commander Heffren sent Wm. P. Green as his proxy, to attend a meeting of the Grand Council at Chicago, where he fell into the hands of detectives who secured his credentials, and the unfortunate delegate was not admitted to the conclave.

In May this year, Dr. Bowles had indiscreetly talked confidentially with Stidger, in relation to the secrets of the order, without first testing him as to whether or not he was a member. The leaders of the order now ascertained that the sanctuary of the order had been invaded by spies, and its cherished

secrets exposed. They ascertained that one Coffin, a detective and agent for Governor Morton, had been in the confidence of some of the officers of the order, and consequently determined that his "removal" would be for the best interests of the order.

According to testimony taken before the commission, subsequently appointed by the president, to try the conspirators for treason, the following facts came to light: At a meeting of the State Council of the Sons of Liberty, held at Indianapolis on June 14, 1864, it was decided that Governor Morton's agent, Coffin, should be killed. On the following day Vallandigham was to address a meeting at Dayton, Ohio. It had been ascertained that Coffin would be present, and it was thought that the time was opportune for his "removal." Commander Dodd asked what members would volunteer to go with him, and put Coffin out of the way. Several of the leaders now found that on the morrow other matters of vast importance would keep them from accompanying their commander on this trifling mission, consequently Commander Dodd and Dr. Bowles went to Dayton, Ohio, but were unable to find Coffin as he had been warned of his danger by Detective Stidger, who had been present at the council held at Indianapolis on June 14th.

From the testimony adduced upon the celebrated treason trials, the well-founded conclusion is, that one of the principal objects of organization of the Sons of Liberty was the destruction of government property, and that the conspirators co-operated with the Confederate authorities for the purpose of seizing the Federal arsenals, releasing Confederate prisoners, and overthrowing the national government with the ultimate view of the organization of a North-western Confederation.

Thomas Bocking, of Cincinnati, invented an infernal substance called "green fire." This condensed element of Hades he showed to members of the order, and received two hundred dollars from them for his immediate necessities. "Nothing can put it out," said Dr. Bowles, referring to the "green fire." The trio, Messrs. Dodd, Bullitt and Bowles, with a few select associates, spent one Sunday in Indianapolis experimenting with the "green fire" invention. A hand grenade, operated with a clock, was another of the interesting objects of destruction examined by this select committee and their associates.

After the fall of Vicksburg, in 1864, the abandonment of Tennessee by the Confederate armies, the occupancy of large portions of the South by Federal troops, and the stubborn and determined Grant rapidly closing around the Confederate capital, the last remaining hope was centered in a peace commission, and in the faint hope that their Northern friends and sympathizers would liberate the Confederate prisoners and create an uprising of such magnitude that the Federal forces would turn back and protect their own territory.

With these faint gleams of hope, Jefferson Davis appointed three commissioners, Jacob Thompson, C. C. Clay and J. P. Holcombe, to visit Canada, and negotiate with influential and reliable persons "to aid in the attainment of peace."

Commissioner Thompson had been instructed that, in the event of his failure to effect peace, he should adopt measures which would tend to cripple the Federal government, by the destruction of its stores and supplies. The Confederate government had left to his sound discretion the manner of effecting "any fair and appropriate enterprise of war, consistent with British neutrality." British sympathy had prompted the appointment of this select committee, as well as the appointment of a special envoy. Jefferson Davis also sent Captain Hines as a special envoy to Canada, for the purpose of collecting Confederate soldiers, with the view of co-operating with the Sons of Liberty in the release of Confederate prisoners, who were confined at different places in the North.

Mr. Thompson arrived in Montreal on May 30, 1864, and endeavored to induce the influential newspapers to advocate a cessation of hostilities by the Federal armies; but the leading members of the press in Canada were adverse to Mr. Thompson's plan, and nothing could be done there. The persevering, but unsuccessful, chairman of Jefferson Davis' select committee, then opened negotiations with Horace Greeley, but with no better success. The astute and persistent envoy of the almost hopeless cause then conferred with the visionary Vallandigham, who represented that the Sons of Liberty were three hundred thousand strong, and that the order desired that the war should cease, and the Federal armies be withdrawn from Southern soil. Some of the leaders of the order, as well as their Northern sympathizers, desired to establish a Northwestern Confederacy, while the influential minority were opposed to the plan. While Mr. Thompson was at heart opposed to the plan of a separate Confederacy, he encouraged the idea, for the purpose of furthering his plans, and offered to furnish money and arms, to be used in more effectually organizing the different counties, with the view of releasing the Confederate prisoners confined in the North.

The time first fixed by the Sons of Liberty for a general uprising was July 20, 1864, but on account of ineffectual organization and discipline, the event was postponed to August 16th. In the intermediate, Commander Dodd had met Commissioner Thompson at the Clifton House at Niagara, and arranged for the coming outbreak. Mr. Dodd was to send couriers to the major-generals of the various districts, who were to notify the county organizations, and they the townships. Southern Indiana was to be placed under the command of Dr. Bowles, with New Albany as their place of meeting. The Illinois knights were to be placed under the management of various leaders, with their rendezvous at Rock Island, Springfield and Chicago. The Indiana forces were to be concentrated at Indianapolis. The outbreak was to be a general one, and

to be simultaneous at the various designated points. Vallandigham was to have charge of Ohio, while Commander Dodd was to capture the Indiana state capital. The plan was to call a political meeting at Indianapolis. The members of the order were to come in wagons, with their fire arms secreted in the straw, and when a certain signal was given, they were to seize their arms and march on Camp Morton. The Confederate prisoners were to be liberated and armed, and the railroad seized and used to transport prisoners and munitions of war. The arsenals at Rock Island, Springfield and Chicago were to be seized. The prisoners at Camp Douglas liberated and armed, then they were to march on to St. Louis. At a meeting previously held at Chicago, the statement was made that a United States paymaster, on the Red river, had been captured, and that the money could be used to further the ends of the knights.

Commander Dodd now returned to Indianapolis, and communicated the plot in detail to his trusted lieutenants. He suggested that the Democratic state committee, through its chairman, J. J. Bingham, should call a mass meeting, to be held at Indianapolis on August 16th. Michael C. Kerr, a leading Democrat from New Albany, called upon Mr. Bingham, and related to him the whole plot for the uprising. The conspiracy, with all its details, was now brought to the notice of Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, the Democratic candidate for governor, who emphatically declared that the matter must be stopped. Dr. Athen, the secretary of state for Indiana, was also involved in the conspiracy. Governor Morton was to be captured, and Athen made provisional governor. Chairman Bingham and Michael C. Kerr called upon Secretary Athen for an explanation, but the wily gentleman declared that he knew nothing of the matter.

A conference of prominent Democrats and knights was now held, in the office of Hon. Joseph E. McDonald. These Democrats were strongly opposed to the revolutionaty scheme, while Michael C. Kerr said that he came up from New Albany to stop the conspiracy, "and that if it could not be stopped in any other way the authorities should be informed of it." Commander Dodd, who was present, declared "the government could not be restored without revolution." It was agreed, however, at the conference, that the conspiracy would go no further, but that the authorities were not to be informed of it.

It was on July 22d, that the Confederate commissioners, Messrs. Thompson, Clay and Holcombe, with Captain Hines, and one Castleman, as special envoys, met the representatives of the Sons of Liberty, at Montreal, Canada, and fixed the time for the uprising for August 16th. The order feared that the military authorities would suppress the movement, unless the Confederacy would send troops into Kentucky and Missouri, as a feint, to occupy the attention of the soldiers. On August 7th, another conference was held, and the date of the uprising postponed until August 29th, at which time the Democratic national convention would assemble at Chicago. The Con-

federate agents stoutly affirmed that this postponement would be the last. They averred that they had abundant means, and would bring men to Chicago, to release the Confederate prisoners confined in that city as well as at Indianapolis and Rock Island. The commissioners stoutly insisted that they would carry out these plans, whether the Sons of Liberty acted with them or not.

The leaders of the Sons of Liberty were to bring their members, or their select members, to Chicago to attend the convention. Large sums of money had been furnished by the Confederates, but many of the distributing agents pocketed the funds, consequently few men came. The great central force of the Sons of Liberty in Indiana, having been previously suppressed in Joseph E. McDonald's office, did not appear. Numerous ambitious Confederates came to Chicago, with the firm belief that with slight co-operation on the part of the Sons of Liberty and their sympathizers, they could successfully attack Camp Douglas, release the five thousand prisoners there confined, and arm them, as arms had already been provided for. The seven thousand prisoners at Springfield were also to be liberated and armed. These small armies were to be reinforced by the Sons of Liberty, which would make a formidable army in the heart of the North. This *coup de main*, it was thought, would strengthen Northern sympathy, and reverse the fortunes of the Confederacy, or at least bring about peace, in accordance with Southern ideas.

The prisoners at Camp Douglas and elsewhere, had received notice of the intention to release them. Captain Hines and Castleman, the special agents of the Confederacy, met the officers of the Sons of Liberty at Chicago, on August 28th, the night before the Democratic national convention. The city was filled to overflowing, and the time well selected for such a movement, but the members of the order, who had been charged to bring the members together, failed. On the following day, Hines and Castleman proposed that the Sons of Liberty furnish five hundred men to liberate the prisoners at Rock Island and Springfield, but the leaders of the order were timid and returned home. Thus the most important feature of the whole great conspiracy failed, through the cowardice of its leaders.

Governor Morton and General Carrington, who had kept themselves thoroughly posted, as to the whole inside workings of the order, now thought the time ripe to make an example of the leading conspirators. On August 1, 1864, the ritual of the Sons of Liberty was captured in a law office in Terre Haute, by a provost-marshal. Governor Morton had been advised that arms and ammunition had been forwarded to Grand Commander Dodd, by the Merchants' Dispatch, marked "Sunday School Books." Upon searching Dodd's office, there were found four hundred navy revolvers and one hundred and thirty-five thousand rounds of ammunition. The office of Grand Commander Dodd was overhauled on August 22d, "and the secrets of the order

held up to the scorn and ridicule of the public." Among the rubbish were found copies of the lectures, obligations and oaths, in the various degrees. The lecture to the candidate in the third degree of that great farce, is in part as follows:

"Son of Liberty, thy journey is well-nigh accomplished. Somewhat yet remains, and the sons of despotism will beset thy path and aim to turn thee back, peradventure will seek thy life. Then put thy trust in God and Truth. Still, the journey leadeth due East, until thou art held by the Guardian in the South, who will further instruct thee. Beware lest thou bear thee towards the North too far and lose thy way; as well, also, take heed lest the South entice thee too far thither. We have a trusted, faithful guide on either side thy way, who, true and constant to his behest, perchance may hail thee. Receive what he shall offer, and give earnest heed to all his words. Son of Liberty, be thy watchword, *Onward*."

Harrison H. Dodd, the grand commander of the Sons of Liberty, in Indiana, had been arrested. General Carrington, who had been very active in collecting testimony against him, as well as the rest of the leading conspirators, was in favor of trying them in the Federal Courts, but Secretary Stanton and Governor Morton, desiring to terrorize all orders of a revolutionary and treasonable character, thought it more expedient to try them by court-martial.

General Alvin P. Hovey, being in accord with Secretary Stanton and Governor Morton, took charge of the department of Indiana, in place of General Carrington, whose good judgment in the matter was subsequently sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. General Hovey now instituted a military tribunal for the trial of Harrison H. Dodd, the grand commander of the Sons of Liberty for Indiana.

Shortly after the arrest of Commander Dodd, he petitioned General Hovey to allow him the privilege of occupying a room in the post-office building, instead of being confined in the military prison. The petition was granted, and Mr. Dodd occupied quarters over the post-office, although under the surveillance of the military authorities. The court-martial or military tribunal was instituted by General Hovey, and was based upon the proclamation issued by President Lincoln, in September, 1862, which provided for the trial of the insurgents, their aiders and abettors by military tribunals.

The court-martial trial of Grand Commander Dodd, which put a lasting quietus on ambitious, treason-loving members of the order, was begun at Indianapolis, on September 22, 1864. The charges entered against the noted prisoners were, (1) conspiracy against the government in the organization of secret societies for the purpose of overthrowing the government; (2) conspiracy and treason in undertaking to seize the United States arsenal; (3) organizing societies for the purpose of inciting insurrection, releasing Confed-

erate prisoners, and resisting the Federal drafts. The great ability of the accused manifested itself early in the proceedings, upon his objection to the jurisdiction of the court, based upon the ground that he was a private citizen of Indiana, and in no manner connected with the army. Judge-Advocate Burnett argued in favor of the jurisdiction of the tribunal, and an order was promptly entered, overruling the motion to dismiss.

The surprise, astonishment and disgust of the accused can be imagined, but not realized, when Felix G. Stidger, a confidant of Mr. Dodd, and one of the most active officers of the Sons of Liberty, took the stand as the first witness in behalf of the government. Stidger had all along been acting in the dual capacity of an enthusiastic member of the order and the confidential agent and detective of General Morton and the Federal government. This most interesting trial was in progress from September 22d until the afternoon of October 6th, at which time the proceedings were adjourned until the following morning, but when the morning dawned it was found that Mr. Dodd had adopted the West Virginia motto, "Montani semper liberi." His escape was effected at an early hour on the morning of the 7th, by means of a rope, which one of his children had smuggled into his room. The street lamps had been darkened in the vicinity of the post-office building by his friends, consequently his flight was unperceived. In the absence of the prisoner, the question of jurisdiction was argued, and the case submitted to the court for its determination, but its decision was not entered, owing to the absence of the prisoner, although it was generally believed that the court had found the great leader guilty and sentenced him to death.

The pent-up wrath and righteous indignation of the authorities was now directed against Dodd's associates. Heffren, Bowles, Milligan, Horsey and Humphreys were arrested, upon warrants containing the same charges as those preferred against Grand Commander Dodd. The newly constituted court convened on October 1st. The evidence against both Milligan and Bowles was clear and convincing, while the evidence against Horsey and Humphreys was not so strong. The principal witnesses were Stidger, the detective; Heffren, the deputy grand commander; one Clayton, a member of the order; Harrison, the grand secretary of the order for Indiana, and Editor Bingham, of the Indiana *Sentinel*, and a member of the order, each unduly anxious to convict a brother, provided his own chances to escape were strengthened. The traitorous Heffren, the deputy grand commander for Indiana, was the first witness to take the stand against his associates. The case against this treason-dyed traitor and perjurer had, upon the opening of the trial, been discontinued, upon motion of the judge-advocate.

Jonathan W. Gordon made a forcible and exhaustive argument against the jurisdiction of the court, while his associate, Mr. Ray, ably discussed the facts.

The court rendered a verdict of guilty against each of the defendants. Bowles, Milligan and Horsey were sentenced to be hanged. Humphreys received a life sentence, which was moderated to confinement within the borders of two townships in his own county. Several representatives of the condemned men came to Washington and visited the humane and kind-hearted Lincoln, who promised to spare the lives of the prisoners, but that good, wise and great man was assassinated before he could accomplish it.

After the death of President Lincoln, Andrew Johnson approved the sentences against the conspirators, and refused all petitions and requests to mitigate them. The defendants Milligan, Bowles and Horsey were sentenced to be hanged on the 19th of May. The question of the jurisdiction of the trial-court had been brought up in the United States Circuit Court, upon application for a writ of habeas corpus, but the court was divided in its opinion as to the jurisdiction of the commission.

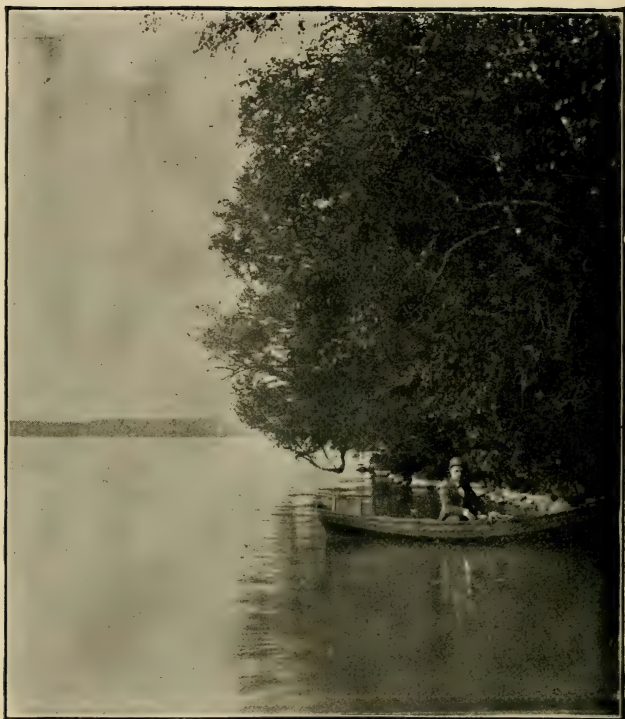
Judge David Davis, being of the opinion that the conspirators had not been legally tried, as martial law had not been declared in Indiana, and the courts still open, now visited Governor Morton, at Indianapolis, and convinced that astute gentleman of the tenability of his position. Governor Morton now interceded in behalf of the condemned men. He sent communications to President Johnson, recommending that the sentences be commuted. On May 18th, Governor Morton sent General Mansfield as special envoy to President Johnson, in behalf of the prisoners, and, about the same time Mrs. Milligan, the wife of one of the condemned, was sent on the same errand. As a last and final resort, the irrepressible John U. Pettit was dispatched to Washington, and, through his exertions, the death sentences were at first suspended, then commuted to imprisonment for life.

The humane act of President Johnson and Governor Morton created great indignation throughout the country, more especially in Indiana. "The gallows has been cheated," they declared, and strongly intimated that the lives of the condemned were saved by the use of money. After considerable delay, the application for a writ of habeas corpus was finally decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in favor of the defendants. The court held that the commission or trial court had no jurisdiction, as Indiana had not seceded, was not in a state of war, nor had martial law been proclaimed in that state. The three prisoners, Bowles, Milligan and Horsey, were now discharged. Humphreys had previously been pardoned by Andrew Johnson.

Grand Commander Dodd, and other members of the Sons of Liberty, like their Southern friends, Longstreet, Mosby and others, not many years after the war, were taken into the Republican fold, and became enthusiastic members of that party.

Nearly thirty years have passed and gone, since those gloomy days, when the nation's fate was wavering and uncertain. Dark, stormy days, when brother fought against brother, and father against son. Those fleeting, intervening years, have forever obliterated disloyalty, softened great afflictions, deep sorrows, and entwined with bonds of friendship and love the people of this great nation, under one government, under one flag.





PELICAN LAKE, ON THE LINE OF THE M., L. S. & W. R'y.

CHAPTER LX.

FOURIERISM AND MORMONISM IN WISCONSIN.

Picturesque Ripon, the Seat of Fourierism.—The Wisconsin Phalanx.—The Phalanx Deploys and Stacks Arms after Seven Years.

Social Leprosity in Wisconsin.—James J. Strang Plants the “Stake of Zion” in Racine County.—The Impostor Forges Documents Which He Translates in the Style of Holy Writ.—Established a Kingdom on Beaver Island.—Conspiracy.—Assassination of King Strang.—The Island City Obliterated by the Fishermen.

ONE beautiful May morning in 1844, in the picturesque valley where now nestles the handsome and prosperous city of Ripon, was seen slowly wending its way, a caravan of horses, cattle and oxen, with carts loaded with furniture, utensils and farming implements, and accompanied by about one hundred enthusiastic followers of Fourierism.

Horace Greeley, who, through the New York *Tribune*, had sown the seeds of that mild “ism” in the fertile soil of Southport (now Kenosha) early in the 40's, was now, for the first time, about to see it germinate and decay.

The enthusiastic followers were now about to practically test the principles of “equitable” distribution, and “guard against our present social evil.” A stock company, bearing the impregnable title of the “Wisconsin Phalanx,” was organized, with shares of \$25.00 each, which were readily sold.

The “Phalanx” located at Ceresco, one of the suburbs of the present city of Ripon. The next year after their arrival, they moved into more spacious quarters, which was a building 400 feet long, consisting of two rows of tenements, with a hall between. They all lived under one roof and ate at the same table, but each family lived in their own apartments. The “Phalanx,” upon their arrival, purchased a fine tract of land, built shops, and made various improvements, and, in fine, were a thriving, industrious people, under one roof. Labor was voluntary, and each received credit according to his merit, and at the end of the year profits were thus divided. Social meetings were held evenings. Tuesday evening was given to the literary and debating club, Wednesday to singing, and Thursday to dancing. Ambition, the grandest and most ennobling quality of mankind, was destined to kill this tender stem of Fourierism, hardly ere it germinated. The close of the Black Hawk war, in 1832, placed the great seal upon the Winnebago and other Indian wars, and opened up for settlement the balance of the Northwest territory. At this time, 1844-51, the whole country was rapidly being settled. Glorious

opportunities were alike opened to the middle-aged and experienced, as well as to the young and ambitious. The "Wisconsin Phalanx" stood firm for seven years, then deployed and stacked arms. The members, of one accord, were glad to get back into society, and again drift with fortune's tide.

* * *

The pure air and virgin soil of Wisconsin were once polluted by that social leprosy—Mormonism.

Down at Nauvoo, on the banks of the Mississippi, a large and prosperous settlement of fanatical polygamists had grown up, under the guidance of Joseph Smith, who were known as the "Latter Day Saints." At Burlington, a quaint little village in Racine county, lived an erratic and cultivated lawyer, named James J. Strang. He was born in Cayuga county, New York, in 1813, and entered life as a farmer boy. He was endowed with an active and retentive memory, and in early manhood, cultivated a keen desire for notoriety. He taught school, delivered temperance lectures, was a political worker, and edited a country newspaper.

In 1843, he drifted to Wisconsin, bringing with him a reputation for a wonderful "gift of gab," and an overwhelming amount of self-esteem. At this time the Mormon church was meeting with grand success in their new fields, which offered distinction to men of the Smith-Strang type. He visited Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, in January, 1844. In February, he was baptized; a month later he became a Mormon elder, and was at once received as a valuable acquisition to the Mormon church. Wisconsin was then assigned to his charge. Joseph and Hiram Smith were shot by a mob on June 27, 1844,* while in prison at Nauvoo. This occurrence gave Strang's abilities a chance to expand.

Strang, although a convert of but a few months' standing, immediately became a candidate for the succession of Joseph Smith. He prepared and displayed documents purporting to be written by Joseph Smith, before the "martyrdom," authorizing Strang to establish a branch of the Mormon church on

* During the fall and early winter of 1838, about fifteen thousand Mormon saints, headed by Joseph Smith, the founder of the Latter Day Saints, left Missouri and took refuge in Illinois, in the vicinity of Commerce, which name was afterwards changed and called Nauvoo. The country at this time was a wilderness, but under the thrifty management of the Mormons, it soon began "to rejoice and blossom" as the rose.

The legislature of Illinois granted a charter to Nauvoo; a body of Mormon militia were organized, under the name of the Nauvoo Legion, with Joseph Smith as its commander; he was also appointed mayor of the city, and thus became supreme in all civil and military affairs. A little later on, the doctrine of "sealing wives" roused the wrath of the neighborhood, which resulted in the arrest of the "prophet" and his brother Hiram, who were thrown into prison at Carthage. It now began to be rumored that the governor of the state was in sympathy with them, and was desirous of allowing the two Smiths to escape, whereupon a band of roughs, numbering about two hundred, broke into the jail on June 27, 1844, and shot them to death. Many years after the death of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young produced a paper, which he said was a copy of a revelation made to Joseph at Nauvoo, commanding him to take as many wives as God should give him. It was not, however, until August 29, 1852, at a public meeting held at Salt Lake City, that the revelation was formally received.

White river, near his home in Burlington. The specified district for establishing the church covered territory in both Racine and Walworth counties.

The "twelve apostles" of the Church of Nauvoo declared Strang an impostor and his documents forgeries, and drove him from the Illinois paradise. He then returned to Wisconsin, and established himself on the White river, at a point which he named Voree, from which holy spot he issued a pronouncement, in which he declared Joseph Smith had appointed him as his successor, as president of the church. "He claimed that he had visions, wherein the angel of the Lord advised him that Nauvoo had been 'cut off,' and that Voree was now the City of Promise."* Early in April, 1845, adherents began to arrive at the City of Promise. In January he started a diminutive four-paged paper, called the *Voree Herald*, wherein he published his visions, and called on the saints to rally around his standard, while the Brighamites at Nauvoo were called unrefined names. Strang soon gathered around him at Voree a large number of ardent followers, besides conducting missions among the "Primitive Mormons" in Ohio, New York, and the eastern and central states. Strang, like his predecessor, Joseph Smith, pretended to discover the word of God in hidden records. Joseph unearthed a book of Mormon, in the Ontarian hills—Strang dug up curious blazen plates at Voree, which an angel enabled him to translate, and thus through the *Herald*, these wonderful records, phrased in the style of Holy Writ, were published to the world.

According to the *Voree Herald*, of September, 1846, President Strang's Sunday gatherings at Voree consisted of from one to two thousand people, of which he was the grand dictator. Voree finally became so prosperous that in May, 1847, Strang established a branch "Stake of Zion" on Beaver Island, in the Archipelago, near the mouth of Lake Michigan. He was met with great opposition from the resident fishermen, who looked upon the Mormon invasion with great disfavor; but the new branch grew in the face of all obstacles, and in two or three years' time, there were about two thousand devotees gathered on Beaver Island.

They built neat houses, made good roads and docks, built a saw-mill and a large tabernacle. Prior to 1850, the island city was dubbed Saint James, and the colony organized as a "Kingdom," having a "Royal Press," foreign ambassadors, together with all the paraphernalia which goes to make up an infant empire.

Polygamy was now for the first time established, and under the newly-established doctrines, King James (Strang), was allowed five wives. The Royal Press issued a daily paper called the *Northern Islander*, which was the official court organ. The women wore bloomer costumes, and were rude, coarse,

* The Story of Wisconsin, 125.

sensual creatures, while the men were rough and illiterate. The gentile fishermen hated King Strang with all the bitterness which their independent and untamed natures possessed, and were continually at warfare with the people of Island City. For many years prior to 1851, Strang's success had exceeded his own anticipations, but now, for the first time, dark and threatening clouds began to overcast the Beaver Island magnate. At the instigation of some of the saints, King Strang was arrested and taken to Detroit, on board of a United States war-steamer, to answer to the charge of treason, robbing the mails, squatting on government land, and various other grave charges, but was finally acquitted. On the 16th day of June, 1855, a conspiracy among his subjects resulted in his assassination on that day. Strang did not die at once. He was cared for until death claimed him by his first and lawful wife, who had declined to live with him during his polygamous career. Strang died on the 9th of June, 1855, and now occupies an unmarked grave at Spring Prairie.*

After Strang's death, his island kingdom was razed to the ground by the fishermen with torch and ax, while the saints were banished. To-day, there are few visible signs that a Mormon empire once flourished on Beaver Island.

* The Story of Wisconsin, 229.



CHAPTER LXI.

LOSS OF THE LADY ELGIN.

The Lady Elgin Run Down by the Schooner Augusta.—Sinking of the Lady Elgin.—Three Hundred Lives Lost.—Exciting Scenes and Miraculous Escapes.

ONE of the saddest events that ever occurred on any of the lakes which form the great chain, was the sinking of the Lady Elgin, on Lake Michigan, in the early morn, on Saturday, September 8, 1860, off the shores of Waukegan.

This great disaster, which draped two cities in mourning—Milwaukee and Chicago—and caused great grief and sorrow for lost friends and relatives in various parts of America and Europe, was occasioned by the colliding of the schooner Augusta with the steamer Lady Elgin on that fatal Saturday morning.



FRED. SNYDER.

Among the many important passengers on board at the time of the disaster were Mr. F. A. Lumsden, of New Orleans, a North Carolinaian by birth. He was at this time editor of the *Picayune*, one of the most prominent of Southern papers. Mr. Lumsden, his wife, and fourteen-year-old son perished. Another gentleman of note was Herbert Ingram, Esq., M. P., well known, both in England and America, as the proprietor of the London *Illustrated News*. He and his son, who was with him, were among the lost.

The Lady Elgin was built in Buffalo in 1851, and was named after the wife of the Governor-General of British America—Lord Elgin. She was a side-wheel steamer, of about three hundred feet in length, and ten hundred and twenty-seven tons burden. She was a fast and favorite boat on the lakes in those days, and was used three or four times each year for excursion purposes.

She was originally employed in the Canada traffic of the lakes, and carried the mails along the northern shores, while the Grand Trunk Railway was yet incomplete.

About 1855, she was purchased by Hibbard, Spencer & Co., of Chicago, to whom she belonged at the time of the calamity. Captain Wilson was her brave commander, a gentleman of ten years' experience in navigation of the Upper Lakes. He was a fine, brave, off-hand and vigilant man, and extremely popular among travelers on Lakes Michigan and Superior. Captain Wilson and his family were at this time residing in Chicago.

It was on Friday evening, at about 11:30 o'clock, when the steamer Lady Elgin left Chicago on her return trip with between five hundred and six hundred passengers on board, about four hundred of them being Milwaukee excursionists. Among the excursionists were many members of the Union Guards and the Black and Green Jaegers. A Milwaukee band, which had accompanied the excursionists from Milwaukee, played jolly airs, while the young people danced merrily, never dreaming of the terrible fate that so shortly awaited them.

When the steamer started, the wind was from the south, but about midnight it veered around to the north and shortly blew a gale, accompanied by rain. The festivities in the cabin were kept up until about 2 o'clock Saturday morning. About this time the steamer received a terrible blow about midship, she trembled along her whole length, then fell over on one side. A terrible panic instantly followed. When the steamer righted herself, all was in darkness, the lamps having been shattered. Those who instantly rushed upon deck could just discern a large schooner nearly out of sight in the darkness and fog. No pen can more vividly describe the terrible events and scenes of horror than the personal narratives of the survivors, some of which we append.

Fred Snyder, the popular proprietor of Marble Hall, in Milwaukee, and the president of the Survivors' Club, was, for many years prior to the disaster, a seafaring man. Throughout the whole trying ordeal he was perfectly cool and collected, consequently, his personal statement, which we append, is vastly interesting.

FRED SNYDER ON THE RAFT.

(From the Milwaukee Sentinel.)

"We left Chicago September 7th, about 11:30 P. M., with about five hundred passengers. Everybody was in the best of spirits. There was music and dancing in the cabin, and all the passengers were enjoying themselves. The boat was crowded and there were not staterooms enough. Fred Rice had given me a stateroom and when I got tired and wanted to lie down I went to it, but found that it was occupied by some of the excursionists. I woke them up and told them that they were in my room. They asked me to let them sleep until midnight, and I said all right. I saw Mr. Davis, chief mate of the

steamer, and said to him in a joking way, 'Do you let me get picked out of my berth by one of those tooth-picks?' meaning a vessel's jib-boom. He laughingly said, 'We are on deck and will take care of the tooth-picks.' Little did we think that the jest would prove true before dawn.

"As I got out on deck I saw Mr. Quail, who came from Chicago with me. His berth had been taken by a friend. I spoke to Mr. Rice again and he said that we could sleep in the wheelman's berth. I went in, but Mr. Quail went to his own room. As I lay in the berth I heard the officers rushing about overhead. I had been asleep, and, though the collision woke me up, I did not hear it. But from the noise I thought something was wrong, and so I got up and put on my shoes. I tried to get out of the room, but could not find the door. I then woke the wheelman up to ask him where the door was. He told me go to sleep again as everything was all right. I said that I thought there was something the matter. I then went out and on the deck and met Mr. Quail. He had no hat on and his hair was standing on end. I asked him what the trouble was, and he said that we were all lost. I said, 'I guess not, you are frightened, we are all right.'

"I then went through the cabin on the lower deck and the water was washing over the floor. I then went to the door of the bar-room. There was one man in the room and he was calling for more drinks. He was a large, portly man, a German. From the condition of the boat I saw that she was sinking. I went up through the cabin in somewhat of a hurry, and went to the hurricane deck to get ready to swim. I went out to the smoke-stacks where they kept the life-planks, as they were called. They were planks about fifteen inches wide and four feet long, with ropes, so that you could tie yourself to them. While I was up there I saw how the wreck had occurred. The schooner *Augusta*, in the height of the squall, had struck the steamer on the port side, forward of the port paddle-wheel. She ran her jib-boom through her pantry, while the pans and plates and all of the table outfit were on the schooner's deck. All on board were silent, their faces white with fright.

"Well, I took my life-planks and tied them together. Then I grasped the whistle rope that connects with the pilot house. I pulled the rope, and it seems to me as if I never had heard such a mournful whistle as was given. I then cut the rope and took what I wanted to lash my planks together. Then I pulled the rope again, and the whistle was still more mournful and much less powerful than it was at first. It was the last time that the steamer's whistle ever sounded. I then sat down aft of the pilot house, on the hurricane deck, waiting for the steamer to sink. Captain Wilson was standing at his post on the pilot house giving orders to the man at the wheel and shouting to the passengers to break off the stateroom doors and hand them on the upper deck, so that they could be used to save life. He ordered the yawl to be lowered

and mattresses to be put in her to stop up the hole made by the collision, but it was of no use. The chief mate had charge of the yawl, but could not get near enough to the steamer on account of her listing to port.

“Suddenly the captain cried out for everyone to run aft or the boat would plunge into the lake head first. Everybody ran aft and then the steamer sank stern first. The smoke-stacks tumbled across each other, and Captain Wilson fell off the pilot house near me. I did not stir from the spot where I had commenced lashing my planks. There were heart-rending shrieks and then there was a death-like silence. The steamer had sunk.

“The upper deck broke away from the steamer. Where I sat I was out of the water. I looked around me and all was dark. As I sat there in the darkness, wondering how things would turn out, I heard someone calling me in a muffled voice. I answered, and asked what was wanted. They answered back and I said we were lucky fellows. The voice replied that there was no luck in having the steamer go down. I said that that was bad, but that we were lucky to be on the deck which kept us a foot and a half out of the water, and that we were in the course of steamboats going up and down the lakes, and as soon as daybreak came some passing vessel would pick us up. By that time my eyes had become accustomed to the darkness. I could see who my companions were. The man I was talking to was one of the Union Guards, with a lady by his side kneeling and praying. I interrupted him and asked him why he did not take off his knapsack and belt, and throw them away so that he could swim. He did so. I then sat still waiting for daylight. Light at last came, and with it what a sight. As far as the eye could see there was nothing but human heads, for there was a black fog hanging about two feet from the water, and all one could see was the heads sticking out above the fog. Captain Wilson was standing near me inquiring about a friend from New Orleans, but could get no answer. I have forgotten what the friend's name was.

“On the hurricane deck near us was a woman with her child, about six months old. The child was crying from the cold and wet, as though its heart would break. The part they were on broke off and the captain reached for the child but could not get it. Then I took hold of him so as to steady him and he took the little one from its mother's arms just before she sank into the water. He carried the child to another part of the wreck, walking on a mass of floating timber, cabin furniture and broken parts of the deck.

“The wind increased and by eight o'clock was blowing a gale from the northeast, while the sea was getting very heavy, and the raft commenced breaking up. Lake Michigan for miles around was dotted with small rafts and floating objects with human beings on them. I was on one side of the raft, which was quite large, and as near as I could judge there must have been

twenty persons on it with me. I was knocked off by a big sea, and so were three or four more. I had my plank with me and as I swam back to the raft two or three of them hung on to me. The only way I could get back onto the raft was by taking hold of a coat-tail that was hanging over the edge and floating on the water. I grasped that and pulled myself and the people that were hanging to me back upon the raft. When I took hold of the coat the owner of it commenced to sing out, 'What are you doing? Let go of that coat—let go of that coat.' I looked at him. He was lying on the deck holding on with both hands. I said to him: 'Don't be in a hurry; you are all right. A yoke of oxen could not pull you off.' He was one of the cooks of the steamer.

"While I was standing on the hurricane deck a piece of the steamer's arch came floating along. A big sea lifted the arch and when it came down it hit a man, who was near me, on the head. I watched him as he sank, but he did not come up again. Another time there came another piece of a broken arch with a boy hanging on to it. A big sea knocked another man off the raft and he took hold of the arch. His head was on one side and his feet were sticking out on the other, and the arch commenced rolling. I shouted to him to put his arms around the timber. I had no more than said this when he did so and he and the boy floated away in good shape.

"By this time the wreck commenced breaking up, the planks separating, and, as I called it, each person was captain of his own craft. When the raft broke up there was another person on the piece of wreck with me. We both worked like heroes. We had two pieces of board, and with them we kept the floating timber and rubbish away from us. But when we got into the breakers we capsized, and I was under the raft. I had to get out from underneath it or get drowned, and the only way I could do it was to put my foot against the raft and give it a shove. I did this and came to the surface. I looked around for my partner but he was gone and I never saw him again.

"There was an elderly lady floating on a part of the wreck near where I was. I should judge she was about fifty feet from me. She was kneeling and holding on for dear life, but when she got into the breakers she was washed off and drowned. There was a colored man close to her and by his looks and his actions he must have been sea-sick. I spoke to him and told him that if he did not keep his head out of the water, he would be drowned. The first breaker washed him off and that was the last I saw of him.

"When I was on the wreck I looked off towards the south, and I saw a man and woman on the pilot house. In a moment the woman was washed off and the man jumped after her. Suddenly a big sea came and washed the man back to the pilot house. He grasped the edge and succeeded in getting safely back on it and bringing the woman with him. They both landed safely on the

beach, and when I mentioned the circumstances I found it was John Eviston and his wife. He deserved great credit, for when he jumped into the water to rescue his wife he seemed to be going to certain death. On a part of the wreck there was a young lady and four men, and within ten feet of them there was another piece of wreck with two men on it. All of a sudden the young lady fell off, and one of the men cried out, 'Save her, she is my daughter.' But before they could do anything, the girl turned her face toward her father, and, giving him one farewell look, sank. The men on the raft were saved.

"In the morning, when daylight had appeared, I saw a good many people on the part of the wreck north of me. I sang out and asked if Mr. Quail was there and the answer came, 'Is that you, Snyder?' I said it was, and asked him how he was feeling. He said, 'All right, but a Roman punch would not go bad this morning.' I said that a gin cocktail would suit me better. That was the last we spoke, for before long he went to his long home, where there is no manufacturing of Roman punches.

"When we got to the breakers, I got my planks under my left arm, with my right hand holding them so that I could steer them with the sea, and I never steered a straighter course in my seafaring life. When I neared shore I thought that I could touch bottom and made to the beach. I had no more than touched bottom and commenced to walk than a big breaker washed me up on the beach. Before I could get up, the undertow washed me out again and I thought I was gone, for the force of the waves took all of the breath out of me. In a minute another breaker washed me up high and dry. I have had some experience in breakers, so the last time I was washed up I dug my feet and hands into the sand and looked back to the water. I should judge it was twenty or thirty feet away from me when I got up and looked at the breakers and heavy sea. Mr. Shea and some other persons were on the beach where I was washed up. They took hold of me, and I said that I was all right, only that the lashings of the planks had bruised the flesh of my arm and pained me very much. I asked Mr. Shea if he had a knife. He took one from his pocket and tried to cut the rope, but could not do it. Then I took the knife and putting it sideways under the lashings and turned the edge up and cut the rope.

"I asked some of the folks if there was any way of getting up the bank. Two men took hold of me and said they would haul me up the bank. I told them to let go; that I was all right and could climb up the bank as well as they. There was a pathway up the bank and we soon reached the top of it. Then I went to a farm house, where there were about twenty of the survivors, and then we came home."

HOW JOHN W. EVISTON CAME ASHORE.

(Narrative of J. W. Eviston, as published in the Milwaukee Sentinel.)

"The boat was brilliantly lighted and the sailors were on watch a few minutes before 2 o'clock on the morning of the 8th of September, 1860. When the collision occurred, my wife and I were in the gentlemen's cabin. We were both dressed. My brother Thomas met me a minute afterwards. I remember, as if it were yesterday, the expression of his face as he said, with his stove-pipe hat drawn forward over his forehead, 'We are in a terrible fix. I was down looking at the hole in the steamer, and you could drive a span of horses through it.' The next minute we heard the captain say, 'All hands to the hurricane deck.' So, we all went there, and soon after the captain gave the order, 'All hands aft.' We thought then that we were near the shore, and that the order was given so as to beach the boat, but we afterwards learned that it was not so, and that we were at least seventeen miles off shore when we were struck. As we reached the hurricane deck I saw two spars lying there, and tied them together with our handkerchiefs. I felt the rocking motion of the boat as she went from side to side, and knew she was settling all the while. I took off my coat and tied one sleeve around the spars, and just as I was about to tie the other sleeve the boat sank. We went down fifteen or twenty feet with her, and then the upper works of the steamer parted, and we shot back to the surface. We came up together and were fortunate enough to see a stateroom door floating near us. We seized it and held on. We were in the midst of thunder, lightning and rain. The lake around us was strewn with wreckage, floating bodies, dead and dying, which we could only see when a flash of lightning came. The sounds of prayers and curses were heard on all sides. I recall one sad incident as illustrating the terrible tragedy. Out of the darkness we heard the voice of a mother showering terms of endearment on her child, who had become separated from her, and then the voice of the child calling for her mother, and saying, 'Mamma, I'se afraid of the water.' For three-quarters of an hour the voices were heard, then they were fainter and then died away.

"We hung on the door for an hour or two, and when it was near dawn, I saw something floating near us, and saw if we could get it, there was a chance for escape for us. I told my wife that I would try to get it, and did so, and found that it was the pilot house. I pushed it near to the door on which my wife was clinging, lifted my wife into it and got into it myself. We were up to our arms in water, but we had a rest for our feet, and I never felt so comfortable in my life as I did at that moment. It was the same sensation that one experiences in sitting down in a rocking chair when one is very tired. I was so exhausted when we got the pilot house that I could not have held on to the door twenty minutes more.

"We were no longer alone on the waste of water. Near us, within easy hailing distance, was a raft of collected wreckage forty of fifty feet long, in which was wedged a spar to which the pilot house was attached by a tarred rope an inch thick. On the raft were some young men with their hands in their pockets and some women in their night dresses.

"As it grew light we saw the shore line, with trees like sticks in the distance. The young fellows on the raft shouted three cheers 'for light and land.' The wind blew very chilly, and every few minutes one of the women on the raft would be overcome by the weather and fall into the lake. Suddenly a member of the German band that was on board of the *Lady Elgin* came floating by. He said something in German which I do not remember, but I caught his arm and threw it over the spar so that he kept his head above water and worked his way to the raft, where the young men helped him up, but in a few minutes that part of the wreck on which he was standing gave way and he sank. Then a man seemed to rise out of the depths of the lake and was near at hand. I called to him to help himself, but he clasped his hands in prayer and sank out of sight. The lake around me was covered with floating apples, and a demijohn was noticed. The young men on the raft called to me to catch the demijohn and throw it to them. I caught it, took out the cork and smelled of it, and knew it was liquor. I advised them not to drink much of it, but I threw it on the raft, and they took a swig, corked it up and threw it away. I also threw them some of the apples, which they ate. I captured a cabbage and a small mattress, which I put behind us so that we would not be bruised against the woodwork. The cabbage I put between us to keep us from bruising each other, for the waves were very high and we were tumbled about at a great rate.

"The rope attaching us to the spar was a source of annoyance to us, and I asked the young men on the raft to lend me a knife and that I would return it, but they said they did not have any knife. So I got hold of the tarred rope with my teeth, under water, and chewed it till it separated. Our frail support sprang rapidly away from the raft. All the women had been lost before that, and all of the forty or fifty people that were on the raft at first who were left, were two young men. We never saw them again.

"All this time we were gradually nearing shore off Winnetka. In the afternoon we got into the breakers. The first one threw us forward sixty feet, it seemed; the second tumbled us over and over in the pilot house, and when this was repeated four or five times my wife became unconscious. I could see the crowd of people on top of the bluff, and I felt hard toward them because they took no steps to save us. As my wife became unconscious I gathered her in my arms and made a spring. I alighted in the water up to my chin with my feet on the sand. A young college student, named Spencer, who had a rope around his neck, came running down into the surf. I put my wife's body

under my arm so that her head was held out of the water, and, catching his hand, we were drawn up high and dry. I carried my wife to the top of the bluff, and, as they took her away, I gave out and settled down on the ground.

"Mrs. Eviston was taken into a cabin near there, and, after they had worked at her for some time, the physicians pronounced her dead. Dr. Gore, of Chicago, brought her to life, however, by striking the bottom of her feet with a piece of pine, and thus starting the pulsation in her ankles.

"My brother, Thomas, was lost, and so was his wife. His body came ashore at Chicago harbor, and hers was found three weeks after. The body of a teacher in a Third ward school, named Mahoney, came ashore at the foot of Detroit street, the same street on which is located the school."

STATEMENT OF LIEUTENANT HARTSUFF.

(From the New York Illustrated News, September 22, 1860.)

"I was on board the Lady Elgin when she collided with the schooner Augusta, asleep in my berth; I immediately jumped from my berth, and saw the schooner floating away; did not think any serious damage had been done at first, but soon discovered that the steamer was settling; I immediately left my berth, which was in the after-cabin, where I found Captain Wilson on the hurricane deck; I asked him if he thought there was any danger, and he replied that he thought she would float; he told me where there were life-preservers on the hurricane deck, and I went and passed them down to the passengers in the cabin, till they were about exhausted, when I took one myself and waited on the hurricane deck; while there, quite a number came on deck, only a few of whom were females, but how many came up I could not say, as it was very dark; from a quarter to a half an hour after she was struck she broke up, the hurricane deck floated off, and the hulk going down with a tremendous noise; as she broke, I jumped with a life-preserver—a board six or eight feet long and one wide—into the water, which was at this time only a few feet below us, and pulled with all my might to escape from the mass of the wreck; after the confusion had somewhat subsided, I heard the voice of Captain Wilson cheering and encouraging the people on the wreck, telling them that the shore was but a few miles off, and, that if they kept calm and obeyed his directions they might all be saved; I heard him in this manner for perhaps ten minutes, and then I had separated so far from the hurricane deck on which the captain and a large number were, that I heard no more; all around me were numbers of persons floating on pieces of the wreck, until it became daylight; it became so light that I could see some distance, I discovered a large mass of the wreck a little distance to the windward of us, covered with people; I then got on quite a large piece of wreck which was floating near me, and which contained no other person, and no person got on it after I did; the large mass to the windward,

of which I have just spoken, now began to separate ; I then left the piece I was on and got on a large piece of the hurricane deck, on which were four other persons ; don't know who they were. On this fragment I remained until we reached about a quarter-mile of the shore, when our raft broke up, and two, of the four on it with me, were washed off and drowned ; a moment after, the remainder of our party were washed off by a heavy sea, and one more of our little party drowned ; my remaining companion contrived to regain the raft and I again took a life-preserver which I found afloat, and on this I floated to the shore just below the bluff ; from the time I was swept from the raft until I reached the shore, I was several times buried deep under the waves ; when close to shore I was thrown from my raft and went to the bottom, and although the water was not more than three or four feet, I was so exhausted as to be unable to rise, and crawled for some distance under the water until I reached dry land.

“Early in the morning I discovered a fragment of the wreck a short distance from me, on which was a woman and three men. She was so much exhausted that she seemed unable to keep from dropping to sleep, although the exertions of the three men were continually in use to prevent it. She was finally drowned while remaining on the wreck, being unable to keep her head from the water. Her body remained on the fragment of the wreck as long as it was in sight. I saw many pieces of wreck, containing from two to four persons, capsized, almost invariably drowning all that were on them. To avoid the capsizing of our frail craft bark, I instructed the men with me to sit on it so as to keep the edges under water. This prevented us capsizing and at the same time enabled us to float faster ; we, in this way, having passed many of the other crafts. I saw one woman alone floating on a dining table, and, a short time after I discovered her, the table capsized, and she disappeared under water for several seconds, but, finally, reappeared on the surface, clinging to the table, and, eventually, by great exertions, she regained her seat upon the table. When I last saw her she was near the shore, and, as I heard of a woman being saved shortly after I was taken to a house near by, I presume she must have been the one. By my instructions, our party most of the time turned our faces from the shore, and thus faced the waves, and in this way we were enabled to watch the breakers as they came toward us, and be prepared for them. In this way we were several times saved from being washed off, while almost all those near us were carried off their frail bark, and perished. Under one piece of the wreck which was found floating near us, were four dead cattle, fastened to it. On this were three or four persons. The buoyancy of the dead bodies of the cattle kept this piece of the wreck almost entirely out of the water, and when last seen this peculiar life-boat was very near the shore, and the persons on it were doubtless saved.

“When I passed through the cabin on the way to the pilot house, immediately after the collision, there was much confusion there. Many of the passengers, owing to the scarcity of berths, were asleep on the floor, and, when the collision took place, the vessel listed so much that all rolled in a pile on one side of the cabin. This caused much confusion, and when persons from above commenced pulling down the doors and other floating material, the anxiety to obtain these preservers was great indeed. About daylight I saw one boat, badly stove, bottom side up, six or seven men clinging to it. Whether or not they were saved I cannot say.

“When I reached the shore, every attention which heartfelt sympathy could suggest was paid to me and the other survivors. One gentleman pulled off his coat and gave it to me, and another his boots. Mr. Pierce, of the Adams House, Chicago, was one of the first to reach the scene of disaster, and his efforts for the comfort and safety of all were unceasing.

“During the time I was on the wreck I contrived to keep myself warm by thrashing my arms, catching pieces of wreck, etc., and in this manner I saved myself from suffering from the cold, which proved so fatal to many.”

STATEMENT OF M. E. SMITH, OF ONTONAGON.

(Published September 22, 1860, in the New York Illustrated News.)

“I was asleep in the mate’s room when the collision took place; but, awakened by the loud crash, I went on deck as soon as possible. The vessel with which we collided had got clear of us, and Captain Wilson was giving orders to lower a boat to ascertain the extent of the injury; but when down the boat could not get near the Elgin by reason of the waves and wind. I assisted in rolling freight to the starboard, to list the boat over, and also in getting overboard some cattle for the purpose of lightering up. But the water seemed to be coming in so fast that the captain ran to the pilot house to see how she was heading. Being told ‘west’ he said, ‘That’s right, boys, get her in to land if you can.’ He then ran back to the cabin and endeavored to arouse the sleepers, and get them on the hurricane deck. Many of the stateroom doors were fastened, and he broke them in with an axe, exhorting the sleepers, many of whom had been drinking a good deal, to rouse up and save themselves. A few of them refused to leave their berths, but after a little time, a greater part of the passengers had got to the upper deck. The captain told each man and woman to get a plank life-preserver—in which loops of rope were tied—and prepare for the worst. There appeared to be plenty of these, and some were passed down the skylights into the cabins for the use of those who would not come out. Most of the passengers were cool and collected. Captain Wilson kept encouraging them by cheerful words and by assurances that the deck would carry us all ashore. At length—surely not more than fifteen minutes

from the first alarm—the Elgin began to settle and reel as if for the final plunge. A few loud screams arose, and a few frantic passengers jumped overboard in a hurry to meet their fate. Just at the moment when the boat went down, a sea struck her upper works, and they parted from the hull and floated off in several pieces. This was a trying moment. The shock and force of the waves swept off several of our number; but the night was dark, and as the lights were soon gone, I found myself on a piece of the wreck, perhaps 15x30—a portion of the upper deck, the boards and ribs, or carlins, to which they were nailed. In company with me were from twenty-five to twenty-eight persons, and we had nothing to do but to suffer ourselves to be floated toward shore. Among the pieces of wreck we found a few cabin doors. These we secured and, setting them and our pieces of plank up on end, broadside to the wind, made them serve as sails. Soon after setting out on our perilous journey, we discovered another piece of the deck, more deeply loaded than ours. Captain Wilson was on it, with two or three others; he came to our float and continued with us, keeping us in heart with his words of good cheer. After daybreak he busied himself in providing for the general safety, by fastening loops to the carlins, by which we might hang on when we came to the surf. There were with us four or five women. One of these had a child about six months old, for the safety of which the captain was exceedingly solicitous. He held it when not otherwise employed. He had given it up but a moment, to attend to some matter, when a wave swept it out of the hands of him to whom he handed it, and it was gone. This child and a man and woman were all lost. We spent the night in comparative comfort. The storm was severe, but we did not suffer greatly from the cold. The water was warm.

“About 9:15 o’clock we neared the shore of Winnetka. About two hundred feet from the shore our frail craft was lifted by the surf, which was running in strong, and completely capsized. The raft was broken by the force of the waves. Captain Wilson, Mr. Walde, of the National Mine, Ontonagon, Mr. George Newton, of Superior City, and myself, clung to one piece of the deck; but again striking the surf we again capsized, and all thrown into the surging waves. I managed to strike the wreck again and Mr. Walde got on another piece, but Mr. Newton and Captain Wilson were seen no more. After much exertion and appalling danger, I gained the land. Of the twenty-eight on our raft, only eight—seven men and one woman—were saved. The others went down within sight and sound of safety.

“I want to say that Captain Wilson behaved nobly from beginning to the fatal close. That any are saved, except those that came off in the boats, is due to him.”

FRANCIS BOYD'S EXPERIENCE.

Graphic Description of the Fight with the Waves on the Raft.

(From the Milwaukee Sentinel.)

"We left Chicago about 11 o'clock, or a little after, on the night of the accident (September 7th). It was a very hot, close night, and for this reason the boat kept well out from shore to get cool air. The boat was crowded with passengers and had a heavy load of freight for Mackinaw and Lake Superior ports. Everything went on all right. The passengers were dancing in the cabin until nearly two o'clock. A little before two o'clock in the morning she was struck by a heavy squall from the northeast, and the change of wind was very sudden. Just as the squall struck us there was a schooner called the Augusta near by, and when the men on the schooner let go the head sheets and kept the mainsail on her, the Lady Elgin happened to be in her way. She struck the Lady Elgin just abaft the upper deck, and made a hole at the water line that we could roll a hoghead through. I happened to be standing on the forward deck at the time, and saw the whole affair. Of course, there was a great panic and running around. The people were excited and wild. They headed the steamer to the shore. The steamer, at the time of the collision, was off Waukegan, in sight of Kenosha light. In five or ten minutes the boat went down. The boats were all lowered and filled, but there was a heavy sea running after the squall, and they all swamped but one, which came ashore at six o'clock in the morning. That boat was in charge of the porter of the vessel.

"I, myself, jumped overboard a few minutes before she went down, with an oar in my hand, and swam around with that until she went down. It was raining very hard then, and the thunder and lightning was very heavy. I got a good glimpse of her just as she went down, in a lightning flash. She seemed to break in the center and settle down amidships. I drifted across some of the wreckage, that they called the raft—the upper decks of the steamer which broke off when the steamer went down. I got on the raft and sat there awhile. Just before daybreak Captain Wilson came around and called for volunteers to help manage the raft, and I joined them. We kept the raft headed to the east, and sailed before the wind, and brought up in the breakers off Winnetka, the first one of which tore the raft all to pieces and rolled it up like a carpet. At daybreak, there were sixty persons on the raft, by actual count, but, occasionally, one or two would be washed off and seemed to die of the cold or perish of exhaustion. The air was very cold and the water was warm, and the way we kept from freezing was to dip ourselves occasionally in the water. When the raft broke up I got hold of a piece of it with three other men, and navigated it to the bank. It was a perilous passage. The sea was running

high, and great beams and pieces of wreckage were constantly dashing about, to the danger of all in the vicinity. "The breakers tore us off our raft, but we always got back the best way we could. Finally, we landed at Steep Bluff. It was so precipitous that we could not get up the bank, but men on top of the bluff let down ropes and hauled us to the top, one by one. We were in a very cold and wet condition. We were directed to a residence near by, and went there. It proved to be the residence of a Chicago commission merchant, named Clark. He supplied us with food and blankets, and a cart to ride to the depot. The three men who were saved with me were Denny Gilmore, a brother of the band leader, who was a resident of the Third ward, John McLindell, who keeps the McLindell house, and James McManus, a machinist in the shops of the Mississippi railroad.

"There was sixty-five or sixty-six persons saved, and papers at the time placed the number of lost at about three hundred and ninety. Of the sixty-five or sixty-six on the raft, only eight or ten were saved. Most of them were killed by the breakers. Captain Wilson had his skull crushed by a timber a few feet from shore. He was carrying a baby in his arms when he went down. We saw him go down, and when he didn't come up again we knew he was lost. Tom Eviston, chief of the fire department, had his head crushed in the breakers. John W. Eviston saved his wife and himself by floating ashore on top of the pilot house, and Martin Eviston came ashore on top of an overturned boat.

"The occasion of the big crowd of Milwaukeeans on the boat was an excursion rate of one dollar for the round trip from Milwaukee to Chicago, for the benefit of the Montgomery Guard. Governor Randall had taken away the company's arms, which belonged to the state, and the friends of Captain Barry volunteered to present the company with arms of their own. So, various devices were employed to raise the necessary funds, one of which was the excursion. Many militiamen were among the excursionists that perished, as well as city officials and members of the fire department. It was a woful time for Milwaukee. The whole city was draped in black. Nineteen victims were buried in one day from the St. John's Cathedral, and there were many funerals. In fact, I did not do anything for two months but act as pallbearer for the victims of the disaster. They kept coming ashore at many different points. A singular case was that of a young man named Rooney, whose father kept an auctioneer's place on East Water street, between Huron and Detroit. The son's body came ashore at the foot of Huron street. Another body from the wreck came ashore at Port Washington, others in Chicago harbor, and others came ashore across the lake."

SCENES AT THE WRECK.

(From the Chicago Press and Tribune.)

"When our reporters reached Winnetka, at 10 A. M., the surf was rolling in heavily and breaking in thunder along the beach, the gale having risen to a fearful fury, from the northeast, and thus nearly on shore. The shore there was an uneven bluff, ranging from thirty to sixty feet in height, with a narrow strip of beach at its base.

"The whole beach for three miles we found strewn with fragments of the light, upper portions of the ill-fated steamer, and out at sea, where the waves were rolling more heavily than is usually seen even in our September gales, the surface of the angry waters for miles in extent, as far as the eye could reach seaward, was dotted with fragments of the wreck, and rafts and spars with what were clearly made out to be human beings clinging to them. At this time (10 A. M.) various authorities make out that from eighty to one hundred persons could have been counted driving at the mercy of the maddened elements, toward the high rolling breakers and surf-washed beach and bluff, whence thousands with straining eyes watched their progress, and with pale cheeks noted, as alas, too many, meet their fate in the waves.

"Parties of men were on the alert and ready for the work of rescue. Word was sent to Evanston, and citizens and its entire student community came up in force. Attention was first directed to a large raft coming in steadily but bravely over the waves, upon which were standing a large group of human beings, since known to have been some fifty in number. Around and beyond it on all sides were single survivors and groups of two and three, or more, but painful interest centered upon the fate of that larger raft. It reached the seething line of surf. With a glass those on shore could see that the company on board seemed to obey the orders of one. That ladies and children were there—hearts on shore forgot to beat for an instant, and then saw the raft break and disappear in the seas. Of the entire number on board, only fifteen names appear in our list of the saved. Of the lost was the brave heart who tried his best to save those committed to his charge, and perished in the attempt—brave Captain Jack Wilson, the commander of the unfortunate steamer.

"Thenceforward the scene on the shore until 2 P. M., when the last survivor was drawn out of the surf, was a scene which lookers-on will never forget. Of its nature the best proof is the fact that the from forty to fifty persons saved were less than one-third of the number that came in from the lake to pass the fearful gauntlet of the line of breakers, several hundred feet off shore, were under the very eyes and almost within hail of those on shore, we saw the majority perish. The rafts would come into the line of surf, dip to the force

of the waves and then turn completely over. Again and again would rafts containing from one to five or more persons gradually near the shore and then be lost, where a stone's cast would reach them, yet really as far from human help as if in mid-ocean.

"The scenes of these fearful hours would fill a volume. The episode of the saving of John W. Eviston, of Milwaukee, with his wife in his arms, was one that left few eyes dry among the spectators. He had secured himself and precious burden to the severed roof of the pilot house, a stout, octagonal canvas-covered frame. As this came in, he was seen upon it, holding in one arm a woman. Again and again the waves broke over them, and more than once both were submerged. Still they came on, passed the first breakers, and midway thence to the shore their raft hung, beaten and swept by roller after roller, and for minutes making no progress, while the breathless spectators, not two hundred feet distant, watched and waited the result.

WHY SHE WENT DOWN.

"It is now evident from the appearance of that part of the wreck that lies at Daggett's Point, near Waukegan, that the final catastrophe was brought about by the dropping of the engine walking-beam, etc., through the bottom. At the point above named, all that part of the hull abaft the mid-ships, on the larboard side, lies upon the beach—a full fourth of the hull from the plank shear to the keel. The most rational explanation of the disaster is, that the colliding vessel carried away the larboard wheel, and most of the engine braces on that side, and that as soon as she rolled a-port, the engine, walking-beam, etc., having nothing to sustain them, carried away a large part of the hull, and went down on the larboard side of the keel, producing the catastrophe, which all the saved described as very sudden. It is probable that the first violent roll after the collision did the fatal work. On no other hypothesis can we account for the separation of the hull, and explain the positive testimony of some of the officers, that the walking-beam went down before the upper works floated off.

THE SCENE IN MILWAUKEE WHEN THE NEWS ARRIVED.

"An eye-witness informs us that the scene at Milwaukee on Saturday morning, when the news of the catastrophe was first received, can never be effaced from his memory. The stores in the principal streets were immediately deserted, many of them being left open and unattended, and all rushed to the telegraph office to learn the extent of the loss. In walking along the streets it seemed as if every second person met was either crying or so dumb-stricken that he could not express himself, nor recognize his friends and acquaintances."

J. H. Cook, - - - - -	Appleton, Wis.
Thomas Murray, - - - - -	Random Lake, Wis.
Mrs. Frank Evans, - - - - -	St. Louis, Mo.
First Mate George Davis, - - - - -	Residence unknown.
Steward Fred Rice, - - - - -	Residence unknown.
Mrs. Frank Horn, - - - - -	Columbus, Ohio.
W. H. Gunnison, - - - - -	Rochester, N. Y.
Mrs. Margaret Hayes, - - - - -	Erie, Pa.
William Moats, - - - - -	Troy, N. Y.



Memories of Our Heroes.

IN futile arts ever, man wastes not his life,
But with noble aim oft bears his part in the strife,
We mean not the records of discord and woe,
The struggle for triumph in days long ago.
No ! greater than these are the traces men leave,
Who have reached the grand heights that the noble achieve.

Would ye witness grand monuments worthy the name,
The works that enhance architecture's domain,
Ye need roam not alone 'neath Italian's fair skies,
Where Gothic cathedrals in majesty rise;
For in oak-shaded cottage or proud mansion hall,
Are the triumphs of effort—our homes great and small.

Ah ! these ever brighten memorial's chain
Where learning and art in sweet peace calmly reign—
How varied the sketches portraying man's life
As he wanders the world where illusions are rife !
Go seek in his hovel the worn Polish serf
As he toils in a land where he owns not a turf.

Note the thousands now starving in Erin's green isle,
Where the blight of oppression makes barren the soil,
Mark the churches war-ruined, the cloisters laid waste;
Yes, go to these places and hurry not past,
They are all that endure now of tyranny's reign,
They tell you of sadness, of mourning and pain.

Oh ! well may we gladden our mournful refrain,
As America, fair, our attention would claim,
The cross pointing upwards from altars below,
The Mexican shrine where the purest gems glow,
As the light of the faith—each one silently speaks
Of Columbus, the brave, as the wild wave he seeks.

For the home of the savage, the poor, needy one,
To gather the jewels that shine round God's throne,
From the oak-shaded cot to the Capitol's dome,
Where the world learns a lesson from liberty's home,—
Where Washington's name, in bright letters of gold,
Reflects the brave deeds of his comrades untold.

Are the memories of warriors, the noble and just,
Who battled for right, who were true to the trust,
Aye, such are the heroes our nation doth boast,
Whose mem'ry will never remorseful sigh cost,
But shrined amid all that is noble and great,
'Twill live beyond grandeur of empire and state.

They fought not for power nor the dross of the world,
But o'er their free country a banner unfurled,
And there it is guarded in state house and hall—
A memory well fitting brave men to recall.
Long, long, may their banner its stars and stripes wave,
O'er a nation of heroes, a home of the brave.

MARY FENELON MCCRORY





SENATOR MATT. H. CARPENTER.

CHAPTER LXII.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR LUDINGTON.

1876-1878.

Biographical Sketch of Governor Ludington.—Important Events.—Elections.

HARRISON LUDINGTON, our eighteenth governor, was born in Putnam county, New York, on July 31, 1812. In early life he worked hard through the summer months, and during the winters attended the district schools. This was all the education which Harrison Ludington received.



When 26 years of age, he started for the wild west. By foot and by stage he traveled until he reached Milwaukee, in November, 1838, and now became a permanent settler. He immediately entered into the general mercantile business with his brother Lewis, under the firm name of Ludington & Co., and here Governor Ludington's honorable and upright career began. In 1851, Mr. Ludington became senior member of the firm of Ludington, Wells & Van Schaick, a lumbering concern. This business was one of the largest and most profitable in the Northwest.

Harrison Ludington was a Whig in politics, until the formation of the Republican party, in 1854, which party he joined. He was twice elected alderman, and three times mayor of Milwaukee. His office was conducted in an able, trustworthy manner, with economy and success. It was during the time that Mr. Ludington was mayor that the "great fire" swept over Chicago. His energetic spirit and generous hand made it possible for the people of Milwaukee to extend relief to the suffering masses, and not only did the common council of Milwaukee give thanks to their mayor, but also was a special acknowledgment of thanks tendered him by the Chicago authorities.

In 1875, the Republican convention met at Madison, and placed in nomination their strongest man for governor—Harrison Ludington. He was elected over Governor Taylor, by the small majority of eight hundred and forty-one, while all the other Republican candidates were defeated. In January, 1876, he resigned his position as mayor of Milwaukee, and was inaugurated governor of Wisconsin. At the end of his term he declined to be renominated.

His business qualifications were fully demonstrated in the opening paragraph of his first message to the legislature, which was as follows:

"It may not be considered unbecoming for me to express some doubt as to the wisdom of the provision of the constitution, which makes it the duty of the incoming governor to communicate to the legislature the condition of the state, and recommend such matters to them for their consideration as he may deem expedient. It would appear that such information and recommendation might more properly come from the citizen who had administered the affairs of the state during the past year, than from one who had just been called from other occupations to that duty."

During the entire term of Mr. Ludington's administration, he himself went over the books and records of the executive office every week. His clerks were capable and experienced, yet of his own personal knowledge must he know that the public business was being done promptly and properly.

Mr. Harrison Ludington was a genial, whole-hearted man, always willing to lend a helping hand. Ready always to help the poor, and through this reason was known to the masses by no other name than "Bluff Hal."

EVENTS OF 1876.

The twenty-ninth session of the Wisconsin legislature convened January 12, 1876, and was in session until March 14, 1876, a period of sixty-three days. This legislature consisted of one hundred and thirty-three members.

The senate was organized with Charles D. Parker as president, R. L. D. Potter as president *pro tem.*, and A. J. Turner, chief clerk, while the assembly was organized with Samuel S. Fifield as speaker, R. M. Strong chief clerk, and C. D. Long as assistant clerk.

(Governor Ludington's message to the legislature was an able document, treating upon the necessities of the state, together with suggested needy reforms.)

This legislature passed a large amount of necessary laws and amendments to existing laws, together with incorporate acts. Among the numerous important laws passed at this session, were those pertaining to civil and criminal actions, acts pertaining to the assessment of property, to prevent fraud in banking, authorizing foreign trustees to bring actions within the state, redemption

of land sold under foreclosure, authorizing the establishment of free high schools, prohibiting gambling in railroad cars, and acts pertaining to the preservation of game and fish.

The city charters of Appleton, Beloit, Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Grand Rapids, Green Bay, La Crosse, Madison, Manitowoc, Menasha, Oconto, Oshkosh, Platteville, Portage, Ripon, Sheboygan, and Wausau were amended.

This legislature wisely made liberal appropriations for the following public institutions :

State prison at Waupun.....	\$27,870
For the payment of pensions of soldiers' orphans.....	4,000
To the Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb.....	33,500
For building laundry and kitchen for same.....	6,500
For the Institution for the Education of the Blind.....	1,800
Industrial School for Boys.....	31,000
For the purpose of introducing the manufacture of boots and shoes into the above institution.....	15,000
For the completion of the above building, furniture and fixtures.....	5,000
Dodge County Agricultural Society.....	100
Wisconsin State Agricultural Society.....	2,000
Outagamie County Agricultural Society	100
Iowa and Door County Agricultural Society, each.....	100
Waukesha County Agricultural Society.....	100
As a contingent fund for the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, \$300, and for the governor's contingent fund.....	2,000
To the State Board of Centennial Managers	20,000

The Supreme Court, at its January term this year, decided that under our statutory laws, women could not be admitted to practice law before that court.

The presidential election of 1876 created in Wisconsin, as in all other states, great excitement. The campaigns on the part of the presidential nominees, Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden were well organized, and bitterly contested throughout every precinct in our state. Mr. Hayes received 130,068 votes as against Mr. Tilden's 123,927 votes, which resulted in the election of the following presidential electors: At large, Wm. H. Hiner, Francis Campbell.

First district, T. D. Weeks; 2d district, T. D. Lange; 3d district, Daniel D. Downes; 4th district, Casper M. Sanger; 5th district, Charles Luling; 6th district, Charles H. Foster; 7th district, Charles B. Solberg; 8th district, John H. Knapp.

EVENTS OF 1877.

The thirtieth session of the Wisconsin legislature convened at Madison, January 10, 1877, and adjourned March 8, 1877, after a period of fifty-eight days. This legislature was composed of one hundred and thirty-three members.

The state senate was organized with Lieutenant-Governor Charles D. Parker as its president, W. H. Hiner, president *pro tem.*, and A. J. Turner, chief clerk.

The assembly was organized with J. B. Cassoday as speaker, W. A. Nowell, chief clerk, and Charles D. King as assistant clerk.

The governor, in his able message, again pointed out to the legislature many needed reforms and laid before that body a statistical statement of the various public institutions throughout the state. This legislature passed the usual batch of general, private and local laws, and made the usual number of necessary and unnecessary amendments to the statutes. Among the numerous appropriations passed by this legislature were appropriations to the following institutions :

Wisconsin Hospital for the Insane.

Northern Wisconsin Agricultural and Mechanical Association.

Home for the Friendless at Milwaukee.

State Prison.

Northern Hospital for the Insane.

Deaf and Dumb Institute.

Institute for the Blind.

Industrial School for Boys.

Soldiers' orphans.

State Fish Commissioners and

Superintendent of Public Property.

The legislature at this session also passed a law granting to women the privilege of practicing law in the various state courts.

It was during the summer of 1877 that a cyclone visited Pensaukee, Oconto county, and devastated considerable property.

The state Democratic convention convened early in the fall of 1877, and placed in nomination the following ticket :

For governor, James A. Mallory; for lieutenant-governor, Romanzo E. Davis; for secretary of state, James B. Hayes; for state treasurer, John Ringle; for attorney-general, J. M. Morrow; for state superintendent, Edward Searing.

The Republican state convention placed in nomination the following ticket in opposition to the Democratic nominees :

For governor, William E. Smith; for lieutenant-governor, James M. Bingham; for secretary of state, Hans B. Warner; for state treasurer, Richard Guenther; for attorney-general, Alexander Wilson; for state superintendent, William C. Whitford.

At the November election the whole Republican state ticket was elected, Governor Smith's plurality being 8,273. At this election the following members of congress were elected:

Charles G. Williams, Edward S. Bragg, Lucien B. Caswell, Gabriel Bouck, George C. Hazelton, Herman L. Humphrey, William Pitt Lynde, Thaddeus C. Pound.





SCENE ON THE WISCONSIN RIVER, ON THE LINE OF THE M., L. S. & W. R'y.

CHAPTER LXIII.

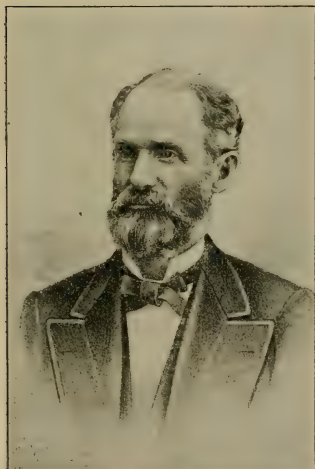
ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR SMITH.

1878-1882.

Biographical Sketch of William E. Smith.—Important Events During His Administration.

OUR next governor is the kindly, courteous, even-tempered William E. Smith. His ability and worth are not questioned. He was born on June 18, 1824, near Inverness, Scotland, thus being the first foreigner who was ever elected to fill the highest executive office of the state of Wisconsin. In 1835,

his family emigrated to America, and settled at Commerce, Oakland county, Michigan. William finished his well-begun education in this country, then decided to adopt a mercantile life, and so first started in business in Michigan, but after a few years went to New York, where he entered the wholesale dry goods house of Ira Smith & Co. This was one of the largest concerns of the time. He remained in their employ five years.



When twenty-five years of age he came West, and settled in Racine county, Wisconsin, not being satisfied with the place, however, moved to Fox Lake, Dodge county, where he established himself in the mercantile business, which he conducted for a period of twenty-three years without intermission.

He was married in 1850, his wife being the daughter of the well-known Rev. John Booth, of Michigan.

In 1850, he was elected to the state assembly, and the following year was nominated for assemblyman, but would not run. In 1857-58, he was a member of the state senate and, during the same year, was appointed by Governor Randall regent of the state normal schools. He held this last position for twenty successive years, or until he himself was made governor.

In 1864 William E. Smith was again state senator, but before his term had fully expired, he was elected state treasurer, and, in 1867, re-elected to the

same office. The uninvested "trust funds" of the state during the possession of this office, were handled in such a manner that great credit was added to his already substantial career. From this time on the private affairs of the governor were merged into public affairs. In November, 1870, he was elected to the legislature, and in January, 1871, was made speaker of the assembly. In this latter trust Mr. Smith was more than successful. The quickness and justness of his decisions, the ability to detect underhand attempts and subterfuges, his genial manners, and his firmness to do right in all cases, were of the utmost account in making him what he was—a success.

In 1872 Mr. Smith moved to Milwaukee and entered into the wholesale grocery business with Judson A. Roundy and Sidney Hauxhurst, under the firm name of Smith, Roundy & Co. In 1874 he was appointed a director of the Wisconsin state prison, which position he occupied until his election as governor compelled him to resign his old office. It was in the year of 1877 that William E. Smith received the Republican nomination for governor of Wisconsin. During this campaign there were three candidates, the first case of this kind in the history of the state. Edward P. Allis was candidate for the Greenbackers, and Judge James A. Mallory the Democratic nominee. The representatives were all influential, powerful men, and when William E. Smith was elected by a plurality of over eight thousand votes, it proved that the people were well aware of his faithfulness and sterling ability. They were not disappointed—from the first Governor Smith's administration was very popular. In 1879 he was re-elected and served conscientiously and well in the high position of trust vested in him. Upon his retirement from office, in January of 1882, he returned to Milwaukee, and together with his son, Ira, and Henry M. Mendel, again started in the wholesale grocery business, which, because of his popularity, became very prosperous.

It was a bitter cold morning, on the 10th day of January, 1883, when occurred the burning of the Newhall House, one of Milwaukee's finest hotels, and which resulted in the loss of nearly one hundred lives. Committees of relief were everywhere established to do what could be done for the dead and relieve the survivors. Governor Smith was appointed chairman of the relief committee, and while serving in this capacity, contracted so severe a cold that pneumonia set in, and he died February 13, 1883. This appeared to be the climax of that dreadful January morning, when so many human lives were either burned or mangled, while attempting to escape the flames. Governor Smith's funeral was attended by great sorrow and respect. The legislative and state officers were present in bodies, for the purpose of testifying the state's great loss. And so ended the life of one of the most faithful workers in the state. He, himself, occupying a high and honorable place in the public community through life, lost his life, how? In the service of the poor and needy.

EVENTS OF 1878.

The thirty-first session of the Wisconsin state legislature, convened January 9, 1878, and adjourned March 21, 1878. An extra session convened June 4, 1878, for the purpose of completing the revision of the statutes. This extra session adjourned June 7, 1878.

The state senate was organized with James M. Bingham as president, A. J. Turner, chief clerk, and L. J. Brayton, sergeant-at-arms. The assembly was constituted as follows: Augustus R. Barrows, speaker; Jabez R. Hunter, chief clerk, and Anton Klaus, sergeant-at-arms.

Governor Smith's message to the legislature was a clean-cut and forcible document, which greatly assisted the legislature in the performance of its numerous duties. Several hundred bills, amendments and private and local laws were passed by this legislature, among the most important of which were the following enactments:

An act to build a pier at Green Bay; an act constituting a board of text book examiners; the refunding of bonded indebtedness to counties, cities, etc.; an act prohibiting the adulteration of milk in butter and cheese factories; acts for the preservation of fish and game, and repealing the tax on dogs.

The generosity of the state was well exhibited through its representatives in its appropriations to the following institutions:

Milwaukee Industrial School for Girls, Institution for the Education of the Blind, Northern Wisconsin Agricultural and Mechanical Association, Industrial School for Boys, State Agricultural Society, Mineral Point Railroad Company, Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Manitowoc County Agricultural Society, State Fish Commissioners, Eastern Monroe Agricultural Society, Northern Hospital for the Insane, State Hospital for the Insane, besides numerous appropriations to town corporations and individuals, aggregating more than \$328,000.

In June, 1878, a cyclone swept through Grant, Iowa, Dane and Jefferson counties, eastward, devastating property, and killing about fifteen persons. During the year the state was overrun by tramps, who created disturbances at various points in the state. In Burnett county an Indian scare prevailed to the extent that hundreds of settlers left their homes, on account of large assemblages of Indians gathering to hold dances.

Ex-Governor Coles Bashford died April 25, 1878.

EVENTS OF 1879.

Wisconsin's thirty-second session of its legislature convened January 8, 1879, and, after being in session fifty-seven days, adjourned on March 5, 1879.

The senate was organized with James M. Bingham as president, Leander B. Hills, chief clerk, and Chalmers Ingersoll, sergeant-at-arms. The assembly

was organized with David M. Kelly as speaker, Charles E. Ross, chief clerk, and Miletus Knight, sergeant-at-arms. The most interesting feature of this legislature was the election of Hon. Matthew H. Carpenter as United States senator on January 22, 1879. The election of Mr. Carpenter was considered a great victory by the able senator's numerous friends.

The Republican state convention placed in nomination Governor William E. Smith for a second term, James M. Bingham, lieutenant-governor; Hans B. Warner, secretary of state; Richard Guenther, state treasurer; Alexander Wilson, attorney-general and William C. Whitford, state superintendent.

The Democratic state convention placed in nomination the following ticket:

James G. Jenkins, for governor; George H. King, lieutenant-governor; Samuel Ryan, secretary of state; Andrew Haben, state treasurer; J. Montgomery Smith, attorney-general, and Edward Searing, state superintendent.

At the November election Governor Smith and the whole Republican ticket was elected by majorities exceeding 12,000. At this election the following congressmen were elected as representatives from the eight districts: Charles D. Williams, Lucien B. Caswell, George C. Hazelton, Peter V. Deuster, Edward S. Bragg, Gabriel Bouck, Herman L. Humphrey and Thaddeus C. Pound.

EVENTS OF 1880.

The thirty-third session of the Wisconsin legislature convened January 14, 1880, and, after being in session sixty-four days, adjourned March 17, 1880.

The state senate was organized with Lieutenant-Governor James M. Bingham as president, Charles E. Bross, chief clerk, and Chalmers Ingersoll, sergeant-at-arms. The assembly was organized with Alexander A. Arnold as speaker, John E. Eldred, chief clerk, and D. H. Pulcifer, sergeant-at-arms.

This legislature, during its brief existence, passed the usual amount of amendments to existing statutes, enacted several important general laws, and made large appropriations to the various state institutions, among which were the following:

State Hospital for Insane, for current expenses to January 1, 1881, \$114,500; for closets and bath-rooms in wards, \$1,000; for covering steam pipes, \$1,500; for new floors, \$1,500; for new wash basins and sinks, \$900; for medical library, \$500; for steam pipes and radiators in the west wing, \$2,000; to the Northern Hospital for Insane, \$55,218, for current expenses to January 1, 1881; for procuring a new water supply from Lake Winnebago, \$15,000; for new pipe and hose for protection against fire, \$1,300; for weighing scales, \$800; for enlarging dry-room, \$500; for storm windows, \$900; for boarding-house, \$1,500; to the Wisconsin Horticultural Society, \$600; to the State Board of Emigration, a sum not exceeding \$3,000; to the Institution for

Education of the Deaf and Dumb, for the purpose of rebuilding a portion of the building, the sum of \$70,000; to the Industrial School for Boys, \$19,967; to the Institution of the Deaf and Dumb, \$14,000, and to the Commissioner of Fisheries, \$2,000.

On October 19, 1880, the celebrated jurist, and the chief justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, Edward G. Ryan, died after a short illness.

EVENTS OF 1881.

The thirty-fourth session of Wisconsin's legislature convened January 12, 1881, and adjourned April 4, 1881, after a session of eighty-three days.

The senate was organized with James M. Bingham, as president, Charles E. Bross, chief clerk, and W. W. Baker, sergeant-at-arms. The assembly was organized with Ira B. Bradford as speaker, John E. Eldred, chief clerk, and G. W. Church, sergeant-at-arms.

The first important matter which received the attention of the legislature was the election of Hon. Philetus Sawyer, the veteran Oshkosh lumberman, to the United States senate. This occurred on January 26, 1881.

The most important law passed at this session of the legislature was an act to submit to the people an amendment of Secs. 4, 5 and 21, Article IV., of the constitution of the state, which amendment provided that "the legislature shall meet at the seat of government, at such time as shall be provided by law, once in two years, and no oftener, unless convened by the governor in special session."

This act was known as the biennial session law, and was submitted to the people at the November election, and ratified by a large majority of the popular vote.

In September, 1881, the strike for reduction of labor hours by the Eau Claire workmen in the mills at that place necessitated the calling out of the national guard by the governor. Some property was injured by the strikers. Eight companies of the national guard were stationed there several days.

The Milwaukee Industrial Exposition was opened to the public during September of this year.

The Republican state convention placed in nomination the following ticket: For governor, Jeremiah M. Rusk; lieutenant-governor, Samuel S. Fifield; secretary of state, Ernst G. Timme; state treasurer, Edward C. McFetridge; attorney-general, Leander F. Frisby; state superintendent, Robert Graham; railroad commissioner, N. C. Haugen; commissioner of insurance, Phillip L. Spooner, Jr.

The Democratic state convention placed in nomination Nicholas D. Fratt for governor; Wendell A. Anderson, lieutenant-governor; Michael Johnson, secretary of state; Frank R. Falk, state treasurer; M. J. Briggs, attorney-

general; Ambrose Hoffman, railroad commissioner; Lewis Kemper, commissioner of insurance.

At the November election the whole Republican ticket was elected by a plurality exceeding 11,000.

At this election the following congressmen were elected to the forty-seventh congress: Charles G. Williams, Lucien B. Caswell, George C. Hazelton, Peter V. Deuster, Edward S. Bragg, Richard Guenther, H. L. Humphrey, Thaddeus C. Pound.

DEATH OF SENATOR CARPENTER.

The well-beloved and illustrious senator, Hon. Matt. H. Carpenter, died at his home in Washington, on the 24th day of February, 1881. The Hon. Charles G. Williams, in his memorial address, spoke thus of the closing scene, that ushered the renowned senator into another and a better world.

"It so chanced that with others I spent the night at his bedside, and saw him breathe his last. I am aware that the scenes of the death chamber are sacred, not to be drawn upon for mere dramatic effect, but there were incidents connected with this one which, I think, more fully portray the characteristics of the deceased than volumes of eulogy could do. I was told that, some little time before, he had wandered slightly in his mind, and in his dreams fancied himself back among his Vermont hills again; that he spoke tenderly, even plaintively, of his mother, who died when he was a mere lad, and then for minutes together he would fall into deep and fervent prayer. But on this last night his brain was clear, and his lion-like nature never more strongly asserted itself.

"As the shadow deepened and he began to sink, his devoted wife clung to him on the one side, while on the other was his loving daughter, and above them the pale face of his young son. I noticed that the daughter invariably addressed him as 'My boy,' and when near the last she would say: 'Do you know Pet, my boy?' His great eyes would open, and in a voice modulated only by affection he would reply: 'Why, of course, I do;' and when the wife made the same inquiry, always addressing him by the familiar and endearing term, 'Matt,' the response was the same. At one time, near midnight, when the attending physician had persuaded the family to retire for a while, and himself was seeking needed rest, I was left in the room with no one but the colored man, Robert, who told me, in a voice stifled with emotion, that he had been the senator's body servant for twelve years and more. Having occasion to go to the parlors below, and returning before I was expected, a most impressive scene met my view. The light was low, the senator was sleeping. The thick silver locks fell back from his massive forehead. Near him on the carpet was the pile of law books which he had ordered from the office and studied in his last case, while at the foot of the bed the colored man, Robert, knelt in silent prayer. This is fact, not fancy, and it tells the whole story."

Judge Arthur McArthur, who was present at the senator's death, speaks in this language of the decline and death of this great man :

"The death of a great man is nearly always sudden, unexpected and appalling. He lives so much in the public eye, and is interwoven so much with the public life, that what belongs to the individual is overlooked in the common interest and admiration, and when his death occurs, it comes upon us like a tropical sunset—sudden, instantaneous, involving us in darkness and despair. This was in some measure true in regard to the demise of Senator Carpenter. Those who were intimate with him had for many months observed a marked change in his appearance ; his magnificent person was losing its fullness of habit ; the luster of his merry eye, the cadence of his ringing laugh, were impaired and overcast with the coming shadow. Fits of indisposition were alternated with periods of apparently returning health, and hope and friendship recovered confidence and abandoned all fears for his safety.

"On the afternoon of Wednesday, I visited at his residence and stood by his bedside, where he was then asleep. I saw a dreadful change had happened ; the end was written upon his face, and then for the first time I gave up all hope. Upon calling later in the evening, I found his respiration painful and laborious, and it seemed as if his life were struggling to retain its dominion in every breath. A torpor had seized upon his countenance, but his attention could be aroused to particular persons and objects. Placing my hand upon his shoulders, and gently shaking him, I asked him if he knew me. After a second he replied, 'It is the Judge ;' and after another short pause, he added, 'Mrs. Carpenter and I have been talking of going over to see you ;' and then, as if his old spirit of humor and merriment had returned, he said, 'Judge, I want to make a motion ;' to which I replied that the motion was granted without argument.

"An hour or two after midnight I was again by his bedside. He was still weaker than before, and the vital forces were yielding slowly but surely to the impending catastrophe. The last indication of consciousness occurred shortly before daybreak, when he slowly turned his head toward Mrs. Carpenter and his daughter. It was his last effort at recognition, and he closed his eyes never again to behold his loved ones on earth.

"At this time there were present, his wife, daughter and son. Dr. Fox, who had traveled night and day from Milwaukee, and who supplemented science with friendship and love, was also present, as was the Hon. Charles G. Williams. As the members of his own family sat by the bedside of him they loved so dearly, it seemed to me the most beautiful, the most sad and touching tableau I had ever witnessed. At length daybreak broke through the crevices of the curtains, the sun came forth in unclouded splendor, and the atmosphere was balmy as in the early days of spring. It was full of the elixir of life,

but brought no relief to our friend. Leading Mrs. Carpenter to the window, I asked her if she could remember the dying expressions of the great Mirabeau, whom her husband so much resembled in his powers of persuasion. 'Open the windows,' he exclaimed. 'Throw aside the curtains and let the sunshine fill the apartment and bathe me in its beams, and let the incense of the garden reach my senses, for I would die amidst the perfume of its flowers.' 'How different,' I said to her, 'is this scene in one respect, for the great Frenchman, though he feared not death, believed it to be an eternal sleep. But your gifted husband, although so largely absorbed in the activities of life, and although taking such large share in public business, had a strong and fruitful religious vein in his nature, and believed that death, instead of being our final destiny, was but the entrance into a higher and truer life.'

"At about nine o'clock, Dr. Fox called me suddenly to the bedside. The breathing had almost ceased, the quick respiration had entirely gone. The breath came at long intervals, and the attending clergyman began reading the solemn service of the Episcopal church for the dying. The physician kept his hand upon the heart to mark the ebbing tide of life. I looked at the doctor after each spasm, and the reply was, 'Not yet.' At last came a pause—long, endless. The physician withdrew his hand. Carpenter was dead."

Matt H. Carpenter was the son of Ira Carpenter and Esther Ann Luce-Carpenter. He was born in the very heart of Vermont, at Moretown, in the center of Washington county, on December 22, 1824.

THE FUNERAL.

The funeral of Senator Carpenter, which was held in Washington, was one of the largest ever held in that city, and was extremely impressive and sorrowful. It was held at 2:30 o'clock Sunday afternoon, February 27, 1881, at the Carpenter residence on Connecticut Avenue. Members of the cabinet, judges of the United States supreme court, diplomatic officials, members of congress, and many distinguished citizens from Wisconsin, Vermont, New York, Illinois, and other states were present.

The pall-bearers appointed from both houses of congress were Angus Cameron, Roscoe Conkling, George H. Pendleton, John A. Logan, F. M. Cockrell, Charles G. Williams, George C. Hazelton, Horace F. Page, J. Randolph Tucker and E. G. Lapham.

The ceremonies at the residence consisted of the impressive burial service of the Episcopal church. While the bells of St. John's church rang out their sweet but sad vespers for the dead, the procession moved to Oak Hill Cemetery. At the cemetery prayers were read, and the coffin, strewn with fragrant flowers, by the dead senator's daughter, was consigned to the vault to await its final interment in Wisconsin.

Six weeks later, the United States senate adjourned, especially for the purpose of honoring the dead, and attending the funeral cortege to its last resting place in Wisconsin. The congressional pall-bearers, the family and numerous friends, left Washington on a special train, with the dead, on Friday, April 8. Governor William E. Smith, of Wisconsin, a legislative committee, and about one hundred members of committees from the Chamber of Commerce, Milwaukee bar, and other organizations met the funeral train at Chicago, and accompanied it to Milwaukee. At the depot in Milwaukee, a large procession of military and civic societies joined the procession, and led the way to the court house, where the casket was consigned to the care of the local committees, by Hon. Roscoe Conkling, who said :

“GOVERNOR—We are deputed by the senate of the United States to bring back the ashes of Wisconsin's illustrious son, and reverently and tenderly return them to the great commonwealth he served so faithfully and loved so well. To Wisconsin the pale and sacred clay belongs, but the memory and the fame of Matthew Hale Carpenter are the nation's treasures, and long will the sisterhood of states mourn the bereavement which bows all hearts to-day.”

The body lay in state in the rotunda of the court house, heavily draped in mourning, with the Sheridan Guards as a guard of honor. Early Sunday morning, on April 10, 1881, the court house doors were thrown open and before 2 o'clock nearly fifty thousand persons had viewed for the last time their beloved leader, neighbor and friend. The funeral procession contained the entire legislature, state officers, members of the supreme court, several military companies, and a large number of civic societies. The line marched to Forest Home Cemetery, where the last sad rites were performed.

EVENTS OF 1884.

On December 1st, the building at the State University, known as Science hall, was burned to the ground.

At the Republican state convention, the following ticket was placed in nomination: For governor, Jeremiah M. Rusk; lieutenant-governor, Sam. S. Fifield; secretary of state, Ernst G. Timme; state treasurer, Edward McFetridge; attorney-general, Leander F. Frisby; state superintendent, Robert Graham; railroad commissioner, Nils P. Haugen; commissioner of insurance, Phillip L. Spooner, Jr.

The Democratic state convention placed in nomination the following ticket: Governor, Nicholas D. Fratt; lieutenant-governor, A. C. Parkinson; secretary of state, Hugh G. Gallagher; state treasurer, Frank R. Falk; attorney-general, Willis C. Silverthorn; state superintendent, Isaac Stewart; railroad commissioner, Conrad Krez; commissioner of insurance, Ole S. Holm.

At the November election the whole Republican ticket was elected, Governor Rusk's plurality being 19,269.

The Wisconsin members of the forty-eighth congress were John Winans, Daniel H. Sumner, Burr W. Jones, Peter V. Deuster, Joseph Rankin, Richard Guenther, Gilbert M. Woodward, William T. Price, Isaac Stephenson.

EVENTS OF 1885.

The thirty-seventh session of the Wisconsin legislature, which was the first biennial legislature, convened January 14, 1885, and adjourned April 13, 1885, after a session of eighty-nine days.

The senate was organized with Lieutenant-Governor Sam. S. Fifield as president, Charles E. Bross, chief clerk, and Hubert Wolcott, sergeant-at-arms. The assembly was organized with Hiram O. Fairchild as speaker, E. D. Coe, chief clerk, and John M. Ewing, sergeant-at-arms.

On January 28th, John C. Spooner was elected United States senator.

EVENTS OF 1886.

This year was noted for its labor troubles at Milwaukee. The workmen, principally at Bay View, organized a strike to enforce the eight hour system. On May 3d, 4th and 5th, they became riotous, and on the last day named, refused to obey the authorities. They were fired upon by the national guards, under instructions from Governor Rusk, and several were either killed or wounded.

In October, the limited express on the C., M. & St. P. Ry. was wrecked at East Rio, Columbia county, and from eleven to fifteen persons killed, many being burned to death.

The Republican state convention nominated the following persons: For governor, Jeremiah M. Rusk; lieutenant-governor, George W. Ryland; secretary of state, Ernst G. Timme; state treasurer, Henry B. Harshaw; attorney-general, Charles E. Esterbrook; state superintendent, Jesse B. Thayer; railroad commissioner, Atley Peterson; commissioner of insurance, Philip Cheek, Jr.

The Democratic state convention made the following nominations: For governor, Gilbert M. Woodward; lieutenant-governor, John D. Putnam; secretary of state, John C. Ludwig; state treasurer, John A. Johnson; attorney-general, George W. Bird; state superintendent, Edward McLoughlin; railroad commissioner, James Meehan; commissioner of insurance, John Karel.

The whole Republican ticket was elected by a large majority, Mr. Rusk's plurality being 18,718.

Wisconsin's representatives in the forty-ninth congress were Lucien B. Caswell, Edward S. Bragg, Robert M. La Follette, Isaac W. Van Schaick, Joseph Rankin, T. R. Hudd, Richard Guenther, Ormsby B. Thomas, William T. Price, Hugh H. Price and Isaac Stephenson.

Hon. Joseph Rankin died, January 24, 1886, and T. R. Hudd, his successor, was elected to fill the vacancy on January 18, 1887. Hon. William T. Price died January 7, 1886, and Hugh H. Price was elected January 18, 1887, to fill the vacancy.

EVENTS OF 1887.

The thirty-eighth session of the legislature convened January 12, 1887, and adjourned April 15, 1887.

The senate was organized with Lieutenant-Governor George W. Ryland, as president, Charles E. Bross, chief-clerk, and T. J. George, sergeant-at-arms. The assembly was organized with Thomas B. Mills, speaker, E. D. Coe, chief clerk, and William A. Adamson, sergeant-at-arms.

On January 26th, the legislature elected the Hon. Philetus Sawyer, as United States senator to succeed himself.

This year was principally noted throughout the state as being the great booming year in Gogebic iron stocks.

EVENTS OF 1888.

The Gogebic iron stocks having reached a high figure, a reaction set in, causing a collapse in these stocks, which resulted in the failure of many stock speculators throughout the state and elsewhere.

The Republican state convention, this fall, made the following nominations: For governor, William D. Hoard; lieutenant-governor, George W. Ryland; secretary of state, Ernst G. Timme; state treasurer, Henry B. Harshaw; attorney-general, Charles E. Esterbrook; state superintendent, Jesse B. Thayer; railroad commissioner, Atley Peterson; commissioner of insurance, Philip Cheek, Jr.

The Democratic state convention placed in nomination the following ticket: For governor, James Morgan; lieutenant-governor, Andrew Kull; secretary of state, August C. Larson; state treasurer, Theodore Kersten; attorney-general, Timothy E. Ryan; state superintendent, Amos Squire; railroad commissioner, Herman Naber; commissioner of insurance, Evan W. Evans.

The next November election resulted in the election of the entire Republican ticket, Mr. Hoard's plurality being 20,273.

Wisconsin's representatives in the fiftieth congress were as follows: L. B. Caswell, Richard Guenther, Robert La Follette, Henry Smith, T. R. Hudd, C. B. Clark, Ormsby B. Thomas, Nils P. Haugen and Isaac Stephenson.



SCENE ON THE LINE OF THE M., L. S. & W. RY.

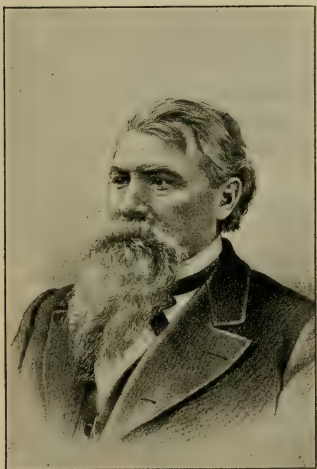
CHAPTER LXIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR RUSK.

1882—1889.

Biographical Sketch of Jeremiah M. Rusk.—Important Events During His Incumbency.

PROBABLY the strongest and most pronounced character yet chosen for governor of Wisconsin was Jeremiah M. Rusk. He was born in Morgan county, Ohio, on the 17th day of June, 1830, of Scottish ancestry. His early education was principally derived from nature. His physical and mental



strength he gained from out-door exercise, plain food and a thorough determination to succeed. Under these favorable conditions he was well adapted for the great future which lay undisturbed before him.

He was but fourteen years of age when his father died, leaving him, a mere boy, to battle with the world in order to help support his mother and two sisters. For this reason, at the age of fifteen, he sought work, and at last found a place as driver of a four-horse stage between Zanesville and Newark. Passionately fond of horses, he soon became an expert in horsemanship, an accomplishment of which he was very proud. He next learned the cooper's trade, and, although he did not work at his trade for

any great length of time, still, it is said, he could set up a barrel as well as the best in the trade.

He was married at the early age of nineteen, and settled on a farm in Vernon county in 1853, at which place he resided up to the time of his death. His good sense and shrewdness made him a favorite among the people, and he was soon placed at the head of public affairs. In 1855, Mr. Rusk was made sheriff of his adopted county, and was one of the best sheriffs the county has ever known. In November, 1861, he was elected to the legislature, and in this position did all he could to further appropriate war measures. At the end of his term, "Jerry," as he was familiarly known throughout the country, turned his entire attention

to the war. He was commissioned major of the Twenty-fifth regiment. After serving but a short time he was promoted to the colonelcy, and in this capacity served with General Sherman from Vicksburg to the close of the war. He was brevetted brigadier-general because of his bravery at the battle of Salkehatchie.

General Rusk's popularity as a soldier was well known. He never ordered his boys to go, but always led them himself, and bade them "come on." He was brave, courageous and decided, and when McPherson fell Rusk's command was at the front. He lost one-third of his men in this engagement. Rusk himself was completely cut off from his men and surrounded by the rebel forces, armed with saber-bayonets. The enemy ordered him to surrender, but General Rusk, his sword having been lost, drew his pistol, and used it with such good effect that he was able to reach his own ranks, with only a slight wound on his leg, and the loss of his sword and horse, the latter being completely riddled with bullets.

In 1866 Mr. Rusk was elected bank comptroller, which office he held for four years. Then he was elected to the Forty-second, Forty-third and Forty-fourth congresses. He was here, as in every other position, active and useful. It was in 1881 that Garfield appointed him minister to Paraguay and Denmark, both of which positions he declined, as well as others that were tendered to him.

In November of 1881, being prompted by the jests of Governor Foster, of Ohio, he decided to go home and run for governor of Wisconsin. There were several candidates in the field at the time of his arrival in Wisconsin, but this did not discourage him. His ability and intellectual dexterity made him very pleasing to the people in general, as was fully illustrated in his re-election of 1884, and his again being re-elected in 1886. He served longer as chief executive of the State of Wisconsin, than any other man—seven years—this was done in order to make all offices begin with the even numbered years.

It was during Rusk's administration that the farmers' institutes were organized; the bureau of labor and industrial statistics established; the office of state veterinary surgeon established with absolute authority to control and condemn diseased horses and cattle, and preserve the general health of domestic animals; a state pension agent was appointed; the north and south wings of the capitol, and the state school for dependent children at Sparta, and the science hall of the state university were built.

In 1888, Jeremiah M. Rusk was made a presidential candidate by the Wisconsin delegation. In March, 1889, he was made secretary of agriculture by President Harrison, which position he filled with honor until the expiration of his term, which expired with the Harrison administration, on March 4, 1893.

Jeremiah M. Rusk was a tall, well-built man, standing six feet and two inches. He was massive in frame, agile and quick in his movements, and of

a remarkable appearance. He occupied no public position since he was secretary of agriculture under Harrison, but was mentioned as a prominent candidate for the presidency in 1889. This noted man died at his home in Viroqua, on November 21, 1893, after an illness of several weeks.

EVENTS OF 1882.

The thirty-fifth session of the Wisconsin state legislature convened January 11, 1882, and adjourned March 31, 1882, after a session of eighty days.

The senate was organized with Lieutenant-Governor Samuel F. Fifield, as president; Charles E. Bross, chief clerk, and A. T. Glaze, sergeant-at-arms. The assembly was organized with Franklin L. Gibson as speaker; E. D. Coe, chief clerk, D. E. Welch, sergeant-at-arms.

Governor Rusk's first annual message was delivered to the legislature, Thursday, January 12, 1882. It contained methodical, clear and concise statements, treating upon the financial affairs of the state, embracing the school fund income, university fund, agricultural and normal school funds and the drainage, delinquent tax, and deposit fund.

The governor's report upon the state debt, expenditures and revenues are as follows:

"STATE DEBT.

"The distribution of the bonded debt of the state, September 30, 1881, was as follows:

War bonds outstanding.....	\$ 2,000 00
Certificates of indebtedness.....	2,250,000 00
Currency certificates	57 00
Total	2,252,057 00

"And, in addition to this, there was on the 1st day of January, 1882, a deficiency for the care of the state charitable and penal institutions as shown by the report of the board of supervision, of \$55,944.82 and a claim of the United States against the state for \$206,133.04, making a total of \$2,514,134.86.

"EXPENDITURES AND REVENUES.

"The Secretary of State makes the following estimate of the expenditures to be defrayed from the treasury during the year beginning January 1, 1883:

"EXPENDITURES.

Salaries and permanent appropriations.....	\$ 227,730 50
Legislative expenses	95,750 00
Interest on state indebtedness.....	164,588 36
Charitable and penal institutions.....	235,000 00
Clerks and employes.....	62,000 00
Miscellaneous.....	262,000 00
Total expenditures.....	\$1,047,068 86

"REVENUES.

License and fees	\$562,700 00
Taxes authorized by law.....	234,368 86
Total revenues.....	\$797,068 86

"This estimate shows that it will be necessary for this legislature to provide the sum of \$250,000, and I would recommend that the amount is reasonable and proper."

The governor also reminded the legislature of the increasing number of chronic insane, and suggested that proper steps be taken to properly care for and treat these unfortunates. In that portion of the message treating upon the educational affairs, the attendance of children at all public schools within the state, for the year of 1880, was reported at 483,229, and in 1881, was 489,142, an increase of 5,913, which indicated that Northern Wisconsin was rapidly being settled. The total valuation of the school property in the state was estimated at \$5,543,049.61. The total amount expended during the year of 1881, was \$2,302,038.34, or \$6.97 for each person attending school. The amount expended on each pupil in 1880, was \$7.24, and the previous year, \$7.44.

The governor, in this important message, also called the attention of the legislature to the report of Professor Henry's estimate, that syrup could be made in this state at the rate of one hundred and eighty gallons per acre of amber cane, and recommended that an appropriation be made for the purpose of printing the professor's report and the distribution of the same.

This message complimented the able and efficient management of the State Historical Society by its officers. In referring to this important subject, the governor said:

"The State Historical Society has been ably managed. From a very small beginning, it has grown to be a large institution of peculiar interest to the people of the state. It is regarded as one of the most complete collections of its class in the United States, and is worthy of the fostering care of the state. I would recommend to the legislature that they provide a suitable building for the use of the society, separate from the capitol. Its present quarters are entirely inadequate to its wants, and the rooms it now occupies are needed for the convenience of the legislature. In such a building suitable room should be provided for the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters."

The state board of health, railroads, insurance, fish culture, immigration, the Wisconsin National Guard, the Industrial School for Girls, and the state apportionment all received proper attention by the worthy governor, who concluded his message in this language:

"I have thus briefly called your attention to such matters as seem, in my judgment, to be for the welfare of the state. The people expect economy in

expenditures, and will hold all public officers to a strict accountability for all of their transactions. With grateful hearts to the Supreme Ruler of the universe for all the blessings we enjoy, and a firm reliance upon Him for our future guidance, let us proceed to the discharge of the duties imposed upon us by the constitution and the laws."

Ex-Governor Cadwallader C. Washburn died at the age of sixty-four years, at Eureka Springs, Arkansas, on May 14, 1882.

EVENTS OF 1883.

The thirty-sixth session of the legislature convened January 10, 1883, and adjourned April 4, 1883, after a session of eighty-five days.

The senate was organized with Lieutenant-Governor Samuel F. Fifield as president, Charles E. Bross, chief clerk, and A. D. Thorpe, sergeant-at-arms. The assembly was organized with Earl P. Finch as speaker, I. T. Carr, chief clerk, and Thomas Kennedy, sergeant-at-arms.

On January 10th, the Newhall House at Milwaukee burned. Many persons perished, either in the flames or in leaping from the upper stories of the building. The death loss has been estimated at from seventy to one hundred. The following chapter gives a detailed history of the terrible conflagration.

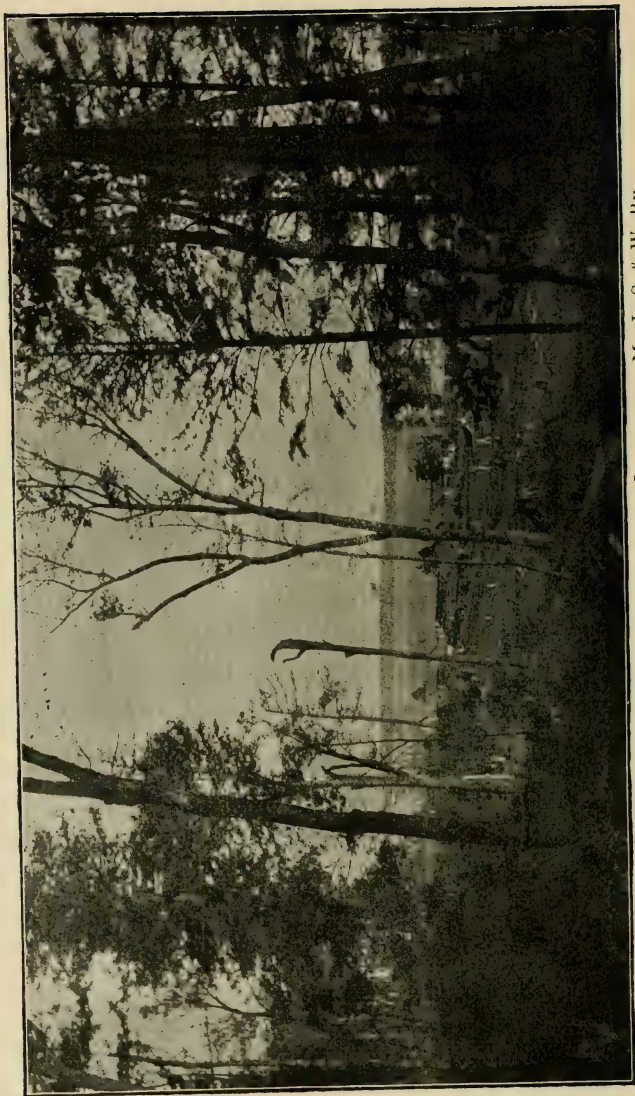
On March 25th, Hon. Timothy O. Howe, postmaster-general, died at Racine.

On November 8th, the south wing of the capitol extension at Madison, which was in progress of construction, fell, killing seven workmen, and injuring numerous others.

February 23d, Ex-Governor William E. Smith died from pneumonia contracted while acting in the capacity of chairman of the relief committee, appointed to look after the Newhall sufferers.

At the congressional election held in November, 1883, the following members of congress were elected to represent the state in the forty-seventh congress, to-wit:

John Winans, Richard Guenther, D. H. Sumner, Gilbert M. Woodward, Burr W. Jones, William T. Price, Peter V. Deuster, Isaac Stephenson, Joseph Rankin.



TWIN LAKES IN NORTHERN WISCONSIN, ON THE LINE OF THE M., L. S. & W. RY.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE NEWHALL HOUSE FIRE.

Milwaukee's Well-Known Hotel Burns.—Horrible Death of Many of its Inmates.—Miraculous Escapes.—Deeds of Brave Men.—Sad Fate of the Heroine, Katie Linehan.—Public Funeral and Inquest.

"Not a sound rose from the city at that early morning hour,
But I heard a heart of iron beating in the ancient tower."

THE guests at the Newhall House, one of the largest and best appointed hotels in the Northwest, located on the corner of Michigan street and Broadway, in Milwaukee, had retired upon the evening of the 9th of January, 1883, and in the early hours of the 10th, little suspecting that this almost palatial hotel would, within a few hours, be the funeral pyre of many of its inmates, and the scene of indescribable horror.

"At my feet the city slumbered. From its chimneys, here and there,
Wreaths of snow-white smoke ascending, vanished, ghost-like, into air."

Shortly after four o'clock an alarm was sent from Box No. 15, to the fire department, and in a few moments the department was at the scene of the disaster. The fire alarm which was sounded awoke many of the citizens of Milwaukee, to witness one of the most horrible casualties ever recorded in the history of the Northwest.

The first alarm called out Engines No. 2 and No. 5, Hook and Ladder Truck No. 3, Supply Hose No. 1, and a chemical engine. In less than two minutes from the time the engines left their headquarters, they arrived at the scene of destruction, yet, upon their arrival, flames were darting out through the windows on Michigan street, near the corner of Broadway, and the frightened guests were already jumping from the upper windows to the pavement below.

Engine No. 1 took water from the hydrant on the corner of Michigan street and Broadway, opposite the hotel, while Truck No. 1 stopped in front of the hotel and sent in two chemical extinguishers to fight the flames in the elevator shaft. Foreman Riemer, of Truck No. 1, investigating the condition of the fire in the elevator shaft, at once perceived that the fire was burning furiously as far up as the third story. He immediately ordered the chemical extinguishers back to the truck and the men to the ladders. A ladder twenty feet long was placed against the burning building, which bore two firemen to the first

balcony with a ladder twenty-four feet long. The second ladder was now raised from the balcony to the third story. On these two ladders, which reached forty-four feet, seven persons were saved from various rooms in the third story. Work with these ladders was now abandoned, and the extension ladder, with a reach of sixty-five feet, was brought into use from Truck No. 1. It was set up against the building, and one man came safely down over it. An effort was made by the firemen to move the ladder over to where Allen Johnson and his wife were standing in a window facing Broadway, but the ladder came in contact with a projection of the building. The endless chain jumped from the pinion, causing the upper section of the ladder to come down with a crash, hopelessly disabling it. The remainder of the fire department had now arrived and entered actively upon the work of rescue. The seven fire-engines had been located, and were pouring water into the building through ten nozzles, without any apparent result. A piece of canvas fifteen feet square with eight handles on each side was also brought into use, to catch jumpers. This device was not so great a success as was anticipated.

FRIGHTENED INMATES LEAP TO DEATH.

While the first ladders were being raised against the building, W. H. Hall, of La Porte, Indiana, who occupied a room on the fourth floor, adjoining that of Martin Weber, his business partner, became excited and undertook to climb down on the window caps and sashes, and had succeeded in reaching the third story, when he slipped and fell to the pavement, receiving fatal injuries. Mrs. Allen Johnson, shortly after the extension ladder became damaged, jumped or fell, and struck the balcony railing, and from there fell to the pavement below. She was taken to the American Express Office in a dying condition. Mr. Johnson still stood at the window awaiting assistance, while the firemen protected him from the flames by a stream of water. Firemen Curtin and Riemer requested Mr. Johnson not to jump, as another ladder was being brought to rescue him, but the excited people below denounced the advice given by the firemen and frantically cried, "Jump! jump!" Mr. Johnson, who was now hanging outward against the north side of the window facing Broadway, released his hold on the casing and jumped, striking the edge of the canvas with such force that it was torn from the grasp of those who were attempting to hold it, and he heavily struck the pavement, receiving fatal injuries. He, too, was taken to the American Express Office and placed beside his dying wife. Mrs. Johnson survived her husband by about one hour. Immediately after Mr. Johnson had made his jump to death, Foreman Curtin turned toward the alley and was there met by William Linehan, fireman of the hotel, who implored him to bring ladders to the alley and rescue the servant girls, who were jumping from their quarters in the

fifth story. The extension ladders were at once hurried to the alley of death. The scene here was a frightful one. So frightful indeed that the firemen were appalled for a moment. There, upon the cobble stones in the alley, lay the mangled forms of eleven girls. The bodies of the poor victims were removed. A ladder had been ordered placed across the alley from an opposite building, and was successfully rescuing the girls. One ladder was placed against the fire-escape, near the corner of Broadway, and another over the Michigan street entrance. Many people escaped down these ladders in safety. While the brave firemen were busy, the frenzied guests and servants were jumping to certain destruction. The mangled bodies of the unfortunates were hurried from under the now tottering walls of the doomed building by the spectators, who carried them into the American Express Office, the Chamber of Commerce, and into the Stanley and Camp jewelry store, on the corner of Wisconsin street and Broadway. In one of the windows on the fifth floor, facing Michigan street, stood John Gilbert, an actor, and his young bride. They had been married the previous morning, at Chicago, and had come on to Milwaukee to join the theatrical troupe to which Mr. Gilbert belonged. They both jumped. Mrs. Gilbert was instantly killed; her husband received severe injuries, but recovered. His real name is Donahoe. When his mother went in search of her son's young wife, it was indeed a pitiful sight. The weeping, aged woman, searching eagerly among the mangled forms at the morgue, brushing back the matted hair from the pale foreheads, and anxiously examining every feature of the ghastly faces. Three times she believed she had found her daughter-in-law, and three times was she mistaken. At last she identified the same body which Mr. John R. Rogers, manager of the Minnie Palmer Company, had identified as Mrs. Gilbert; on the body was found a bright new wedding ring, making the identification still stronger. The body was turned over to her friends.

T. B. Elliott, of the law firm of Jenkins, Elliott and Winkler, had been attending an I. O. O. F. reception at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. He was urged to stay, but declining, took a late train for Milwaukee, and was the last to arrive at the ill-fated hotel. His room was on the fifth floor. He was not asleep very long before he awoke, because of the smoke. He immediately rushed to the window and jumped, striking on the balcony. His injuries were fatal. He was taken to the Kirby House.

Walter H. Scott, an employe of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, occupying the room next to Mr. Elliott, also jumped to the pavement. He was taken to the American Express Office and there died. D. G. Powers, real estate agent and inventor, jumped from his room in the sixth story and was killed. His head and face were burned, which showed that he had either tried to escape through the hall, or that the fire had penetrated his chamber and forced him to jump. His body was taken to the morgue, where it was claimed by friends.

Judson J. Hough, of Maroa, Illinois, the special agent of the Northwestern National Insurance Company, and a nephew of Allen Johnson, had a room on the fifth floor. When first noticed he was astride the ornamental cap of the window just below his own room. The fire broke out of the window below him, the cruel flames licking his person, until he was obliged to loose his hold and drop. He struck the balcony, receiving injuries from which he died.

Probably the most touching sight was the death of Miss Libbie A. Chellis, head dressmaker in T. A. Chapman's dry goods store. Her room was in the sixth story, facing Broadway. When the hotel was wrapped in flames, she appeared at her window, and sinking upon her knees, raised her eyes to Heaven, as though beseeching for Divine assistance. Her friends below urged her to jump, but she heeded not, remaining in her kneeling position until the flames wrapped themselves around her, and carried her backward in their unreleasing clasp. Her body was not identified, being burned beyond recognition.

During the excitement of the conflagration, no thought was given to the hotel register, and when at last it was thought of and looked for in the safe, was not to be found. Through this reason it will never be known exactly how many lost their lives in the terrible Newhall fire.

In many parts of the ruins, when the clearing away of the debris had begun, were found heaps of pure white ash, which was evidence that many persons were wholly incinerated. How many will never be known. Twenty-eight victims of the terrible fire were identified, while forty-three were unidentified. The names of the unidentified were given by Ben K. Tice and John H. Antisdell, clerks at the hotel, from memory. Seven names could not be recalled.

LIST OF IDENTIFIED.

Mrs. L. W. Brown, Mrs. John E. Gilbert, Mary Conroy, Mary McMahon, Mary McDade, Mary Anderson, Ottillie Waltersdorf, Bessie Brown, Kattie Linehan, Mrs. Allen Johnson, Julia F. Groesbeck (known as Bleeker), Lizzie Anglin, Mary Miller, David H. Martelle, Maggie Sullivan, Augusta Giese, Bridget O'Connell, Julia Fogerty, Anna Hager, Walter H. Scott, Thos. E. Van Loon, David G. Power, Allen Johnson, Judson J. Hough, Theo. B. Elliott, Robert Howie, William C. Wiley, Wm. H. Hall.

LIST OF UNIDENTIFIED.

Libbie A. Chellis, Nora Flanagan, Rosa Burns, Annie McMahon, Margaret Owens, Mary Owens, Lizzie Kelly, Jane Dunn, Ann Casey, Augusta Trapp, Kate Monahan, Amelia Krause, Maggie Finnegan, Kate Connors, Mary Burke, Martha Schloessner, J. Bradford Kellogg, Richard Goggin, Q.

C. Brown, Geo. G. Smith, Judge Geo. Reed, Capt. Jas. P. Vose, L. K. Smith, J. H. Foley, Prof. B. Mason, Geo. Lowry, Just Haak, W. E. Fullmer, Emil Geisler, Fred Barker, Walter Gillon, William Gillon, Daniel Moynahan, Gust Fredericks, Ernst Schoenbucher, C. Kelsey.

MIRACULOUS ESCAPES.

S. A. Grant and E. Erickson, of Palmyra, Wisconsin, had a narrow escape from their rooms on the fourth floor. Mr. Erickson was awakened by the confusion in the hall, and, jumping out of bed, he called Mr. Grant, his room-mate, saying, "that the house was on fire." Opening the door, he found the hall filled with hot air and smoke, with the fire about forty feet away. He returned and the companions quickly dressed, even putting on their overcoats. They then went to the window and called for help. Looking down Erickson saw the cast-iron cap on top of the window below projecting out and upward. This projection was only a few feet below him. Holding to the window sash in his own room, he stepped down on the iron cap and swung himself to the center of the window and broke it with his feet, and shouted to his companion to follow him. Letting go with one hand, he grasped the window sash below, then releasing the other hand he held to the center bar of the sash, and dropped to the window sill below, and in this manner he swung himself to the next window cap, repeating the operation down three stories until he came to the dining-room on the second floor. From this place he escaped by means of a tablecloth and the telegraph wires into the basement below. His companion, Grant, instead of following him, ran twenty or thirty feet in the hall, when he was driven back by the fierce flames. He now broke open the door of a room, rushed to the window and called to his companion, Erickson, who directed him to descend as he was doing. Grant did as he was advised, and thus saved his life.

Sylvester Bleeker, the manager of the Tom Thumb Company, and wife, occupied a room in the fourth story, directly over those occupied by Tom Thumb and wife. Mr. Bleeker tied strips of bed clothes together and began to lower his wife to the balcony below. After being lowered some little distance, she lost her hold and fell to the balcony, receiving injuries from which she afterwards died. Mr. Bleeker succeeded in climbing down also to the balcony, from whence he safely passed over a ladder to the pavement below.

I. W. Brown and wife occupied a room on the fifth floor, of the Broadway front. Mrs. Brown was awake at the time and clothed, awaiting the hour for the departure of an early train. Mr. Brown was still in bed. Mrs. Brown heard the alarm in the halls, and thinking she heard the roar of flames, urged her husband to investigate the cause. Mr. Brown merely placed his hand on the wall, and jokingly remarked, "that heat usually accompanied a fire, and

that the wall was cold." The noise having become greater each moment, Mrs. Brown prevailed on her husband to investigate the cause, which he did by opening the door into the hall. The flames were then a foot above the floor, near the elevator shaft, and in close proximity to their room. After dressing in a hurried manner, Mr. Brown and his wife attempted to leave the room, by way of the hall, but the flames now made it impossible. Tearing up the sheets and blankets, he soon made a rope, which he let down to the balcony. Tying the hastily improvised line to a sewing machine, Mr. Brown endeavored to persuade his wife to lower herself to the balcony, three stories below, but she was afraid to trust herself on so frail a rope. In order to assure her, Mr. Brown swung out and reached the balcony in safety, his wife having promised that in the event of his success, she would immediately follow. While suspended on the rope and before reaching the balcony, a dark object shot swiftly past him. It was Mrs. Brown, who had jumped to death.

W. C. Wiley, of Detroit, and W. R. Busenbark, of Chicago, roomed on the fourth floor, facing Michigan street. They were awakened by the roar of the fire, and after endeavoring to escape by way of the hall, Mr. Busenbark jumped from the window upon the telegraph wires, the recoil of which threw him off and he fell to the street, receiving a number of bad cuts and some severe injuries. His companion, Mr. Wiley, perished in the hall. James McAlpine, Andrew Hardy and J. R. Duval roomed in the sixth story, on the north side. The windows of their room opened above the roof of Sherman's photograph gallery. They escaped by jumping from their window and landing upon the roof of the gallery below. The only occupants of all the rooms on the sixth floor, who escaped besides the three just mentioned, were Ben. K. Tice, chief clerk, Patrick Conroy and Thomas Cleary, bell-boys. Mr. Tice escaped by breaking the window at the end of the hall, next the alley, and passing down the ladder built on the side of the building. As he reached the roof of the bridge, between the hotel and the bank building, he heard someone attempting to open the door on the fifth floor of the hotel, leading to the bridge. He broke in the door and found Lizzie Anglin and carried her to the roof of the bank building. Mr. Tice then returned in order to save Mollie Connors, Lizzie's room-mate, but as the flames were now raging furiously from the door and windows, from whence they had just escaped, Mollie's rescue was impossible. Mr. Tice, after breaking a window in the roof of the bank, took Miss Anglin to a hallway below. Her injuries proved fatal.

The servants' quarters were on the fifth floor of the hotel, and along the alley side of the building, about twenty feet north of Michigan street. The rooms were built along a hall, running north and south, and totally separated from the guests' apartments by heavy doors. The first that the girls knew of

the fire was the appearance of Linehan, the engineer, who awoke them and directed them to follow him without waiting to dress. After Linehan gave the alarm the hall swarmed with girls, while he, thinking they would follow him, rushed down stairs to find that only one had obeyed his instructions.

While the attention of the firemen was called to the danger of the servant girls, all possible speed was made toward the alley side of the doomed building. Already some ten or more had jumped to the pavement below. Foreman Curtin, of Truck No. 2, called to the girls not to jump, that a ladder was being brought to rescue them. At about this time Foreman Riemer, of Truck No. 1, noticing that what is known as the Frackelton building was just opposite the alley, thought of a brilliant idea. He ordered a ladder to be dropped across the alley from this building, to reach into the servants' windows. Herman F. Stauss and George Wells were the first to reach the roof of the Frackelton building, and deftly handled the long, ungainly ladder, and not long after, the anxiously waiting spectators below were overjoyed at seeing the ladder crash through a window in the burning hotel. Over this bridge were safely helped many of the panic-stricken girls. Another ladder was spanned over the alley, and over this, too, were the girls rescued. The firemen kept on with their good work, until all the servants within reach had been safely transferred to the ground.

Mary Gavin, one of the girls who escaped by this improvised bridge, was awakened by screams and cries in the hallway. She quickly called her room-mate and together they rushed into the hall, which was full of smoke. They attempted to reach the stairway, but were driven back by the heat and smoke. Many of the girls now rushed to the windows facing the alley, which they threw open, crying loudly for help. The smoke by this time had become so thick that nothing could be seen in the rooms and hallway. Miss Gavin stood at the window waiting for help. Some of the girls had fainted, and were lying there, seeming to be suffocated. Miss Gavin went again to the window, calling to the men to do something. The ladder was then thrown across and over this Miss Gavin and the girls made their escape. The unconscious girls were carried across by the brave firemen.

Mary McCauley, another of the girls that escaped over the ladder, says: "I was awakened by the shouts and screams of the others and ran into the hall. It was full of girls, rushing wildly up and down, crying and screaming. I rushed to the end of the hall, peeped through the door and saw everything was smoke and fire outside. I then ran back and passing a room where seven girls had taken refuge, joined them, and we all knelt in prayer. One of the girls had a crucifix and a stout woman prayed out loud. Just as we had given up all hope, the window crashed in our room and I fainted. It so happened the firemen with the ladder had found our room out of thirty others, and we, with a few others, were saved."

General Tom Thumb and wife occupied a room directly above the Michigan street entrance, on the third floor. They were awakened by Police Officer O'Brien, who loudly knocked at their door. The officer was admitted and sought the window, which he hastily threw open. A ladder was raised and General Thumb descended, followed by Officer O'Brien bearing Mrs. Thumb in his arms. The descent was safely made.

Orange Williams, of Janesville, occupied a room in the fifth story, facing Broadway. He was awakened by a noise in the hall and on the street. He opened the door leading into the hall, but found it filled with smoke; he then retraced his steps, and sought the window in his room. The crowd below, hearing his cries, shouted to him that a fire-escape was close by toward Wisconsin street. He again went into the hall, and groped his way along the wall, and, after stumbling over a fallen person, at last reached the fire-escape and descended in safety. J. C. Clark, of Wausau, was on the fourth floor. He heard the noise around him, and rising, lit the gas, and dressed. He was well acquainted in the hotel and knew the exact location of the fire-escapes. After dressing, he left his room, entered the hallway, although filled with smoke, until he reached the window leading to the escape, down which he passed in safety, to the balcony, from whence, through the office, he reached the street.

T. J. Anderson, of Chicago, occupied a corner room in the fourth story. He was aroused by the cries of the victims, and, upon opening his door, found the smoke and flames bursting in with terrible fury. He retreated to the window near the Benner fire-escape, and called wildly for help. Detective McManus shouted to him to come down on the escape, which he did. The only article of wearing apparel which he had on was a gauze shirt. John L. Kellogg, of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, had a room in about the center of the third story, facing Broadway. He was awakened by a piece of hot glass from the transom falling upon him. He jumped up, immediately tore the bed clothes into strips, tied them together and made a rope. On this he first lowered Miss Warren, of the Tom Thumb Company, to the balcony, then he followed and both escaped.

M. Moran, of Beloit, Wisconsin, occupied a room on the third floor. The noise around awoke him, but he supposing it was the servants preparing breakfast, lay in bed several moments. He next heard the cry of "Murder!" "Fire!" and the cries of the terrified inmates. He jumped up, looked into the hall, but was driven back by the stifling smoke. He then grabbed his clothes and again started out into the hall. While running down, he stumbled and fell over the body of a woman. Two other women were rushing back and forth crying. Moran took hold of one by the arm, and attempted to pull her with him. She, however, broke away and ran back into the burning building.

The hall was all afire at the end, which for a moment stopped his flight, but hearing a man shout, "Come through, it is only two feet deep," he rushed on, and reached the outside of the building in safety. Samuel Martin's room was situated on the third floor, opening on the court. The noise awaking him, he seized his trousers, and rushed toward the alley down the servants' stairway. While on his way he noticed a man nearly nude, coming from a room and falling. He hastily threw a sheet over him. He also saw a thinly-clad woman, over her shoulders Martin threw a blanket. After reaching the alley, he hastened to the Kirby House, where he found the man sitting in the office over whom he had thrown a sheet while escaping through the burning hall. The self-same sheet was still doing service in lieu of a suit of clothes and an overcoat.

J. W. Maxwell's room was in the third story, near the elevator. He was resting uneasily and awoke, seeing the flames over the transom of his room. He heard the cries of the victims in the halls, and hastened to the door. Attempting to open it, he was unfortunate enough to break the key in the lock, making escape by the door impossible. He then ran to the window, tore out the sash and dropped to the roof of the court, which was but a few feet below. Running along the roof, amid the falling sparks, he came to another window, through which he climbed, sought the door, but that was also locked. He returned to the roof and entered window after window in an effort to escape through the door and hallway. At last he was successful, and dropping on his hands and knees, crawled through the hall, filled with smoke, and made hideous by the groans and shrieks of the unfortunates unable to make their egress, he finally succeeded in making his escape.

C. W. Briggs, of Grand Rapids, Wisconsin, occupied a room on the third floor, opening on the court. He was awakened by the breaking of glass, caused by the heat and draft through the hall. He grabbed his clothes and hurried out into the smoke-filled hall. He ran one way, but was checked by a wall of fire, compelling him to turn and seek safety in another direction. A torpor seemed to seize him, and it was only with the utmost effort that he was able to shake it off. He reached the stairway, blindly ran down it, but fell at the head of the second flight and rolled to the bottom, receiving severe bruises. He was, however, saved.

Emil Flesh occupied a room on the third floor, on the Broadway front. He made his escape by tearing his blankets into strips and tying them together. Upon this hastily improvised rope he safely made his escape.

Edward P. Haff, of New York, whose room was on the third floor, facing Michigan street and adjoining the alley, says: "A terrible sensation of a crushing weight upon my chest awoke me, and I lay for a moment dazed and half smothered, and heard a clock strike four. The thick smoke in the room

was stifling, and groping to the door I opened it. The rush of flame and heated air, not smoke alone, but scorching, burning air, met me, taking away my breath and well nigh my senses. A reeling form, with hair and whiskers burned from the face, and eyebrows gone, staggered toward me with wide open mouth, gasping for breath. From the parched throat came inarticulate moans. I pulled him into the room, closed the door, and tried to open the window. It was locked. I broke a pane of glass, and caught a whiff of God-given air. By the light of the burning building I could see the telegraph wires twenty feet away and half resolved to jump. My companion in the room revived a little, and said he had come from No. 221, only four rooms distant, and yet he nearly perished in making the journey. His name was Mahoney, and he was from Rock Island. Covering our faces so as to breathe as little of the torrid air as possible, we again opened the door and ran along the hallway toward the alley. We met a young woman staggering through the smoke and groping along the walls, apparently blinded or dazed. As she was almost naked I caught up a couple of sheets, threw them around her, and tried to lead her with me. She was hopelessly frightened, however, and could only moan: 'My God, my God, I can't.' She finally fell into an open doorway, and I left her lying across the threshold. My companion and I crossed the bridge into the bank building and descended to the ground."

W. F. Schmidt slept on the fourth floor. When awakened his room was already filled with smoke, and he became for an instant terror-stricken. Realizing his danger he shook off the terror, and pulling on his trousers, ran from the room. The hall was filled with smoke and people striving to escape. The desperate people were hurrying along, crowding against one another, in their endeavors to escape, even tramping over the prostrate forms already overcome by the heat and smoke. In his haste to find the stairway, Mr. Schmidt struck his head against a door or casement, and lost consciousness. When he came to, he was sitting on the floor, with his ears and nose blistered by the terrible heat. He strove helplessly to find the stairway, but of no avail, and prepared to meet his fate. Suddenly he found some one grasping his hand and pulling him along, crying, "This way. This way." Some one else took his other hand, and in this manner the trio rushed to the stairway. Half-running, half-tumbling, the steps were traversed to the passage below. There was a woman curled up on the floor. "Don't step on her," the rescuer cried out, "she is dead." They hurried through the boiler-room and escaped through the alley. The brave man who rescued Mr. Schmidt was William Linehan, the fireman of the hotel. He had also rescued the woman lying in the passage-way, supposed to be dead. She was afterwards resuscitated.

William E. Cramer, editor and proprietor of the *Evening Wisconsin*, and his wife, occupied a suite of rooms in the southeast corner of the building, on the floor above the office. Mrs. Cramer was awakened by the noise of the roaring and crackling of the flames in the elevator shaft, and quickly arising, opened the door, and perceived that the fire was in the elevator, and the hall becoming filled with smoke. She called her husband, urging him to seek safety without waiting to dress. He hesitated, but was pulled by his wife across the hall to the south staircase, which was partly on fire. Placing herself between him and the flames they descended the stairway, and reached the office floor. A hack was summoned and Mrs. Cramer and husband were conveyed to the Plankinton House, and only then did the couple discover that they had suffered injury from the fire. Both were terribly burned about the lower limbs, shoulder, neck, face and head. Their feet were also blistered.

REDUCED TO RUINS.

Julius and Herman Bleyer, the authors of the well-written little book, styled "Burning of the Newhall House," thus described the burning building: "An hour after the discovery of the fire, the towering walls of the hotel simply bounded a huge furnace, that sent upward immense clouds of vapor and smoke. Into the quivering heat of the inner ruin the fire department continued to pour water from seven engines; nothing more could be done. At 5:30 o'clock the Broadway wall of the ruined structure bulged out and fell to the pavement with a thundering crash, followed shortly after by a portion of the Michigan street wall, near Broadway. About this time a piece of the cornice and a mass of brick fell from the Michigan street wall, near the alley, where Ben Van Haag, first pipeman of Supply Hose, No. 2, was holding a nozzle with a companion, and directing a stream of water into the ruins. Seeing the falling mass they beat a hasty retreat; but Van Haag was not swift enough. The rubbish struck the telegraph wires and broke a large pole into several pieces, one of which felled Van Haag to the frozen earth. He was at first thought to be fatally injured, but he rallied from the effects of the shock and recovered. This was the only serious injury suffered by a fireman during the battle with the consuming element.

"The fire had now burned itself out, but the glowing embers required constant attention. The inner ruin was a fervent crucible, in which was being reduced to ashes the remains of two score of human beings who less than two hours before were slumbering in blissful ignorance of their impending fate. The blow was almost as swift as the flash of steel. Firemen, policemen and citizens had braved death in the work of rescue, but fate had willed that their efforts should prove futile. The consuming element had the mastery from the

start, and its work was accomplished with such appalling swiftness that nerves of steel were for the nonce untempered."

IMPORTANT STATEMENTS.

These statements are printed to give an idea of the origin of the fire and the rapidity of its progress:

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM MCKENZIE, ELEVATOR CONDUCTOR.

At 2 o'clock in the morning I took a Mr. Brown, connected with the "Ranch 10" Company, from the first to the third floor in the elevator. After taking Brown I took care of a grate fire in the office, and then made a tour of inspection through the dining-room and kitchen. From the kitchen I went through the cellar and engine-room, and returned to the office floor. This occupied my time a trifle over half an hour. I next went down the main stairway and around, past the saloon, to the ladies' entrance, to see that no tramps had found lodging there. About 3 o'clock I was on the office floor waiting for passengers by the trains which usually arrive at that hour. The train was late and I made another tour of the house, taking in the first and second floors, the bank building, and the kitchen and cellar. On my return at half-past three or twenty-five minutes to four I took up Mr. Elliott, who came on the delayed train. I took him to the fifth floor, where he roomed. There I let the elevator stand, and made a tour of the halls of that floor. While coming around to the elevator again I met a gentleman apparently searching for a room-number. Went toward him and recognized him as a man who slept on the floor above. Invited him into the elevator and carried him up. Again let the elevator stand and made a tour of the halls there. Took a look at the clock on this top floor, and found it to indicate ten minutes of four. This clock could not be depended upon for correctness, however. My time to call the help is 4 o'clock. I had the kitchen fireman to call on this floor, and as I passed the elevator to do so I saw smoke issuing from the shaft at the bottom of the car. I immediately sprang into the elevator and descended to see where it was coming from. By the time I reached the floor above the office the smoke had become so dense that I stopped the elevator and ran down the next flight of stairs to the office. Tom Delaney, the night clerk, was standing in front of the counter. I said to him: "Tom, there is smoke coming up through here, and I am going to see where it comes from." I then ran down the main stairway, and around to the main elevator, followed by Tom. I found the passage leading to the Michigan street entrance so filled with smoke that I could not enter. I said to Tom, "Turn the water on," as I closed the door, and he replied: "I'll telephone for the firemen." Then I rushed into the pitcher closet, and shouted down to Linehan to come up, as

there was fire in the elevator. After doing this I returned to the hallway below and found the smoke as bad as ever. Linehan here rushed past me into the hallway leading to the Michigan street entrance. I spoke: "There's no use staying here. We had better call the house;" with which I rushed up to the third floor, shouting "Fire!" and I kicked in the door of Mr. and Mrs. Cramer's sleeping room; also the door of room 24, occupied by some of the Tom Thumb people. The fire was now beginning to burst out of the elevator door on this floor. The smoke and fire appeared suddenly and enveloped me so that I gave up the idea of running to the floor above, which I had in mind. In fact, the smoke became so dense that it fairly bewildered me. I dropped upon the floor, and hastily crawled to the passage leading across the alley to the bank building. Here even the heat which preceded me had warmed the knob of the door. The first gust of smoke and hot air from the elevator almost stifled me. Through the bank building I proceeded to the street, and assisted people who sprang from the windows, and also helped to raise a ladder to Tom Thumb's room, so that he and his wife could be got out.

STATEMENT OF ENGINEER WILLIAM LINEHAN.

I came on duty at half-past 3 o'clock in the morning, and at ten minutes before 4 turned steam on for the office. I then sat down for about ten minutes, after which I tried the steam-gauge and shut the furnace dampers. At 4 o'clock—perhaps a few minutes sooner or later—I heard the warning call of the night watchman, directing me from the pitcher closet on the office floor. The watchman informed me hastily of the discovery of a fire in the hotel. I ran to the office floor via the rear or servants' stairway and shouted: "Tom, where is all the fire coming from?" The reply was: "I don't know, but the house is full of smoke." (Tom was the night clerk.) I then ran down to the main floor and reeled off a line of canvas hose, which I dragged up-stairs. As I reached the landing flames were working through the office floor near the elevator entrance. This caused me to run down stairs again for the purpose of directing the firemen, who had arrived and were running two lines of hose into the elevator entrance. After having done this I once more proceeded to the office floor, and encountered Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Cramer and the housekeeper, Mrs. Lusk, near the landing of the old ladies' entrance stairway. I next retraced my steps to the basement via the back stairway, and got a lamp, intending to run up-stairs to the upper floors and arouse the help. Before doing so, however, I ran forward through the basement to the bottom of the elevator shaft, a distance of eighty feet, and opened the door leading into the bottom of the shaft. I only pulled the door ajar sufficiently to thrust my head into the shaft. My attention was immediately drawn to flames rushing into and up the shaft through the east wall. This wall was merely a board

partition separating the wood and general store-room of the Goetz barber-shop from the shaft. The flames did not fill the shaft, but merely rushed upward along this eastern board partition wall. I had to withdraw my head from the shaft quickly, as the current of air rushing upward was so strong that it lifted a silk cap which I wore off my head, and I barely saved it from being swept upward into the vortex of fire. The point where the flames seemed to burst into the shaft was between three or four feet, or a little more than an ordinary barrel high. When I withdrew my head I closed the door and ran back with all the speed I possessed, to and up the back stairway, as far as the tank-room, between the fourth and fifth floors. There I shouted to those above that they should come to me and I would save them. No one responded. I then descended to the third floor, where I met a German girl (the vegetable cook in the kitchen), whose name I do not now remember, and asked her if she knew where my sister Kate was. The girl replied that Kate was all right, as she (the girl) had been called by her. I heard someone moaning in the hall, and proceeding through the smoke in the direction of the sound, I found a young woman, who afterwards proved to be Julia Burns, lying upon the floor, senseless and foaming at the mouth. She was scantily dressed. I took her in my arms and carried her to the landing on the office level and put her down upon the floor. Then I went back up-stairs, found a man lying senseless, and bore him to the same landing, where there was no smoke. This man I covered with a buffalo robe. I went back a third time and brought down a dining-room girl named Christina something, who roomed on the third floor. The fourth trip I brought down Lizzie Anglin, who afterwards died at the Axtel House from effects of burns, although to me, at that time, she did not appear to be injured. The fifth trip put the second porter in my hands, and I brought him down to the same landing with the others. A sixth trip resulted in the rescue of a man whom I encountered with a blanket wrapped around him. By this time the smoke had become so dense that I could not go up any more, and I turned my attention to those I had brought down, taking them out into the alley in the rear of the hotel. Scarcely had the last one been taken out into the open air, when a horrible yell greeted my ears. The voice was apparently that of a man, and the sound came from the court. I rushed in there to see who it might be, and save him, if possible. But I could discover no one. While searching the court with my eyes from the doorway, a spark of fire from aloft fell upon my neck, and gave me a painful burn. Other cinders fell upon my cap, and burned that. The man who shrieked in such an unearthly manner may have been at one of the windows looking into the court. He may also have been upon the brick pavement below, and unseen by me, but there can be no mistaking where the sound of his voice came from. It fairly makes me shudder when I think of it now. After this last effort at life-

saving I beat a hasty retreat into the open air, and not any too soon, as by this time the entire upper portion of the building was a mass of flames.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS DELANEY, THE NIGHT CLERK.

On the morning of the fire I was in the office. Going back to 3 o'clock in the morning, or about that time, two officers came in. One, I think, was O'Brien. They stayed about five minutes. The next person who came in was T. B. Elliott; that was after the Chamber clock had struck 3:30. He said "Good morning, Tom," and I told the night watch to take Mr. Elliott to his room. The next who came in was Conductor Howie, about five minutes after. He left a small satchel on the settee at the top of the stairway. I spoke to him and got a drink, then walked up the south stairway. That was pretty near 4 o'clock. The next thing I heard was a step on the stairs. I looked over the front stairs and saw smoke rising from below, near the stairs. It was McKenzie I had heard, and he asked me where the smoke came from. I said down stairs, and we both rushed down, he a little ahead. We passed the wine-room. Who got to the Michigan street door first, I don't know, but when it was opened the smoke rushed through the hall so densely that I was forced back. I ran to give an alarm, which I did by the telephone. That, I knew, was the quickest way to send in the alarm. That was, as near as I can say, about 4 o'clock. It was five minutes to four when I first discovered the smoke. I telephoned: "Send Fire Department to Newhall as quick as you can!" They responded they would be there in a minute. I then set about seeing how the firemen could best reach the blaze. I ran to the Broadway sidewalk and already No. 1 hose cart was coming down. I looked into the house at this juncture and saw flames had burst from the elevator. I yelled, "Right this way, gentlemen!" Two firemen rushed in with Babcocks, but they saw it was too late for them and hose was run in. I ran into the house and the first ones I met were Mr. and Mrs. Wm. E. Cramer, in their night-clothes. Two men came in then—officers or firemen—and requested me to let them into the balcony. I did so, but the balcony door was not locked. By this time one man had jumped on to the balcony. Mr. Antisdel called me back to the office and asked for the key of the safe. I took it from the cash-drawer and gave it to young John Antisdel, who was nude, and I gave him one of Mr. Lee's coats. I took the valuables out of the safe, jumped out of the office and handed Mr. Freeman's buffalo overcoat to Mrs. Cramer, who asked me to go to their room and get them some clothes. I tried to do so, but had to come back and told her I could not get to the room, and she said, "Never mind." Parlor C struck me just then, where I knew was Tom Thumb. Running there I found a policeman, and I awoke every body in that neighborhood. I then run up the north stairs and met Mr. Starr, with Mr. Ludington

in a chair. Then I ran down to the ladies' entrance and got a couple of the policemen, who helped Mr. Ludington down. I then thought of Mr. Paul, who was also on the Ludington floor. I met him hobbling along, nude, and I got officers to help him down which they did, I went up again, the third and last time. The smoke was so strong and the gas out that I could see nothing. I struck a match to light the gas, and it went out. I tried to light a torch, but I could not. The smoke was then so suffocating that I had to lie down. I went up all those times to get people out, and had to crawl back to the office on my hands and knees the last time. When I left the office the floor was falling in around the elevator. I gave young Antisdell two little boxes, but he did not take them out and I did. About ten minutes elapsed between the time I found the fire and was forced from the house. After I left the office I went out on Broadway. By that time four stories were all on fire. I stood around until I got cold, and then I went home.*

THE RUINS.

On the day following the fire, the clearing away of the debris, and the search for missing bodies, was begun, under the management of Captain William P. O'Connor, of the Board of Public Works, Horace M. Brown, M. D., and Arthur Holbrook and James S. Perkins, dentists, examined the relics, made a full report, which was filed for future reference. The work of excavating was naturally very slow, as the smoking ruins were still in a heated condition, the weather was bad, and considerable water had collected in the pit. Forty-eight charred bodies were found, of which four, David M. Martelle, Robert Howie, Wm. C. Wiley and Mary Miller, were identified. The bodies were taken to a room in the Miller building, on the corner of Wisconsin street and Broadway.

The workmen, wherever was found a deposit of the pure white ash, which experience had taught them generally surrounded a body, carefully went on with their work. Every article, however small, that might have belonged to some of the unfortunate inmates, was saved and sent to the Central Police Station. From this source many friends and relatives of the lost were able to retain some slight memento of the dead. Judge George Reed's gold watch was found, and claimed by his son. David H. Martelle's and Robert Howie's watches also were found, and delivered to their friends.

The safes situated in the first story were removed, and in nearly every case were in good condition. Trunks were found in good shape, with the contents completely blackened. Madonnas and crucifixes were found. One of

* These extracts, together with the data and important events, are taken from "Burning of the Newhall House" by Messrs. Julius Bleyer and Herman Bleyer, of Milwaukee, published in 1883.

the Madonnas was remarkably preserved. The frame was charred to a cinder, while the enameled picture remained bright and untarnished. Many coins were discovered, these in most cases found their way as relics to the by-standing citizens.

THE FUNERAL AND INQUEST.

January 23d, just two weeks after the day of the fire, the public funeral of the unidentified victims took place at Forest Home and Calvary Cemeteries. Twenty of the bodies were buried from the St. John Cathedral, and twenty-three from the Exposition Building.

The day was clear and bright, but cold. In many places business was suspended in order to attend the obsequies. Houses as well as many stores were draped in mourning.

The St. John Cathedral doors were simply draped with black and white. Inside the draping was much more elaborate. From the steps of the sanctuary back to the vestibule, sixty feet, was the bier, covered with black cloth, on which were placed in rows of two, the twenty coffins. Every inch of available space was occupied by sympathizers or mourners. Monsignor Batz, V. G., assisted by Rev. Father Weinman and Father Lucas, the Palestrina Society, singing, celebrated solemn high mass of requiem. As the chorus of about fifty voices rendered the sad strains of the requiem, women in every part of the church burst into audible sobs, and few were the eyes that were dry. Archbishop Heiss pronounced the ceremony of absolution over the remains, after which Father Matthew, of Racine, preached the sermon. He said:

“ My text for this mournful occasion will be Ecclesiastes, twelfth chapter, seventh and eighth verses: ‘ Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.’ ‘ Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher; all is vanity.’

“ Death is one of the circumstances attached to life. When we come into this world we are born under the sentence of death. When it comes or how it comes we know not. God only knows. The true philosophy of life teaches us to prepare for that event. Religion tells us that the salvation of our soul depends upon dying in unity with God. I need not re-enact the terrible scene of that dreadful morning. The curtain of night held its pall over the habitation of man. Tired nature had sought refreshment and repose that comes from slumber. We know not the bright visions that passed through the minds of the unconscious slumberers. Some, no doubt, were living over again in pleasing fancy the joyous days of childhood. Again they sat by their own father's fireside, and talked of home and their childish pleasures. Others, with pleasing anticipations, dreamt of pleasures yet to come. We all have our expectations that the future will realize to us pleasures and happiness. So

may we suppose was the minds of those slumbering occupants, on that dread morn, when the peal of alarm burst forth to call some to judgment and others to the trying ordeal that awaited them. Imagination cannot depict a scene more terrible, and it is hard for the mind of man to describe it in its reality. In that leap for life death was imminent; behind them the most unmerciful element of destruction. The scene was alarming, though these terrified guests gave way not to despair. The preservation of life is an instinct of our nature. By jumping, death was probable; by remaining, certain. How beautiful the teachings of our Christ. In that last trying ordeal, faith sustained them, and hope animated them to offer their lives to their God. All human aid appeared to be unavailing. Kind hearts outside sympathized with them; but God alone could assist them. On their knees, they supplicated Heaven's mercy, and in union they drew together before the cross of Christ; in that alone did they look for aid and mercy. 'I am the resurrection and the life,' says St. John in the Apocalypse; 'he that believeth in me shall have everlasting life.' Animated with this idea they threw themselves on the mercy of God, and, in the words of Scripture, said: 'Into Thy hands, oh Lord, I commend my spirit.' It appears that the ear of God was not closed to the petition for aid. It came from a most unexpected source. A brave fireman, strengthened by the spirit of God, risked his own life, and in a manner familiar to you all, rescued a number of precious souls. These, whose bodies lie in the chancel, their lives, their faith and their trust in God might well justify us in saying: 'Oh! Grave, where is thy victory? Oh! Death, where is thy sting?' They died, as they had lived, true children of their church and faithful followers of the Lamb. In life they hoped, in death they were not disappointed. We can well say that this appeal from fervent hearts was addressed to the throne of God: 'Have mercy on me, oh Lord, according to Thy great mercy.' The decrees of God were verified. St. Paul says to the Hebrews: 'It is decreed for all men once to die,' They have paid that penalty, and, in resignation, submitted to that decree. They have left their bodies to us, which we this day are about to consign to the tomb. Their souls have returned to the God from whence they came. Their examples and their lives are still in the memory of those who knew them, and cherished most by those who knew them best. Though gone, yet to us they shall not be forgotten. The teaching of our church bids us to hold their memory in grateful remembrance, so that every kind thought may be a new prayer, asking for Heaven's mercy. This beautiful feature of our religion bids us pray for the eternal repose of their souls. The disfigured remains, though not recognizable to the eyes of mortals, yet are known to the ever-searching eye of God. That terrible day will long be fresh in the minds of the people of this community, and their memory shall not be forgotten by the church. So let us take warning by the fate of those

who have gone before us; be you also ready, for you know not when God may call on you. Let us return to our homes from this saddening scene with humbled hearts and humiliated spirits. As we thus honor their memories, let us pray that God will have mercy on their souls."

Amid the music of the band and the tolling of the deep-toned bell the bodies were borne to the funeral cars.

The Exposition building was also crowded. The hall was profusely hung with white and black bunting. The ceremonies were commenced by Rev. A. F. Mason, repeating the Lord's Prayer. Rev. J. E. Gilbert then read one of the Psalms of David, which was followed by the singing of "Over All the Tree-tops." Another prayer followed by Rev. A. A. Koehle, after which the entire congregation joined in singing "Old Hundred." The funeral sermon was delivered by Rev. J. N. Freeman, who said:

"The time allotted to this service requires that my words should be few. And this is well; for who, in such a sermon as this, can give adequate utterance to his own surging thoughts, much less voice the feelings of this multitude? We are witnessing and sharing in the last public act of the awful tragedy which, a fortnight ago, burst with sudden and pitiless fury upon our beloved city—a tragedy which caused bitter tears which no human sympathy can wipe away, and wrought a desolation which no human means or skill can rebuild; a tragedy whose shadows seem to deepen as the days pass. This group of nameless caskets gives silent but pathetic witness to our utter impotence to grapple with the mystery, and to make up the loss which is most real. The familiar block, now a ghastly ruin, may be restored to more than its original beauty and service; but who can build again the shattered hopes and plans, or restore to bereaved kindred and friends out of these poor fragments the forms which were once goodly to look upon and dearly loved? This is no place to pronounce eulogies upon the dead, however deserving; nor to merely offer condolence to the sorrowing, however sorely needed. Rather is it ours in humility and reverence to give worthy Christian burial to these pitiful remains, in the name of thousands whose grief is the heavier because they are denied even the poor consolation of recognizing and giving private sepulture to their beloved. Well may this stricken city claim as hers, and pay due honors to those who once added their share to her wealth and worth! Well may the place where their bodies shall find their last resting place be ever sacred to us and our children! But, when these memorial services and this solemn pageant are over, when our life in home and city struggles back to its wonted channels, has our whole duty been done? Is there no more which humanity, gratitude and religion call upon us to accomplish in memory of the dead and in behalf of the living? Surely, friends, there are deeper lessons, if we will receive them; nobler tasks, if we will consent to perform

them. It is said: 'When the German ocean has been moved by a great storm, it begins to toss out amber upon the beach, and the jewel-makers rush down to the new sand. So, whenever the human ocean has been well moved it begins to throw forth things of value to those walking on the mortal shore.' What thoughtful mind can doubt that these sudden and mighty agitations should arouse us to higher ideals and nobler methods of life? Who can doubt that the angel of terror and of death, the shadow of whose wings have been dark as night, may yet prove a 'ministering spirit,' leading us on to brighter because better days? If we will, out of these troubled waters shall come truer, richer health to human society; from this fiery trial character shall come forth purged of its dross. Among the throng of thoughts which are excited by this great calamity, there are three which I would especially emphasize. One is, *the inestimable value of a single human life*. Mortal though we are, we are not like the beasts that perish. Made in the image of God, we are charged with an immortal destiny. Whoever cuts short this life, whether his own or another's, whether by malicious intent or by thoughtless neglect, will not be held guiltless by God, and should not be by men. We must check the fearful prodigality with which so many waste their own life and imperil the lives of others. Again, let us more fully recognize the relations that bind us together in human brotherhood. We are not, cannot be, independent of each other. However separated by the barriers of nationality, station, possessions, employments, creeds, we are one in the sorrows that afflict us and the death that awaits us. The things of which we so often boast are but the accidents, not the essentials of life. Why, then, should we suffer ourselves to be ever proud, contemptuous, exclusive? That humanity is the richest, the most like God's ideal, which takes as its motto and rule of life, 'Each for all, and all for each.' Lifted by this sudden calamity and sorrow to recognize this fact in splendid deeds of heroism and generous sympathy and help, why should we ever lose sight of this high ideal? Once more let us not forget that there is a kindness which comes too late. Flowers upon the casket of the dead may bear pathetic witness to love, but how much better if we should strew more flowers along the dreary pathway of the living. Solemn hymns and chants are appropriate to a burial service; but can we not, if we will, put more music into the hearts and homes that are all too dolorous? Eulogies over the departed may be sometimes helpful; but a few hearty words of cheer and praise to our fellow-pilgrims, ere they leave us, are infinitely more. Let us then resolve, even beside these caskets of the dead, that we will think more, plan more, do more for those who are still with us. Then shall this sorrow, grievous as it is, bring a blessing that shall be eternal."

Rabbi I. S. Moses then arose and addressed the multitude in German, after which the funeral procession started, meeting the Catholic cortege on the

upper end of Broadway, and from thence solemnly wended their way in the following order, toward the cemeteries :

FIRST DIVISION.

Marshal Bean and Staff.
 Light Horse Squadron.
 Bach's Band.
 Lincoln Guards.
 South Side Turner Rifles.
 Grand Army of the Republic.
 Milwaukee Turn Verein.
 Scandinavian Benevolent Society.
 Druids.
 Delegates from Eintracht Society.
 Carriages Containing Clergy.
 Three Carriages Containing Policemen.
 Hearses.
 Citizens' Committee.
 The Mayor.
 Municipal Organizations.
 Citizens in Carriages.

SECOND DIVISION.

Under Command of Assistant Marshal Thomas Shea.
 Clauder's Band.
 Sheridan Guards.
 Kosciusko Guards.
 Knights of St. George.
 Knights of St. Patrick.
 Order of St. Bonaventura.
 St. John's Married Men's Sodality.
 St. Bonifacius Society.
 Ancient Order of Hibernians.
 Hibernian Benevolent Society.
 St. Gall's Young Men's Sodality.
 St. Pius' Society.
 St. Peter's Society.
 Band.
 St. Joseph's Society.
 St. Bernard's Society.
 St. George's Society.

HISTORY OF WISCONSIN.

St. Stanislaus' Society.

Runkel's Band.

St. Anthony's Society.

St. John's Young Men's Sodality.

Heart of Jesus Society.

Carriages Containing Catholic Clergy.

Hearses.

Delegation of St. George's Society as Pall-bearers.

Carriages Containing Citizens and Delegations from Societies.

The cortege moved along, lined on each side by eager spectators, to National Avenue, near Sixth Avenue, where the military and civic societies forming two lines, came to a halt. The catafalques slowly were drawn between the lines, after which the procession dispersed. The pall-bearers, clergy and relatives and friends accompanied the remains to the cemeteries where the last sad rites were performed. When the coffins were lowered, their numbers were called as follows: At Forest Home, 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 40 and 44. At Calvary, 27, 32, 36, 37, 45, 22, 48, 33, 31, 39, 25, 47, 42, 46, 38, 21, 19, 34, 35 and 41.

THE INQUEST.

The inquest was commenced on the 23d of January, and adjourned February 5th, when the following verdict was rendered:

That the Newhall House was set on fire by a person or persons unknown; that only one night watchman was employed in the hotel, and that he, having other duties to perform, was unable to attend to his proper duties, which should have received the attention of two or three men; that the night watchman and night clerk, obeying previous instructions of the proprietors, lost valuable time in useless attempts to extinguish the fire, and neglected to arouse the inmates, and that when they did attempt to arouse those in the hotel, the corridors were so filled with stifling smoke that the employes were obliged to seek their own safety; that the proprietors were guilty of culpable negligence in not having employed a sufficient number of watchmen to guard the house against fire and awake the inmates in time to save all the lives possible; that, notwithstanding the facts that the Newhall House was easy of egress and devoid of intricate passages, that it had outside escape ladders on the northeast and southeast corners, and a bridge near the southwest corner leading across the alley to the opposite building, an inside servants' stairway from the fifth story to the basement, and two large open stairways in the front corridors leading from the office floor to the sixth story, with an open ladder to the roof, the owners of the Newhall House, knowing that many fires had taken place at various times in the

hotel, are guilty of culpable negligence in not having provided more outside escapes in case of fire; that the Fire Department did their duty as well as could be expected, but could have done much more had the ladder trucks been fully manned and equipped with the best extension ladders and the men well drilled to handle them; and that the telegraph poles and wires caused serious obstruction to the Fire Department by preventing them from using their ladders in a speedy and efficient manner at the time they were so much needed.

The pecuniary loss was estimated as follows:

Underwriters' value of the hotel.....	\$140,000	
Estimated value of furniture	26,400	
		\$166,400
Insurance on building.....	\$78,500	
Insurance on furniture.....	23,800	102,300
		<hr/>
Actual loss.....		\$64,100

The people of Milwaukee were not slow to honor the heroic men who risked their lives to save others. On the afternoon of January 19, in the Chamber of Commerce building, were masses of people who had come to see the public demonstrations of honor. Herman F. Stauss and George E. Wells, the brave men that rescued the girls from the fifth story across the ladder, were the ones selected for especial commendation.

President Freeman, of the Chamber of Commerce, called the meeting to order, and General Hobart delivered the address, as follows:

"On the morning of the 10th of this month, when the people of Milwaukee looked out from their windows upon the heavens, lit up by the lurid flames of the Newhall, they little thought that a hundred human beings were struggling and perishing in the fire. Never did a fire-bell in the night presage a calamity more appalling—hardly in the history of the world, and never before in the record of this beautiful city. Morning never broke over the lake upon a scene so terrible, and God grant that it never may again. The first signal found a part of the fire department engaged in a distant part of the city, and but two-thirds of the force were able to respond promptly to the alarm. The fire spread with such fearful rapidity that it was not in the power of man to save the building, and it is a marvel that the skill and bravery of the firemen were able to confine that sea of flame within the blackened walls of the hotel. The valuable buildings and the wealth of merchandise now in the block of that ill-fated house are indebted for their preservation to the well-directed and fearless work of the fire department. The police were equally prompt in responding to the first call, and they braved every danger in the discharge of their duty. There were heroes who deserve immortal honor: Louis Schröder, with great exposure, carried a lady from the third story. Edward Riemer, A. A.

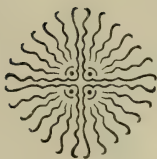
Smith and members of Truck Co. No. 1 rescued seven persons from the Broadway front. Officer Mathews brought out Mr. and Mrs. Cramer. Officer Sullivan saved Mr. Hall. Officer O'Brien awoke and assisted Tom Thumb and his wife to escape. O'Brien and Miles rescued a lady from the balcony on Michigan street. McManus and Janssen lowered Elliott and sent him to a carriage, and then carried out James Ludington. Lieutenant Rockwood rescued a lady from the flames on the third floor, and saved another as she dropped from a window. Rockwood, Riemer and McManus, with the aid of a ladder, assisted three to escape from the balcony. Oscar Kleinstauber, with intrepid courage, ascended the escape on Broadway to the fourth story, and, with a lantern in his hand, fearlessly entered the building, and with heroic daring piloted seven persons to the escape, who descended in safety. Borngesser, Ryan, Smith and Heyder, with great peril, entered the burning house and rescued five girls, with the assistance of Green, Riemer and Nodine. I shall now speak of the hero Herman F. Stauss, and his brave companion, George Wells. Several girls were seen in the sixth story windows over the alley imploring for help. Stauss was directed by his chief to take a ladder and go to their assistance. With an eighteen-foot ladder, he and Wells entered the Frackelton building and forced their way to the top of the block. Emerging upon the roof, the brave girls received them with ringing cheers. Poising their ladder within a foot of the edge of the building, it fell into the window opposite only a few inches. They called to the girls to come out and prostrate themselves and move forward by the aid of their hands. Wells held the ladder and Stauss reached forward and guided them across. In this manner five girls passed over to the opposite roof. Hearing cries from the same place, Stauss threw off his coat and hat and crossed over into the room, where the smoke was pouring out of the window, and the panels of the door were on fire. He found one girl lying upon the floor nearly insensible. Lifting her up he placed her upon the ladder. She grasped the sides with her hands and refused to move. Stauss stepped from the window on to the ladder, and with a nerve and heroism unparalleled, passed over the prostrate girl, then turning and kneeling down, he broke away her clenched hands, and with superhuman strength raised her with his arm, and almost in mid air, over a yawning gulf of more than sixty feet, bore her across this frail bridge in triumph to a place of safety."

Herman F. Stauss was then requested to step forth, and General Hobart said: "Allow me to introduce the heroic Herman F. Stauss, the subject of my only too inadequate words, who risked his life again and again for those poor girls." Resounding cheers arose, and, waiting a moment, General Hobart went on: "Herman F. Stauss, I now have the honor to present to you, in behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Milwaukee, this watch, chain and charm, as a slight token of appreciation for your heroic actions on the

morning of the ever-memorable January 10th." Taking the gift, Stauss bowed himself off the stage, after saying: "Gentlemen, I thank you for the great honor you have conferred upon me."

George E. Wells was then called for, and stepped forth and was introduced. Oscar Kleinsteinuber, another hero, was also called for, but was not present, and the crowds dispersed.

On February 1st, George E. Wells was also presented with a handsome gold watch, chain and charm, by various business men throughout the city. The ladies of the Grand Avenue M. E. Church also presented him with a set of "The People's Cyclopædia," and a purse of money. The publishers, Messrs. Jones Bros. & Co., Chicago, added "The Life of General Garfield," beautifully illustrated, paying the charges on the whole.





"IN CUPID'S REALM," PAINTED BY W. BOUGUEREAU.



•NEAR the lake, upon the terrace,
 Where in pleasant summer weather
 Happy lovers gayly wander,
 Lay I on the velvet greensward,
 Sunk in visions, dreams and fancies.
 Far and near the lake lay gleaming
 In the golden summer sunshine,
 Steamboats sped across the water,
 Leaving trails of smoke behind them.
 Sailboats saw I white and glitt'ring,
 Gleaming like the swift-wing'd seagull
 Gayly dancing on the water ;
 While the heavy smoke in volumes,
 Blowing from the grimy workshops,
 Told where man with fire, his servant,
 Changes ore to rails of steel.

From the promenade above me,
 Heard I sound of laugh and jesting.
 And from far I heard the ringing
 Of the church-bells silver-tongued.
 It was Sunday, day of worship,

But the bells did not allure me.—
Far my thoughts went.—In the murmur
Which, confused, I heard around me,
Heard I, too, the sound of waters.
Softly moaning, melancholy,
Breaking on the shore in music,
Sang they of the days forgotten,
Sang of olden times, and customs,
When another race of people
Wander'd here beneath the sun.

“*Here, where palaces are builded
“With gay gardens all about them,
“Here in former time the thistle
“Nodded in the breeze of summer;
“Here the foxes dug their coverts,
“And upon the deer's swift footsteps
“Followed fast the swarthy hunter;
“Here he in the silv'ry moonlight
“Wooded the dark-eyed, dusky maiden;
“And within his lowly wigwam
“Offered to the guest the peace-pipe;
“In the lake's blue, icy waters
“Laved his sturdy limbs at daybreak,
“And his birch canoe went floating
“Like a leaf upon the wave.

“Here resounded cries of battle,
“And the braves' defiant death-song.
“Here rose after fiercest conflict
“The blue peace-smoke to the heavens.
“From the red man's dusky bosom
“Prayer arose, devout and fervent,
“To no God of revelation,
“Who upon a stony tablet
“Wrote the law for one small nation,
“But to him who stars of heaven
“Planted deep in human bosoms,
“There to burn and glow forever.
“In the golden beams of noonday,
“And the splendor of the evening,
“In the fragrance of the flower
“And the strength of the green fir-tree,
“In the silence of the forest,
“And the song of the shy wild-bird—
“In his own brown, stalwart beauty,
“Saw the simple child of Nature
“All of God's best revelation.”

Still, upon the tree of mankind
Ever bud and fall the blossoms.
They who here once lived and suffer'd,
Long are fled, and in their places,
We, another race of people,
Live and love and die as they did.
But has not the poet told us,
That the dead again are living
When their deeds live in our mem'ries?

*From the prose of Sprague's "*American Indians*."

Rise, then, from the realm of shadows !
Come again, thou ancient chieftain,
With the sharp glance of the falcon
And the wisdom of the sage.
Come thou, too, oh youthful warrior
Strong in action, death defying ;
And arise, thou gentle maiden,
Tender, mild, self-sacrificing.
All ye dusky forest-children,
Wake once more, return to life—
Though ye fell as falls the blossom
In the first crisp breeze of autumn,
Though your wigwams lie in ashes,
And your fires are long extinguished,
Dried up in the sand your fountains,
Bow and arrow both long broken—
He recalls you e'r to action
Who in mood most reverential
Knows to listen, loves to ponder
On the song the billows sing.

WHAT THE BILLOWS SANG.

I.

ELKA is the chieftain's daughter,
Like the fire within his wigwam,
Shedding warmth and joy about her.
Lone and dreary is the chieftain
When afar his loved one tarries.
She her mother's heart's delight is,
And the life of her twin brother.
Tenderly they love their mother,
Whom so strongly both resemble.
Still what in his face is sternness
Is in hers a thoughtful mildness.
His eyes gleam with glance of falcon,
Hers are gentle as the dove's.

When the warm, soft winds are playing
With the flowers on the prairies,
As the brother and the sister
Happily together wander
On the blue lake's level margin,
Soft the music of their voices
In melodious tender rhythm
Rises, and then falls in cadence
With the lapping of the waves,
When his eyes are moist and tender

And his look is mild and gentle,
Then he seems most like his sister;
But when in the council-circle
Warriors talk of plenteous seasons,
Long before the loathèd pale-face
From his own soil drove the red man,
When instead of woolen blankets,
They did use the thick, soft bearskins,
When within their fathers' wigwams
Tarried happiness and plenty,
When the women and the children
In the long and dreary winters
Did not languish then and perish,
Die of hunger as they now do :
Then his look is fierce and cruel,
On his lips are savage curses,
And within his bosom rankles
Pitiless revenge and hate !

When the windstorm splits the oak-tree;
When the north-blast, fiercely blowing,
Drives the waves, high rearing, crested,
Foaming, seething, to the shore,
Orkuntah, the bird of thunder,
Spreads abroad his sable pinions,
And his grumbling voice, in anger,
Travels on the trembling air;
Then the irate youth is driven
By as fierce a storm within him.
And the elemental warfare
Is a picture of his soul.
Then his frail canoe he launches
And defies the storm and billows,
As he will defy the white men
Who destruction grimly threaten
To his own beloved people,
To his poor, dear, dusky people !

II.

Sound of drumbeats, sharp and rattling,
Come from out the chieftain's wigwam;
Where, alas! a withered flower,
Lies the village idol, Elka.
Icy chill, then hottest fever
Alternate by turns within her,
And she softly moans and shudders;
While in motley colored garments,
Walking in a circle round her,
Goes the wizard Okateh.

Seven days and nights unwearied,
 With mysterious arts of magic,
 Has he striven, so far vainly,
 To subdue the treach'rous fever.
 Confidently he had stated
 That a wanton, wicked beaver
 By her beauty moved—excited,
 Had by some unknown enchantment
 Cast this cruel spell upon her.
 So he carved out a rough image
 Of the animal in white-wood,
 Placed it in a wooden bucket
 Filled with earth and murky water,
 Ordered seven sturdy warriors
 To hold watch with bow and arrow
 Over it, outside the tent;
 Thus the stupid old impostor
 Wrought his magic in the wigwam,
 Tried to drive the beaver out.
 Sullen sat before the entrance
 Both her parents and her brother,
 And the old hags chattering cower'd
 Round about them on the deerskins.—
 Okateh now gives the signal—
 Look ! the arrows whirr and whizzing
 Pierce the beaver's wooden image !
 Loud rejoicing, almost frantic,
 All now rush towards the tent.

 But alas ! There on the bearskin,
 Drooping like a withered flower,
 Softly sighing, sobbing, moaning,
 As before the poor girl lies.
 Near her, panting and perspiring,
 Okateh in deepest sorrow,
 Wrings his hands, and cries, and curses:
 “ O the malice of this beaver !
 Scarcely have I exorcised him,
 When his form he quickly changes
 And he now appears—a snake.”
 And the foolish “ hokuspokus ”
 Is again reiterated.
 But in spite of conjuration,
 Prayer and flattery and promise,
 Still the beast afflicts his victim;
 And he throbs in vein and muscle,
 Throbs and beats, till, waxing bolder,
 Leaves the poor weak, stricken body
 Taking, too, the gentle spirit.—

Parents, brother, she is—dead!—
Round their loved one, dumb with sorrow,
Stand the parents and the brother,
While outside the wailing women
Sing the song of lamentation.
And their wild, weird “haha, hoho!”
From the woods calls shuddering echoes.

III.

Far and wide as eye can wander,
Woods aglow with autumn's splendor!
Royal, in their crimson foliage,
All enveloped, like proud warriors
Close wrapt in their blood-stained blankets,
Stand the knotty ancient oaks.
Round the elm trees' stately columns
Twine the honeysuckle's tendrils,
And its tubes with sweetness laden,
Gleam like slender tongues of fire;
And the bright leaves of the maple
Sparkle, glitter in the sunshine,
Like the lake, when sunset's glory
Dyes its waves with gold and blood.
Over all the mighty walnut,
In its smooth, brown, glossy foliage
Seems a sombre priest among them.
Far and wide as eye can wander
Glow the woods in autumn's splendors.
But alas! 'tis passing glory:
Soon the turf is decked with spangles,
Borrowed from the frost's fine tinsel,
Which now covers all the branches;
In the numb, half-frozen forest
Spreads his shroud, the grim king, Winter.
So too thinks the stricken brother,
Who with melancholy aspect
Overlooks the gorgeous scene.
As from trees the leaves sink downward,
Floating, fluttering in the sunshine,
So sank Elka, his loved sister,
So will he one day here perish
And the foot of hated white-men
Then shall tread above his ashes,
As he treads on withered leaves.—
Since the death of his loved sister
Nothing more could soothe or please him,
And the deep grief of his parents
Was by him each day made deeper.

He was dark, reserved and gloomy,
Since his better self had left him;
And they called him "Sullen Face."
In the council of the wise men
It was finally determined
Forth to wander from this region
Full of want and bitter sorrow
To the lands far toward the northward,
Where the chase was still successful,
And the forest still untouched
By the white man's leveling axe.—
So Ke-ahsa, heavy-hearted,
Bids farewell to lake and forest,
To the mound, whose grasses cover
The companion of his childhood.
Hark! He hears a gentle whisper.
Through the almost leafless branches
Soughs the wind; like voice of spirits
Sorrowful it sighs and moans:
Fare thee well, my dearest brother,
Fare thee well, and ne'er forget me;
My Ke-ahsa, fare thee well!—

IV.

It is winter. O'er the prairie
Goes Ke-ahsa with his people,
Towards the great lakes in Northland,
Sturdy little mustang ponies
Drag the bound tent-poles behind them,
While their backs are heavy laden
With the household goods and treasures.
Other ponies bear the women—
Carrying the young papposes.
Near, with hatchet, bow and arrow,
Walk the husbands and the fathers.
Calm, assured is the expression,
Yet the glance is ever wand'ring
Toward the distant, dim horizon,
Where a storm-filled cloud is threat'ning.
Round them trackless desolation—
Nothing to afford them shelter.
"Now we may expect the snowstorm,"
Speaks the wise, gray-headed leader.
"Let the tents be set up quickly,
That the storm may find us ready."
Close together set, in wedge-shape,
Soon arise the airy houses.
Darker grows the sky and gloomy,

And a long, shrill, piercing whistle
 Tells them of the coming snow-fiend.
 Soon the fleecy flakes are falling,
 Thicker, thicker all about them.
 It has come, the grim white spectre—
 Snowstorm, on the trackless prairie—
 Day and night have alternated
 Three times, and the storm still rages,
 Drives the snow, like icy needles,
 Ev'rywhere through crack and crevice.
 Suddenly the storm is over.
 Deepest silence reigns around them,
 But an icy, chilling shiver
 Runs through all the snow-bound people—
 Merciless the cold has seized them;
 Brightly shines the moon above now,
 Clear and full, in silver radiance—
 But so cold—on fields so desolate,
 Ev'rywhere 'neath snow-drifts hidden.—
 Hark, they move within the wigwams,
 For the cold at first makes restless,
 As it later numbs and stiffens.
 Hear the women's sad complaining:
 "Oh, the cold is cruel, cruel!"
 And the wailing of the children:
 "Give us food, for we are starving!"
 Clear and bright the day is dawning.
 But no warmth is in the sunshine.
 Who is cold must move his members,
 Or they soon will be past moving:
 And the leader's word is "Forward!"
 But alas! the little children
 Scarce can stand upright from weakness.
 Ah, poor mother, has thy infant
 Died last night through cold and hunger?
 Wrap him in thy woolen blanket,
 Lay him in his cold white cradle,
 Thou hast now no time for moaning
 O'er the little lifeless creature;
 See, upon thy knee is clamb'ring
 Still another, who is living.
 Him to save is now thy duty.
 Then she lays the little body
 In the snow and thinks with horror
 That upon the barren prairie
 Prowling wolves are pressed with hunger.
 Still the children wail unceasing:
 "Give us food, for we are starving!"

And at last when hope seemed dimmest
A stray bison, who had wandered
From the herd, fell by their arrows,
And again life beckons to them,—
But alas! grim want and sorrow
Robbed the strength and life of many;
After cold and sad privation
Follows sickness, follows death.
So across the snow-clad prairie
Toward the great lakes in Northland
Goes Ke-ahsa with his people.

V.

Like a proud, victorious warrior
Spring triumphantly advances,
In the lands far to the northward,
Hoary winter flies before her.
Light wing'd troops announce in music
That the foe anew is conquered.
On the heights and in the valleys,
Wave already gay green banners.
'Mong the countless spears of grasses,
On the heights and in the valleys,
Gleam the flowers, bright with color.
Broken from their icy fetters,
Leap the streams from cliff to lowland
How they sparkle in the sunlight,
Loud rejoice in their new freedom!
Ev'rywhere new life is springing:
Joy and hope, by law of nature
In the human heart rise, too.
After pain and great privation,
After danger, want and sorrow,
To the Northland comes Ke-ahsa,
With his handful of companions.
But of all he held the nearest,
None are left to call him kinsman.
His sad mother, broken-hearted,
Died the first of want and hunger,
Soon his poor, worn father followed—
In the blest land of Hereafter
Now they dwell with their loved daughter.
Near the great lake camps Ke-ahsa
With his hollow-cheeked companions.
Leaning 'gainst an ancient oak-tree,
Whose strong roots secure are anchored
Deep in Nature's rocky bosom,
And whose branches break but bend not.

Motionless he stands and gazes
 Far into the sun-lit distant,
 Where the streams like threads of silver
 Wind through valleys, meadows, woodland.
 Dreamingly his eyes are wand'ring,
 While his weak and haggard followers
 Gather round the cheering camp-fire
 And rejoice in warmth and plenty,
 Little thinking of past dangers,
 Dreaming not that death approaches,
 Stealing silently upon them.—
 Through the valley rings the war-cry,
 Shrill, with piercing horror pregnant,
 And fierce warriors, like a stormcloud,
 Strike upon them, in wild onslaught.
 All have fallen but Ke-ahsa,
 Who with calm and proud expression
 Stands and meets the grim-faced foe,
 Scornfully his eyes are flashing,
 While his hand rests on his wampum
 Where his hatchet gleams like silver.
 "Come, and take my life, ye warriors,
 I alone am left to face you,
 And alone I still defy you!"
 Thus he cries, with up-raised weapon,
 Thus he stands prepared to die.
 From the group of dusky warriors
 Forth there steps a brawny giant.
 Deep in chest and broad in shoulders,
 Features as if cut in granite,
 Thickly framed in grizzly scalp-locks,
 Underneath his bushy eye-brows
 Cold and sharp his eagle glances
 Scrutinize his young opponent,
 Who with proud and calm expression
 Stands to meet the grim-faced foe.
 Then in accents deep and measured
 Comes the question from the chieftain:
 "Who art thou, and of what nation?"
 Then Ke-ahsa proudly answered:
 "Sole survivor of my people,
 Since these lie in their last slumber,
 Who in life here called Ke-ah-sa,
 Me, the son of Chief Mo-neh-sa!"
 "Thou the son of Chief Mo-neh-sa,
 Sole survivor of thy people?
 By the spirit of my father,
 This is strange! But be thou welcome

In the wigwam of As-kee-no.
Know, Ke-ahsa, that thy father,
Long ago, in hours of danger,
Proved to me a tried, strong friend.
Thee, his son, I now bid welcome,
Come, and smoke the pipe of peace."

* * *

VI.

In As-kee-no's wigwam brightly
Burns the fire and round it gather
All the wise men of the village.
Calmly with unmoved expression,
Now they listen to Ke-ahsa,
Who the story of misfortunes
That befell him, just has told them,
Picturesque, concise, pathetic.
Then he speaks thus: "I lay freezing,
Outside raved and howled the snow-storm,
While within my heart as fiercely
Worked the spirit of destruction.
'Ma-ni-to!' I cried in anguish,
'Lead me, the forlorn, forsaken,
To my loved ones in Pa-neh-ma—
End my life, O Ma-ni-to!'
Suddenly, by hands of spirits
I was borne away, resistless
Through the sky, toward the southward.
Softer grew the air and warmer—
Melting snows dissolved to rivers,
And the woodland, and the meadows,
Took the tender hue of spring-time.
Birds were singing, springs were gushing,
Buds spoke of the coming summer,
And my heart grew light and happy.
Soon I saw a flow'ry hill-top,
Which I reached with rapid footsteps
Looking thence into the valley
I saw waters gleam and glisten;
And from out the misty distance
Rose, like fairy-realm, an island.
Swift descending to the valley
I saw women, men and children,
Of all ages, who were hast'ning,
Like myself down to the shore.
There, out of a snow-white wigwam
Came an old man forth to greet us.
Long, thick hair of silver whiteness

O'er his breast and shoulders streamed.
Like an old acquaintance seemed he,
And he pointed tow'rd the water
Where canoes, like flocks of seagulls,
Lightly floated, rising, sinking.
Then he brought me from his wigwam
A long, slender, snow-white paddle
And, with questioning expression,
Offered me his hand at parting.
Then I strove to reach the island.
Which from far had so allured me.
Looking downward, through the water,
Which was clear as clearest crystal,
Strewn upon a sandy bottom
Countless human bones lay bleaching.
To the shore then looking backward,
I saw many boats were following,
Many stopped just as they started;
Many sank—were lost forever.
But the light boats of the children
Passed my own, and without paddle
Made directly 'for the island,
Which I now could see distinctly.
On the shore with happy faces
All my loved ones, who had left me
Waved their hands and smiled and beckoned.
Then with joy I bent the paddle,
My canoe with quick stroke urging
Through the wildly dashing waters.
But in vain I strove to reach them—
From the island, blowing fiercely,
Now the gale my barque drove backwards.
Then I stretched my arms in longing—
Would have leaped into the water—
But my limbs refused obedience.
My canoe still drifted backwards.
And the island of Pa-neh-ma
Disappeared from view in vapor ;
But from out the misty distance
Came a voice, like voice of spirit ;
'Though the earth with snow is covered,
There will come again the spring time,
Though the flowers all lie withered,
Yet new hope and fresh endeavor
Will the future bring Ke-ahsa !'
Then I wakened, shudd'ring, freezing—
Still the winter-storm is raging
And the starved wolves on the prairie
Filled the air with dismal howls !''

VII.

Twilight spreads her misty mantle
 O'er the flood of the Mil-wau-kee ;
 Where the steep embankments tower
 Deeper shades already lower.
 Gentlest play the waves are making
 With the stately water lily;
 By her broad, green leaves surrounded,
 Floats her close-shut waxen chalice,
 Softly rocked and wrapt in slumber
 As a child in mother's lap.
 Wildling roses coy, like maidens,
 Hidden in the leafy thicket,
 Give their scent to passing breezes;
 Reeds and sedges in the water
 Rustle in the breeze of evening,
 Blowing hither from the lake.
 From the sky of softest azure
 One by one the stars peep downward,
 See the splendors of the heavens,
 Bright reflected, in the stream.
 Then from out the dusky forest
 Comes the night-birds' plaintive song.
 Through the parted, leafy thicket,
 Treading with light rapid footsteps,
 Tossing high their branching antlers,
 Thirsty deer come to the river,
 Drink their fill, then hasten thither,
 Lost to sight, within the woods.
 Gliding noiseless through the sedges
 Comes a boat with branches covered;
 In the prow a torch is burning,
 To give light to the dark hunter,
 And decoy the hapless game.—
 Once more rustling in the thicket !
 See, with light and rapid footsteps
 Comes a lonely, dusky maiden ;
 Slowly lays aside her garments,
 And the stream's concealing wavelets
 Clasp her form with soft caresses.
 Now the moon in silver radiance
 Climbs the azure arch of heaven,
 And with kisses wakes the lilies
 Till they gleam in full blown beauty.
 Likewise rising from the water,
 Gleaming in unsullied beauty,
 Like the spirit of the river,
 Comes the bright-eyed Nis-sa-was-sa.

Her long hair as dark as midnight,
Heavy, wet, entwined with sedges,
Clinging to her like a mantle,
Covers her from head to foot.—
Backward float her raven tresses
And in nude, unconscious beauty,
Like a figure cut in copper,
Burnished by the silv'ry moonlight,
On the rocks above the river
Stands the lovely Indian maid.

VIII.

“To embrace the crested billows
And to press them to her bosom,
In the lake her brown arm stretching
Longs and waits our common mother.
See, the ever restless billows
Overcome by love's warm impulse,
Fling themselves with passionate fervor
Joyfully upon her bosom;
Then with tend'rest, softest murmur
Lie caressing at her feet !”
In this manner speaks the daughter
Of As-kee-no to Ke-ahsa,
As with rapid strokes she rows him
O'er the bay towards the shore.
There, embower'd in leaves and blossoms,
Still enwrapt in dark reflections,
The young chieftain sees the lake now
Quiver in the kiss of morning.
“Look, they come,” says Nis-sa-was-sa,
Gayly pointing to the northward.
“Let us hasten to receive them !”
So they leave the forest's shelter
And soon stand upon the margin—
Hail the boats, bedecked with branches,
Bearing Nis-sa-was-sa's people.
First the warriors stern and silent,
Then the laughing, chattering women,
Then the happy, romping children,
All arrayed in gayest garments,
And they greet the two young people,
Welcome them with kindest words.
Nis-sa-was-sa leads the bridegroom
Smiling to her gray-haired father,
Whose stern eyes, alight with pleasure,
Rest upon the youthful pair.
Now he speaks to the young warrior:

"Son thou, of my friend Mo-neh-sa,
 Like a cedar tall and stately—
 Like yourself, a son was mine, too,
 But long since Ha-oh-ka took him,
 Cut the chief prop of old age.
 Speak, Ke-ahsa, art thou willing
 At my side to do his duties?"
 And Ke-ahsa answers: "Willing
 To obey, to serve, to honor
 Thee, as I would my own father,
 Dwelling in the land of bliss!"
 "It is well." As-kee-no beckons.
 And three young and sturdy warriors
 Lead the youth into the water
 Where they stand, waist deep together
 And they plunge him once, twice, three times,
 Under the transparent flood.
 Then they lead him quickly shoreward,
 Lay upon him new, dry garments,
 Made of fine tanned skins of deer;
 On his head they place the feathers,
 From the wings of the gold eagle,
 And around his waist they fasten
 A broad belt of choicest wampum,
 Which the lovely bride has made,
 Bidding him to quickly follow,
 Up to climb the rugged bluff.
 There, beneath old, knotted oak trees
 Sits the council of the wise men—
 Smoking, silent, meditative.
 Forth to meet him comes As-kee-no
 Silently, with proudest aspect,
 Bids Ke-ahsa to be seated,
 Gravely there to smoke the peace-pipe.—
 Deepest stillness!—In the tree-tops
 But the breath of the Great Spirit!—
 After long and silent waiting
 To Ke-ahsa speaks As-kee-no:
 "Of my flesh thou art now substance,
 Of my blood thou art now spirit:
 Son, I greet thee as a member
 Of a brave and mighty tribe."

IX.

Fragrant blossoms nod and quiver,
 Dew-gemmed in the breeze of morning.
 Ancient oak-trees bend and straighten
 In the wind their storm-tried branches.

Light-winged minstrels sway and warble
 There aloft in the blue ether.
 Golden sunbeams find their slantway
 To the glen where young Ke-ahsa
 Motionless, inert, is lying
 Lost again in gloomy dreams.
 Hark ! swift footsteps are approaching,
 Tender arms are flung around him,
 And his head is softly pillowed
 On the breast of Nis-sa-was-sa.
 Her dark bosom, warm and loving,
 Swells and throbs with love's own rapture
 Sinks and rises like the billows;
 Which beneath them lave the shore.
 Shapes of horror in the distance
 Swarmed about with tempest, famine,
 He had seen once in his visions.
 Like grim augurs of the future,
 Woe-presaging shapes of darkness
 Made the free air thick about him,
 Taking forms like sable plumage.
 Then before his ravished vision
 Rose a light of roseate radiance:
 'Twas the fire that burned within him,
 'Twas the light in his own bosom,
 And it swept away the dream-forms,
 For great love can vanquish all things.
 Through the night, so gloomy, hopeless,
 Up it rose, a constellation,
 And on his illumined pathway
 He saw spring a lovely blossom;
 From its fragrance-laden chalice
 Seemed to come a gentle whisper:
 " Here on fields undesecrated,
 Unprofaned by foot of white men,
 Blooms for you a passion flower,
 Gleams a light for your own wigwam !
 Then his joyful heart gave answer:
 " Nis-sa-was-sa is the flower,
 Nis-sa-was-sa is my blessing,
 Nis-sa-was-sa is my star ! "

* *

X.

Dark the night; no star in heaven;
 Sultry air and sullen light'ning !
 In the distance growls the storm;
 But within the forest blazes

Clear and bright the council fire.—
From the land of the Algonquins
Came the bloody chief of Erie,
Came the crafty Pontiac.
Like a demon, threat'ning vengeance,
He addresses his dark hearers,
Who assembled, sit around.
“Mighty chieftains,” says the stranger,
“Listen, listen to your brother!
Far away from o'er the ocean
To our land there flew a white-bird,
And he brought and left behind him
His pale brood upon our coast.
Our good brethren, unsuspecting,
Took them by the hand in kindness.
But the great birds still kept coming,
And they left by lake and river
More and more of hungry white men.
And our brethren, unsuspecting,
Took them by the hand in kindness.
Now the wigwams of the pale-face
Are as thick in this, *our country*,
As the cones upon the fir.
For this reason was the white man
Grateful to his dark-hued brother—
Brought to him choice gifts in plenty:
Black disease and fiery water
Break his strength and haste his journey,
As they say, ‘to fields of bliss.’
Brethren, do ye see yon storm-cloud,
Gathering in its arms destruction,
Till it sends the bolt of thunder,
Strikes to earth the giant oak?
Brethren, brethren, in like manner
Will the pale-face strike, remorseless!
True! here rolls the wide green prairie
Undisturbed by white man’s foot.
Here the sharp stroke of their axes
Wakes no echo in the woods.
But how long will this continue
And they drive you from their pathway,
Fell you as they cut the oak!
Therefore, proud and mighty warriors,
Listen, listen to your brother!
Far to southward, I saw waving
Field on field of golden corn.
Blue up to the heavens rising
I saw smoke of many wigwams;

There our brethren, free and happy,
 Dwelt in peace, without grim warfare,
 And it seemed as if a blessing
 Rested on our people there.
 Soon, alas! soon I saw blazing
 Wigwams, and the fields about them,
 Where in golden beauty shining
 Full of life and strength and vigor
 Grew the graceful, precious bread-plant,
 Ruined, bare, and all deserted!
 In the ashes I saw lying
 Half-burned bones of human beings—
 Of our brethren I saw none;
 But of whites I saw there many.
 Everywhere I found the pale-face—
 North and south and east, and westward
 They are wending now their way!
 Mighty warriors, dark-hued brethren,
 Will you bear it? Will you linger
 Till these hounds drive you forever
 From the broad lands of your fathers,
 Or unite, and like the bison
 Trample them into the dust?"

"Ugh!" came growling from the circle—
 While the thunder grumbled nearer,
 And the wild, fierce eyes were flashing
 Like the light'ning on the cloud
 Then As-kee-no, slowly rising,
 With an aspect, cool, contemptuous,
 Speaks: "Ye warriors all and chieftains,
 It appears to me, this Sachem,
 From the land of the Algonquins,
 Called himself the white man's brother
 Not so many months ago.
 For the welfare of our people
 Now he has great thought and trouble.
 Why this fervent zeal so sudden?
 Is it that his pale-face master
 In the land across the water,
 Has awakened him from slumber,
 Sent to him long knives, and weapons,
 That he use them in his cause?
 Well then, Pontiac may use them
 Or he may at will return them
 If he is no white man's tool.
 I, As-kee-no, will not hinder;
 But my brethren here I warn now
 Lest destruction come upon them,

As it must from such a union.
 This my answer ! ”—And the thunder
 Gives o’erhead, a deaf’ning peal.
 From the circle of young warriors,
 Gloomy, and with scowling visage,
 Quickly rises now Ke-ahsa,
 Speaks with firm but savage mien;
 “ Let As-kee-no warn the weaklings !—
 When a boy still, I swore vengeance
 To the pale encroaching strangers—
 They who threaten our destruction !
 All the joys of life are poisoned
 By their hand. They shall requite me
 For my years of care and sorrow.
 Hear me then, thou chief of Erie,
 If thou art in deadly earnest,
 Meanest *war—war to the pale-face*,
 I will follow thee, Algonquin—
 Be it victory or death ! ”
 And his warriors rise around him
 Shouting, “Victory or death ! ”—
 Then in passion, fierce but silent,
 Rises gray-haired chief As-kee-no;
 From the ground undigs the war-axe,
 Grimly then, Ke-ahsa facing,
 Quick he raises it to strike.
 Suddenly, like hell-jaws open’d,
 Spewing forth a fiery vomit,
 All the air burned blue with sulphur,
 And the earth beneath them trembled
 From the lightning’s deadly stroke.
 Stricken by the bolt of thunder,
 Killed, before them lies As-kee-no.
 At his side, transfixed with horror,
 Kneels Ke-ahsa, pointing upwards.

XI.

Where, a giant, Lake Superior
 Shoreward rolls his mighty billows
 On the rocks that, high and desolate,
 Hide rich veins of copper ore ;
 Where colossal rocky figures
 Bid defiance to the billows,
 Which, their wild, white signals waving,
 Hurl themselves in baffled frenzy
 ’Gainst their stern, storm-beaten brow,
 Pontiac and Chief Ke-ahsa
 Carry tidings to red men.

Where Lakes Michigan and Huron
Lave the shores of sand and pine trees,
Where Niag'ra pours his volumes
Thundering down, to rise as mist,
Pontiac and Chief Ke-ahsa
Carry tidings to red men.
Where the blood-soaked fields of battle
Furiously Lake Erie dashes,
Where Ontario's liquid mirror
Narrows to a foaming river,
Where in waves of fragrant flowers
Southward rolls the trackless prairie,
Where to eastward tower grandly
Blue-enveloped mountain peaks,
Pontiac and Chief Ke-ahsa
Carry tidings to red men.
Everywhere they urge rebellion,
Everywhere the hidden war-torch
With their eloquence ignite.
Green in spring buds stand the forests,
And the white man in the fortress
Dreams not of the coming danger.
Basking in the genial sunshine,
Soldiers muse on distant loved ones;
Singing cheerily, the farmer
Scatters seeds upon his acres,
And the traders deal and barter
O'er the counters with the farmers.
But within the dusky bosoms
Of the red sons of the forest
Rages ceaselessly one impulse—
That of hatred and revenge.
Groups of half-clad, stalwart red men
Sing aloud their chants of battle,
Brandishing their murd'rous weapons,
Furious, a band of devils,
Wild, they circle in the dance.
From the blue enveloped mountains
To the "Father of the waters"
Comes a piercing cry of horror—
Witness of the red-man's vengeance
Flows the blood of countless whites,
Of their best defended strongholds
Nine are captured in the onslaught,
And about the others dashes
High the fierce, red wave of war!
From the barns and from the houses,
Flaring brightly, tongues of fire,

Red, illumine nights of horror.
Howling fury, crack of muskets,
Hiss of arrows, stroke of war-axe,
Groan of wounded, gasp of dying
Mingled in a hideous chaos,
On the shudd'ring breeze borne onward,
Speak but of the cruel war fiend,
Who in revelry now empties
Scornfully the blood-filled cup.

XII.

Far removed in the blue distance,
Like a troop of vanquished chieftains
Stripped of their once gaudy mantles,
Naked stand the forest giants.
Where the red-breast and the blue-jay
In the long bright days of summer,
Fed their little downy fledglings,
Where suspended from green branches
Hung the nests of Orioles.
All is bare now, dead and cold.
Naught of leaf and naught of blossom!
But the pale down of the thistle,
Like the soul of the dead summer
Floats in silence through the air.
Ev'ry tone sounds dull and muffled;
Sadly falls the wave's soft music.
In the forest calls the wood-dove,
Calls, but hears no note in answer.
Mockingly the quail is whistling,
And the partridge sounds his drum-beat
While the crows' harsh guttural croaking
Is the herald of dread winter.
On the hill, where in the spring-time
The beloved one parted from her,
Sadly stands young Nis-sa-was-sa;—
Fearful-eyed and heavy-hearted,
When the strawberries were crimson
Her young chief had gone to battle—
Now the maize is ripe and golden,
Still Ke-ahsa stays afar!
Ah, who knows the hour of sorrow
Which, since then, she spent in mourning?
But the helpful worth of labor
Is well known to Indian women.
And her ceaseless toil has helped her
Bear her burden without moan.
But to-day she lacks of patience,

Heavily her fears oppress her
And anxiety she can not
Banish from her tortured mind.
"Tell me not, O Nia-was-ka,
Loved companion of my childhood,
That Ke-ahsa will be here soon,
Glory-decked, a mighty warrior,
And what now my heart oppresses
Then will change in me to joy.—
Saw'st thou not, last night, how Wasa
Painted red the cold, dark heavens?
The mysterious constellation
Speaks to me of coming woe!
Last night, too, the star I've chosen
Fell from high, to die in night!"
Scarcely has she so far spoken
To her good nurse Nia-was-ka,
When a messenger approaches—
Tired and gloomy, painted black;
"Woe to us, O Nis-sa-was-sa!
Woe and sorrow! For the pale-face
Plucked the best fruit of the forest,
Struck the bravest among men
Woe! Ke-ahsa lies in bondage,
Pontiac in war is beaten,
And the red man's cause is lost!"

XIII.

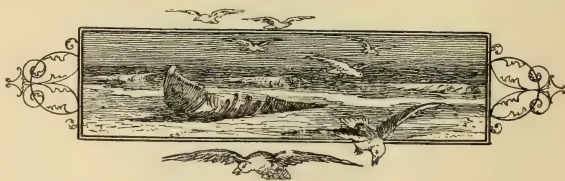
"Bring me now the cursed red-skin!"
Says the stronghold's stern commander;
And Ke-ahsa stands before him,
Hands and feet in iron bonds.
"Now, you dog, you Indian devil,
Speak, and tell me why you fight us?"
Cool contempt in his expression;
Proud, unbent, though sorely wounded,
Quickly turns to him the chief:
"Tell me first, why the bold eagle
Hates the sneaking brood of serpents?
Tell me why the bear and panther
Live not peacefully together?—
Pale-face that is all my answer!"
"Take away the cursed red-skin!"
Cries the wrathful white commander,
"And to-morrow morn at daybreak
Hang him to the first best tree!"
Now alone with this grim sentence,
Broods he in a gloomy dungeon,

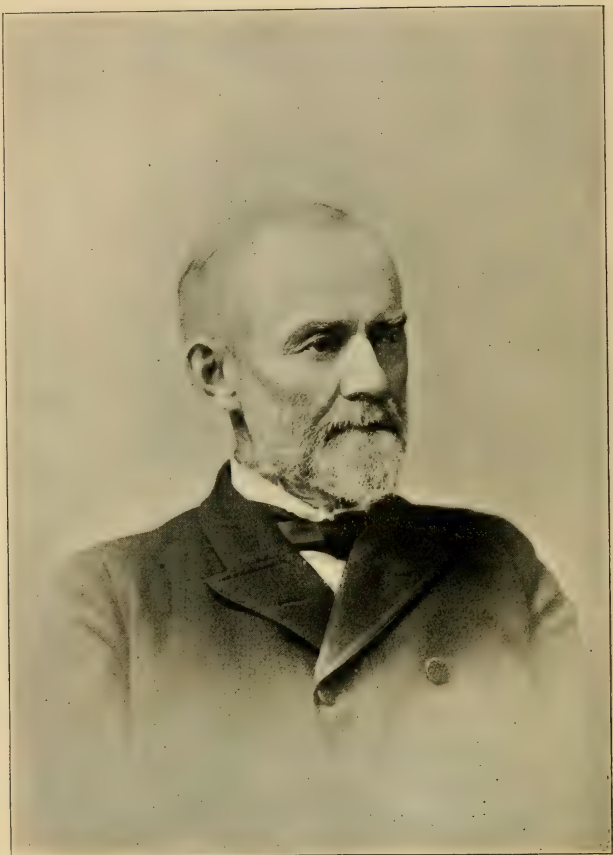
Till the deep sleep of exhaustion
Closes fast his weary eyes.
Still in wild, tumultuous visions
Rises up the past before him.
Youth's delight, and following sorrow,
Then his love's short happiness,
Din of battle, shouts of triumph,
Treachery of his own people—
In wild dreams he lives again;
See, it comes, the wave of white-men,
Overflowing woods and plains !
Westward ! westward ! ever westward
In despair his brethren fly.
See, already gleam the mountains—
"Manito! At last we're safe!"
'Tis illusion—diappointment.
See, they come! And, slowly rising,
The white wave engulfs the red man.
Suddenly, as if by magic,
Shiv'ring, numbed with cold and hunger,
Lonesome stands he and forsaken
In the streets of a great town.
Round him whirring, whizzing noises—
How his heart grows faint within him!
Stupefied, he looks and questions ;
Ah, the language of his people
No one here can understand!
Dizzy, feeble, clad in tatters,
On he wanders through the city,
And the children of the pale-face
Make the butt him for their sport.
Ha! he wakes! A touch has roused him.
On his ear, confused with dreaming,
Falls the name of Nis-sa-was-sa!
It is she. Down drop the fetters;
Softly, softly, still in darkness,
He is led by soft hands onward.
Ha! What's this? He stumbles forward
O'er the corpse of a dead soldier.
Over him he sees the heavens—
Greets the starlight—he is free!
On they hurry! "Quickly, quickly,
To the woods!" But, "Who goes there?"
From a rough voice comes the question.
They proceed. A shot! And, dying,
In his arms lies Nis-sa-was-sa.
"Fare thee well! O, my Ke-ahsa!
With thy loved ones in Pa-neh-ma

I shall patiently await thee!"
A last sigh, and she is dead.
With his old undaunted spirit
In defiance stands Ke-ahsa.
From his wounds he tears the bandage,
Lets the hot, red life-stream out.
"Take me with thee, Nis-sa-was-sa!
All my loved ones, we are coming—
Hail, thou island of the blest!"

XIV.

I awoke. The chiming church bells
Mingled with the rush of waters.
All beside was calm and noiseless;
Over me the silver crescent
Peeped from milk-white, fleecy clouds;
Breaking on the shore in music,
Sang the waves of days forgotten,
Sang of a once happy people,
Proud and vain and weak as we are,
But now lowly in the dust.
Ever on the tree of mankind,
Ever, bud and fall the blossoms.
They who here once lived and suffered
Long are fled and in their places,
We, another race of people,
Live and love and strive as they did,
Till, like them, by Time we're vanquished,
And our greatness but a name!
Then be modest, all who listen
To the sad lay of the billows;
It reminds you: *All is vain!*





GENERAL E. S. BRAGG.

CHAPTER LXVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR HOARD.

1889-1891.

Biographical Sketch of Governor Hoard.—Principal Events.

WILLIAM DEMPSTER HOARD was born at Stockbridge, Madison county, New York, on the 10th day of October, 1836. His father was a Methodist circuit rider. His early life was passed in common schools, and his education was such as is usually derived from that class of schools. He settled at Oak

Grove, Dodge county, Wisconsin, at the age of twenty-one, and worked upon a farm, but three years later moved to Lake Mills, Jefferson county.



He enlisted in May, 1861, in the Fourth Wisconsin infantry, Company E, but on account of his health was discharged in July, 1862. After recuperating a short time, he re-enlisted in Company A, First New York artillery, as a private, and served until the close of the war. He then returned to Wisconsin, and established a nursery business at Columbus, but afterwards returned to Lake Mills, where he published the "*Jefferson County Union*." In 1870, he was appointed deputy United States marshal. In 1872, was elected sergeant-at-arms of the state senate, and in

1873 removed to Fort Atkinson, where he has since resided.

Governor Hoard is indeed a self-made man. Starting without any capital, he has worked his paper up to that standard that it is useful to the community as well as financially productive for himself. It is almost entirely due to Mr. Hoard's efforts that the Jefferson County Dairymen's Association was organized in the year of 1871, then the Wisconsin Dairymen's Association, and, lastly, the Northwestern Dairymen's Association.

After the demand of the dairy department in his paper became so great, Mr. Hoard decided to issue a new paper devoted entirely to that branch. He called it "*Hoard's Dairyman*," and throughout the country it is now considered the best authority on all such matters.

It was in the spring of 1888, that Mr. Hoard, without any solicitation on his part, was nominated by the Republican party for governor of Wisconsin. He made many speeches during the campaign, and everywhere he received favorable comments. He was elected by a plurality of twenty thousand two hundred and seventy-three votes, but two years later he was defeated by George W. Peck, whose plurality was twenty-eight thousand three hundred and twenty.

Of Governor Hoard's administration nothing but good can be said. Conscientious, careful and upright, he did his duty in a manner that led to his re-nomination in 1890, with George W. Peck as his opponent.

EVENTS OF 1889.

The thirty-ninth session of the Wisconsin legislature convened at Madison, January 9, 1889, and adjourned April 19, 1889, after a session of one hundred days.

The state senate was organized with Lieutenant-Governor George W. Ryland as president, Charles E. Bross, chief clerk, and T. J. George, sergeant-at-arms. The assembly was organized with Thomas B. Mills as speaker, E. D. Coe, chief clerk, and F. E. Parsons, sergeant-at-arms.

Governor Hoard's inauguration brought to the capital the most influential members of his party, as well as a sprinkling of the liberal Democracy throughout the state. His inaugural address, which was delivered to the legislature Thursday, January 10, 1889, is characteristic of the man, and shows deep research into the internal affairs of the state.

The governor's record of the state's finances, compiled from the reports of the secretary of state and state treasurer at the close of the fiscal year, September 30, 1888, is as follows:

PUBLIC FINANCES.

Balance in treasury, October 1, 1886.....	\$	736,720	24
Receipts of state treasury for the biennial period..		5,460,996	10
Disbursements for same period.....		5,447,072	82
Balance in treasury, September 30, 1888.....		750,702	44
General fund.....		304,139	09
School fund.....		151,241	85
School fund income.....		26,469	92
Normal school fund.....		85,218	10
University fund		39,241	61
Agricultural college fund.....		74,957	98
Drainage fund.....		49,035	54
Delinquent tax fund.....		948	95
Deposit fund.....		10,903	63
Redemption fund.....		16	75

St. Croix & Lake Superior R. R. trespass fund.....	2,067 46
St. Croix & Lake Superior deposit fund.....	408 02
Wis. R. R. Farm Mortgage Land Co. fund.....	4,577 95
Allotment fund.....	916 54
Manitowoc & Calumet swamp land fund.....	559 05
Total as above	750,702 44

TRUST FUNDS.

“The several trust funds of our state are shown to be in the following condition :

	At Interest.	In Treasury.
School fund.....	\$2,966,273 85	\$151,241 85
University fund.....	190,341 89	39,241 61
Normal school fund.....	1,458,693 58	85,218 10
Agricultural college fund.....	226,781 00	74,957 98
Drainage fund.....		49,035 54
	<hr/> \$4,842,090 32	<hr/> \$399,695 08

STATE DEBT.

“The public debt of the state, which was created in 1861-1863 for the purpose of maintaining the integrity of the Union, should serve as a constant reminder of what it cost Wisconsin, in part, to preserve a republican form of government. This debt was converted into certificates of indebtedness to the several trust funds, and the amounts owing September 30, 1888, were as follows:”

School fund.....	\$1,563,700 00
Normal school fund.....	515,700 00
University fund.....	111,000 00
Agricultural college fund.....	60,600 00

STATE ACCOUNT WITH GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

The governor, in his able message, in speaking of the state's affairs with the general government, said that the war tax levied by the general government against this state had been paid, and that there was due the state upon the settlement the sum of \$8,409.43, which amount had been collected from the general government and paid into the state treasury.

In referring to our financial affairs with the general government, the governor said: “Mr. George W. Burchard, who was appointed as agent of the state, succeeded in collecting from the general government \$19,282.29, on account of rejected and abandoned war claims. These claims had been rejected by the government years ago, and the amount thus collected is a clear gain to the state. Mr. Burchard also succeeded in securing, during the past two years, patents from the general government to the state for 21,746.21 acres of swamp lands, and 41,779.88 acres of indemnity lands.”

WAR TAX.

It is confidently expected that congress will soon refund to the states all the actual money paid on account of the direct war tax levied in 1861. The amount due Wisconsin is \$446,535.41, and was paid by the state as follows :

By credit of allowances on war claims.....	\$264,247 65
By credit of allowances for swamp land indemnity.....	141,878 05
By credit of allowances for five per cent. of sales of public lands,	40,409 71

When received these amounts should be transferred and paid as follows :

To the general fund.....	\$264,247 65
To the normal school fund.....	70,939 03
To the drainage fund.....	70,939 02
To the school fund.....	40,409 71

Charitable and penal institutions, the Chronic Insane, the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, state fish interests, agriculture, the Wisconsin Dairymen's Association, railroads, the National Guard, and our educational interests, all received due attention in the message.

The worthy governor, in his message, so ably discussed the state's interest under the following head, that we reproduce the same, verbatim :

“ THE WISCONSIN DAIRYMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

“ Our dairy interests are fast becoming of the highest importance to the financial well-being of the state. When it is understood that the milk product of Wisconsin is worth annually over \$20,000,000, and the state is taking rank as one of the foremost among the states of the Union in the prosecution of this industry, ample justification can be found for the appropriations which have been made to this association. It is to this organization that credit is largely due for the spread of such information as has enabled the state to so greatly prosper in this particular, and I would recommend an appropriation to the same of \$2,000 for each of the years of 1889 and 1890.

“ In connection with this subject, I desire to call your attention to the necessity of more practical legislation against the manufacture and sale of fraudulent imitations of butter and cheese, and the sale of adulterated milk. Our present laws are found practically inoperative, because of the fact that there is no well-established agency in existence to secure their enforcement. The sale of imitation butter and cheese visits serious injury upon both consumer and producer. Upon the consumer, because he is not acquainted with the fraudulent character of the compound. He buys and eats what he supposes is pure butter and cheese, when the contrary is true to a large extent. Especially is this the case in hotels and boarding-houses. The law gives him no guaranty of the true character of his food.

"The producer is greatly injured, in that his market is destroyed and that largely through fraud. His business aids greatly in building up the state. In Wisconsin alone there is a hundred millions of dollars invested in the dairy business, all of it taxable for the support of the state. It would seem, then, to be nothing more than common justice that the state should protect the producer from competition based on a cheat. Several of our sister states, notably Iowa and Minnesota, to meet this evil and injustice, have each established a commission with the necessary powers and means conferred by law for the suppression of the fraudulent manufacture and sale of imitation butter and cheese as well as the sale of adulterated, impure or diluted milk. In Minnesota the work of the commission has been mainly devoted to the suppression of fraud in the sale of dairy products. The following table, showing the result of the investigations of the official chemists of that state, is, however, a most significant argument in favor of the organized effort of society against such widespread and rapidly increasing adulteration of the food of the people:

NAME OF ARTICLE.	Number of samples.	Number adulterated or injurious.	Number of good quality.
Milk.....	540	184	356
Cheese.....	60	16	44
Cream.....	19	19	None.
Butter.....	12	None.	12
Flour.....	15	None.	15
Bread.....	12	None.	12
Cream of tartar.....	29	18	9
Bicarbonate of soda.....	8	4	4
Baking powder.....	25	20	5
Tea.....	20	5	15
Coffee, ground.....	10	7	3
Coffee, unground, in packages.....	4	3	1
Mustard.....	22	18	4
Ground spices.....	81	64	17
Vinegar.....	34	25	9
Cider.....	10	10	None.
Sugar.....	50	None.	50
Colored sugars.....	20	15	5
Confectionery.....	57	33	24
Honey.....	10	4	6
Maple sugar.....	10	5	5
Maple syrup.....	10	8	2
Lard.....	20	8	12
Olive Oil.....	6	4	2
Total.....	1,084	470	614

THE BENNETT SCHOOL LAW.

The Republican legislature at this session passed the compulsory education law, which is generally known as the "Bennett School Law." Under

this act every parent or other person, having under his control a child between the ages of seven and fourteen years, was required to cause such child to attend some public or private day school, for a period of not less than twelve weeks in each year. The penalty fixed for neglect of such duty by the parents or person having custody of such child was a sum not less than three dollars nor more than twenty dollars for each offense, and a failure for each week or a portion of a week under the act constituted a distinct and separate offense. A like penalty was also imposed upon any person having control of a child who evaded the provisions of the act by a willful statement concerning the age of such child, or the time such child had attended school. Under this act all children within the state between the ages of seven and fourteen were, in fact, placed in the custody and under control of the various boards of education.

The act also authorized such school boards to prosecute in their official names, and the fines and penalties, when collected, were to be paid to the school treasurer of such city, town or district. Under the act, any child between the ages of nine and fourteen years, who, without leave and against the will of his parent, guardian or other person, habitually absented himself from the school to which he was sent or directed to be sent, was deemed a truant child, and was liable to be committed in the same manner as dependent children for a term not exceeding two years.

Under Section IX. of this celebrated statute, children under thirteen years were prohibited from working in factories, shops, mines, stores and other places of business or amusement, except upon a permit, granted by the county judge in the county where such child resided.

Perhaps the portion of the act which was most keenly felt in many parts of the state was Section V., which reads as follows:

"No school shall be regarded as a school under this act, unless there shall be taught therein, as a part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic and United States history, in the English language."

The Bennett law was in many cases wise and beneficial, but the objectionable features of the act, which virtually took the control of the child from the parents and placed it under the management of the various school boards, was considered so detrimental to the interests of the people that the whole act was condemned. The passage of this law by the Republican legislature was without doubt one of the principal causes of the overthrow of the Republican party in the state at the November election of 1890. This law was promptly repealed by the Democratic legislature in 1891.

At West Superior, the strike of the workingmen was so great that the National Guard was ordered by the governor to the scene to preserve order.

On April 10, Ex-Governor Leonard J. Farwell died, and on July 21st, Ex-Governor Nelson Dewey passed away.

EVENTS OF 1890.

The Republican state convention placed in nomination the following ticket: For governor, William D. Hoard; lieutenant-governor, Joseph B. Treat; secretary of state, Edwin D. Coe; state treasurer, Albert G. Geilfuss; attorney-general, James O'Neill; state superintendent, Alonzo D. Harvey; railroad commissioner, Syver E. Brimi; commissioner of insurance, David Schreiner.

The state Democratic convention placed in nomination the following ticket: For governor, George W. Peck; lieutenant-governor, Charles Jonas; secretary of state, Thomas J. Cunningham; state treasurer, John Hunner; attorney-general, James L. O'Connor; state superintendent, Oliver E. Wells; railroad commissioner, Thomas Thompson; commissioner of insurance, Wilbur M. Root.

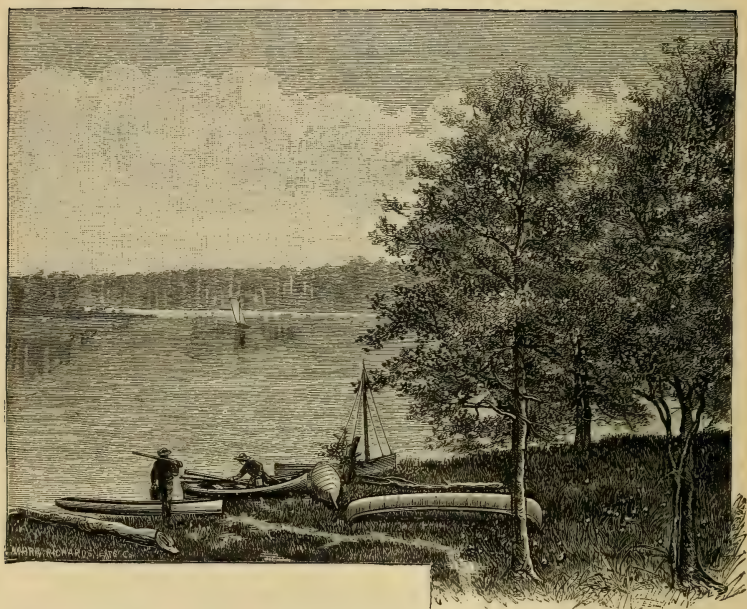
From the date of the various conventions, each party organized a methodical and close canvass throughout the state. The principal features of the campaign were the tariff issue and the "Bennett School Law," which law the Democracy promised to repeal in event of their success. The result of the November election was almost as much of a surprise to the Democracy as to the Republicans.

The whole Democratic ticket was elected by overwhelming majorities, Governor Peck's plurality being 28,320, while his majority over all was 11,627. The Prohibition candidate, Mr. Alexander, received 11,246 votes and Mr. May, the Union Labor candidate, 5,447.

Wisconsin's representatives in the fifty-second congress were Clinton Babbitt, Charles Barwig, Allen R. Bushnell, John L. Mitchell, Geo. H. Brickner, Lucus M. Miller, Frank P. Couburn, Nils P. Haugen, and Thomas Lynch.

The eleventh census, which was taken this year, gave Wisconsin a population of 1,686,880.





TOMAHAWK LAKE, WIS.

CHAPTER LXVII.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF GOVERNOR PECK.

1891-1893.

Early Life and History of Wisconsin's Funny Governor.—Legislation.—The Supreme Court Puts a Quietus on Gerrymandering.—State Treasury Cases.—General Events.—Political.

GEORGE WILBUR PECK, the fifth Democratic governor Wisconsin has ever known, was born September 28, 1840, in Jefferson county, New York. His parents moved to Wisconsin when he was three years old and settled at Cold Spring, Jefferson county, where he received his early education. The family, after living but a few years at Cold Spring, removed to Whitewater, where Mr.

Peck's education was completed before he was fifteen years old. He now decided to learn the printers' trade, and entered the office of the *Whitewater Register*. When he had learned his trade thoroughly he took the position as foreman of the *Whitewater Republican*.

In 1860, Mr. Peck married the accomplished Miss Francena Rowley, of Delavan, Wisconsin. He then purchased a half interest in the *Jefferson County Republican*, and became the leading man of the concern, doing the mechanical work and attending to the affairs in general. He staid with this paper for two years, then sold out and went to work in Madison on the *State Journal*, where he remained about one year.

During the war he was a member of the Fourth Wisconsin cavalry, and was soon commissioned as second lieutenant of Company L. He entered the army in 1863, and was mustered out in 1866, having served one year in Texas after the hostilities with the south had ceased. Upon his returning north he started the *Representative* at Ripon. In 1867, he was elected city treasurer of that beautiful little city. Soon after this his writings attracted the attention of Mr. M. M. Pomeroy, better known as Brick Pomeroy, who offered him a salary of forty dollars per week if he would go to New York and work for him.



Mr. Peck readily consented. He remained in New York about two years, when he came to La Crosse and worked on the *La Crosse Democrat*, then owned by Mr. Pomeroy. This paper at one time had the largest circulation of any in the United States. He staid two years longer with Mr. Pomeroy, then the paper was sold and Mr. Peck bought an interest in it. He was elected chief of police at La Crosse, and served one year in that capacity with intelligence and popularity. In the legislature of 1874-75, Mr. Peck was chief clerk of the assembly, and, in Mr. Taylor's regime, he was assistant state treasury agent for a year.

In 1874, Mr. Peck sold out his interest in the *La Crosse Democrat* and established the *La Crosse Sun*, which paper he published for four years previous to his removal to Milwaukee. He then moved his printing material to Milwaukee, and established *Peck's Sun*, which soon won for itself a prominent place among humorous papers, its circulation at one time reaching eighty thousand per week. It is said that for ten years George W. Peck was regarded as one of the most original, versatile and accomplished writers in the country.

It is very probable that Mr. Peck made more money as a newspaper man than did any other man in the United States. His income was said to equal that received by the president of the United States during the years ranging from 1880 to 1885. Even in his youth the governor was a wag, and always a hail fellow, well met.

In 1880, Mr. Peck was chairman of the Democratic city and county committee of Milwaukee, but from that time on gave his entire attention to his newspaper, until he was nominated and elected for governor in the fall of 1890. At the time of his nomination the state was in great uncertainty regarding the tariff issue and the Bennett school law. These two questions in reality gave the state to the Democracy.

Governor Peck is rather above the medium size, and somewhat portly in figure. His good nature not only appeared in *Peck's Sun*, but in everyday life. Although his second term has not yet expired, the people are satisfied that his official duties will be discharged in a manner that will be a credit to himself as well as to the great commonwealth which he represents.

The fortieth session of the Wisconsin legislature, the legislature which the people had elected for the purpose of bringing about the many needed reforms, convened January 14, 1891, and adjourned April 25, 1891, after a session of one hundred and one days.

The senate was organized with Lieutenant-Governor Charles Jonas as president, John P. Hume, chief clerk, and John A. Barney, sergeant-at-arms. The assembly was organized with James A. Hogan as speaker, George W. Porth, chief clerk, and Patrick Whalen, sergeant-at-arms.

The election of Governor Peck transformed the celebrated humorous writer into a man who now represents and has at heart the welfare of the state at large, without respect to party lines, as the introductory portion of his forcible and pointed message, delivered before the legislature on Wednesday, January 15, 1891, fully illustrates:

"Fellow Citizens of the Senate and Assembly :

"Your honorable body having organized for the transaction of business, it becomes my duty to present to you such recommendations as seem to me for the best interests of the people of the state.

"The electors of Wisconsin have spoken in favor of reform in conducting the business of the state. It remains for you to see that the will of the people, as expressed, is carried out. A short business session, with economy for your watchword, the passage of as few bills as possible, consistent with the needs of the state; little interference with existing good laws; the repeal of bad laws, and the amending of such as are defective, will create a feeling of confidence on the part of the people, and help to make prosperous and happy all of your constituents. The way to bring about a short session is for every member to do his duty. The principal cause of long sessions is delay in the action of committees. A few committees that do not attend promptly to business, and allow bills to accumulate on their hands, cause the work of the session to drag, and hinder those who are willing and anxious to transact business and adjourn. The presiding officer should keep a close watch on the committees, and not hesitate to call attention to those who cause unnecessary delay."

UNNECESSARY OFFICES.

"The pledge that state expenses would be reduced to the point necessary for an economical administration of state affairs, should be constantly borne in mind.

"During the past twelve years more than seventy official positions have been created by express acts of the legislature, and the reports of the secretary show that some two hundred and sixty-five more persons drew pay from the state treasury for personal services in 1889 than in 1878.

"These are facts sufficient in themselves to justify, if not demand, the closest scrutiny and investigation, to the end that unnecessary officials may be dispensed with, and unnecessary expense cut off.

"I recommend that this matter, together with all proposed legislation looking to the curtailing of the salary list and the reduction of expenses, be referred to a special joint committee of both houses, appointed for that purpose, in order that such action in the direction indicated, as the legislature may take, may be well considered, wise and effective."

After scheduling the various state offices and showing the increase of officials since 1878, together with the increase in expenses entailed thereby during

said periods, the governor recommended a reduction in the expenses in the following offices: The dairy and food commissioner, state timber agents, and game wardens. In closing this part of the report, the governor used the following emphatic language:

"It must be remembered that all special interests and individuals, disposed for private purposes to retain useless officials, and continue the payment of unnecessary salaries, will attend your sessions, and, by every means, in person, and by their agents, urge upon you the necessity of protecting their interests, while the whole people will be represented by no paid attorney or lobbyists, and their interests will be wholly unprotected unless you fearlessly perform your duties, and see to it that impartial investigation and unbiased judgment take the place of special pleading and selfish interests.

"Let it be demonstrated that the cause of the whole people is safe in your hands."

The message contained the following statement pertaining to the state's monetary affairs:

CASH BALANCES IN STATE TREASURY.

General fund.....	\$ 23,599 32
School fund.....	347,872 97
School fund income.....	24,004 09
Normal school fund.....	167,999 56
University fund.....	4,990 39
Agricultural college fund.....	4,851 60
Drainage fund.....	40,141 87
Delinquent tax fund.....	1,269 14
Deposit fund.....	11,507 41
Redemption fund.....	28 42
St. Croix trespass fund.....	2,067 46
St. Croix deposit fund.....	408 02
Wis. R. R. Mort. Land Co.....	4,549 81
Manitowoc & Calumet Swamp Land Co.....	2,164 53
Columbia & Sauk Indem. Land Co. fund.....	2,606 74
Allotment fund.....	916 54
Total.....	<u>\$638,977 87</u>
Balances as treasurer ex-officio:	
Treas. Board of Regents, University.....	\$15,765 16
Treas. Board of Regents, Normal schools.....	8,034 12
Bank redemption.....	5,015 00
Soldiers' Orphan fund.....	1,428 43
Deposit per cent.....	2,181 29
Total	<u>\$32,424 00</u>

The message also went quite deeply into the question of the interest on state funds, and pointed out to the legislature that the laws of 1878, which required the state treasurer to deposit and keep in the vaults of the treasury such moneys belonging to the state, had been grossly violated; that for many years the law had been systematically evaded by the state treasurers, who deposited most of the funds of the state in various banks for the purpose of personal gain.

The governor concluded this portion of the message by saying:

"The attorney-general will, therefore, in due time, institute such proceedings in the courts as he shall regard proper to recover such interest moneys. The amount at stake is considerable. The labors involved are likely to be great, and it may be desirable that a moderate sum for contingent expenses should be provided to further the prosecution of these proceedings."

The message also suggested the passage of a law providing for the semi-annual payment of taxes. After dealing with the public school question, the factory labor, the Bennett law, the election laws, charitable, reformatory and penal institutions, the National Guard and the world's fair, he said:

"In conclusion I desire to call your attention to the fact that many of the reports of the different departments, boards and commissions of the state call for extra appropriations, and to remind you that a large number of new projects, all calling for money, will be urged upon you. While many of these demands may be in a measure meritorious, and at some future time worthy of careful consideration, I believe the present condition and temper of our people will not warrant unusual or extraordinary appropriations."

The legislature during its session passed an unusual amount of necessary measures, and repealed and modified numerous acts. Among the important acts passed were the Australian ballot system, which is now in operation, and an act apportioning the state into senate and assembly districts. This bill met the fate it so richly deserved, on account of its unconstitutionality.

On January 28, 1891, the Hon. William F. Vilas, the ex-secretary of the interior under the Cleveland administration, and one of Wisconsin's most brilliant lawyers, was elected United States senator.

On June 17th, Ex-Governor Harrison Ludington died, and on August 27th, Dr. Lyman C. Draper, the able and efficient secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and one of its most active workers, died.

EVENTS OF 1892.

The supreme court of the state having held that the apportionment of the state into assembly and senatorial districts was unconstitutional, the governor therefore called a special session of the legislature, which met on June 18th and adjourned July 1st, after again apportioning the state into senate and assembly districts. The question of the constitutionality of the new law

was again decided by the supreme court to be unconstitutional, upon which the governor called a second special session, which met on October 17th and adjourned October 27th, after having passed an act apportioning the state into senate and assembly districts. These cases were generally known throughout the state as the gerrymandering cases, and reflected little credit upon the originators of these unconstitutional laws.

THE GERRYMANDERING CASES.

Of all the cases tried in the supreme court during the last decade, none has excited more attention than the celebrated case entitled, "*The State ex rel. Attorney-General vs. Cunningham, Secretary of State.*"

On February 2, 1891, leave was granted the attorney-general to bring an action in the supreme court in behalf of the State *vs.* Thomas J. Cunningham, secretary of state, to perpetually enjoin and restrain him and his successors in office, from giving or publishing notices of the election of senators and members of assembly in the various districts, constituted by Chapter 482, Laws of 1891, entitled, "An Act to Apportion the State into Senate and Assembly Districts," which act was approved April 25, 1891.

Upon the same day that leave was granted by the court, the attorney-general filed an information or complaint in that court on behalf of the state, pursuant to such order. The information was founded upon Section 3 and amended Sections 4 and 5 of Article IV., of the Constitution. These sections of the constitution are as follows:

"Section 3. The legislature shall provide by law for an enumeration of the inhabitants of the state in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, and, at the end of every ten years thereafter; and at their first session after such an enumeration, and also after each enumeration made by the authority of the United States, the legislature shall apportion and district anew the members of the senate and assembly, according to the number of inhabitants, excluding Indians not taxed, and soldiers and officers of the United States army and navy.

"Section 4. The members of the assembly shall be chosen biennially by single districts, on the Tuesday succeeding the first Monday of November, after the adoption of this amendment, by the qualified electors of the several districts. Such districts to be bounded by county, precinct, town or ward lines, to consist of contiguous territory, and be in as compact form as practicable.

"Section 5. The senators shall be elected by single districts of convenient contiguous territory, at the same time and in the same manner as members of the assembly are required to be chosen; and no assembly district shall be divided in the formation of a senate district. The senate districts shall be

numbered in the regular series, and the senators shall be chosen alternately from the odd and even numbered districts. The senators elected or holding over at the time of the adoption of this amendment shall continue in office till their successors are duly elected and qualified; and after the adoption of this amendment all senators shall be chosen for the term of four years."

Chief-Justice Lyon, in making the statement of proceedings in the case, uses the following language:

"The information charges that Ch. 482, Laws of 1891, violates the foregoing provisions of the constitution in that: (1) It does not 'Apportion and district anew the members of the senate and assembly according to the number of inhabitants, excluding Indians not taxed, and soldiers and officers of the United States army and navy,' as required by Sec. 3 of Art. IV. (2) Many of the assembly districts which the act attempts to form are not 'bounded by county, precinct, town or ward lines' within the meaning of that requirement in amended Sec. IV. (3) Many of the districts are not 'in as compact form as practicable' as required by the same section. (4) Some senate districts do not consist 'of convenient contiguous territory' as required by amended Sec. 5, of Art. IV. (5) The senate districts are so numbered that the electors in certain counties and parts of counties representing 231,218 inhabitants, who were last allowed by law to vote for senators at the general election of 1888, will not be permitted to do so again until such election in 1894, if Chapter 482 be held a valid law, while electors representing 168,809 inhabitants, who were permitted to vote for senators at the general election in 1890, will, if such act be upheld, be allowed to vote again for senators at such election in 1892. And further that the present senators in the odd-numbered districts, under Chapter 482, will represent for the next two years (or until January, 1894, when their terms will expire) 387,122 inhabitants who had no voice in their election, and 530,289 inhabitants who were permitted to participate in their election.

"The information sets out the number of inhabitants in each senate and assembly district in the state as formed by Chapter 482, and specifies many instances in which it is claimed such apportionment violates each and all the constitutional provisions and restrictions above mentioned. It alleges the population of the state to be 1,686,880, according to the enumeration made by authority of the United States in 1890, and hence, that each assembly district should have been formed to contain about 16,868 inhabitants, and each senate district about 51,117 inhabitants, whereas the population of the senate districts attempted to be formed by Chapter 482 varies from 38,690 in the twenty-second district to 68,601 in the twenty-seventh district, and the population of the assembly districts varies from 6,823 in the district consisting of the Third Ward of Milwaukee, to 38,801 in the district consisting of the County of La Crosse.

It should be stated, however, that the population in a large number of the legislative districts approximates quite closely the numerical unit of representation.

“It is believed that the foregoing statement of contents of the information will sufficiently explain the grounds upon which the validity of Chapter 482 is attacked, and it is not necessary to go more into detail.”

“Immediately upon the filing of the information, and on the day the same was filed, the secretary of state admitted due service of the summons herein, and by his attorney, E. S. Bragg, Esq., entered his appearance to the action, and interposed a motion to dismiss the information, for the following reasons stated in the motion:

1. “‘The plaint states no facts showing the relator to have any interest in the subject-matter thereof which entitles him to a standing in court to petition for relief from grievances real or supposed.’

2. “‘It appears upon the face of the plaint that this court has no jurisdiction of the subject-matter thereof; and that its recital and averments state no wrongs, real or supposed, cognizable in a court of law or equity.’

3. “‘That the plaint of the relator fails to show any violation of the constitution of Wisconsin, either in letter or spirit, in the bill or act apportioning the members of the legislature for the State of Wisconsin upon the federal enumeration of population of 1890.’”

Edward S. Bragg, counsel for the defendant, filed an extensive brief, bearing upon the constitutionality of the act. Charles E. Esterbrook appeared as counsel for the plaintiff and George W. Bird and John C. Spooner counsel for the relator. Judge Orton, in rendering his opinion in this celebrated case, said:

“This case comes into this court, within its original jurisdiction, by bill in chancery on the relation of the attorney-general on behalf of the state, praying for an injunction against Thomas J. Cunningham, secretary of state, to restrain him as such officer from carrying into execution Chapter 482, Laws of 1891, commonly called the ‘Apportionment Act,’ on the ground of its unconstitutionality; and more particularly that they refrain from giving the notices of the election of members of the senate and assembly as apportioned and restricted by said act.

“The complaint informs the court, in substance, that the legislature of 1891, in attempting by said act to apportion and district anew the members of the senate and assembly, according to the enumeration of the population of the state by the United States census of 1890, did so in violation of the restrictions contained in Sections 3-5, Article IV., of the constitution of this state, in the following particulars, viz.: First, the senate and assembly districts were not made ‘according to the number of inhabitants, excluding Indians not taxed, and soldiers and officers of the United States army and navy;’ second,

the assembly districts were not 'bounded by county lines;' third, they were not made 'to consist of contiguous territory;' fourth, they were not made 'in as compact form as practicable;' fifth, the senate districts were not made 'of contiguous and convenient territory.'

"The complaint more particularly shows that by the last census the state contained a population of 1,686,880, and by an equal apportionment of the inhabitants each senate district should have contained 51,117, and each assembly district 16,868, inhabitants, as near as may be. By said apportionment many senate districts contain the number of inhabitants, omitting fractions of a thousand, as follows: Second district, 38,000; fifth district, 68,000; seventh district, 65,000; eighth district, 43,000; eleventh district, 42,000; fourteenth district, 45,000; sixteenth district, 57,000; seventeenth district, 61,000; eighteenth district, 44,000; twentieth district, 42,000; twenty-second district, 37,000; twenty-fourth district, 58,000; twenty-seventh district, 68,000; thirty-second district, 38,000; thirty-third district, 63,000. Many assembly districts contain the number of inhabitants as follows: 38,000, 6,000, 25,000, 7,000, 24,000, 11,000, 22,000, 11,000, 23,000, 10,000, 22,000, 11,000, 21,000, 10,000, 20,000, 11,000, 20,000, 11,000. The highest difference between both the senate and assembly districts is over 30,000.

"The case was heard on demurrer to the complaint (admitting the facts), based on the grounds to the effect: First, that the court has no jurisdiction of the subject-matter; and, second, that the complaint fails to show any violation of the constitution. These two general questions, as well as others subordinate thereto, were very ably argued by eminent counsel on both sides; and their arguments and the authorities cited by them have rendered the court very great aid in the elucidation and decision of the case.

"As a preliminary question, it has already been decided that this case could not be brought by a private relator, because no one has any private interest in the subject-matter. The matters being exclusively *publici juris*, the case must be brought by the attorney-general on his own relation, representing the whole state and the people thereof. This is the form and title in which the case now stands in this court and in which it must be sustained, if at all. That being the most difficult and important question, we shall enter at once upon the consideration of the original jurisdiction of this court to issue the injunction to restrain the secretary of state from executing the said act, which is the first ground of the demurrer.

"In almost every case which has been brought in this court within its original jurisdiction, on the relation of the attorney-general in the name of the state, the jurisdiction of this court has been challenged and discussed by able counsel, and sustained by the court in many learned and elaborate opinions. The subject-matter in these cases was claimed and held to be *publici juris*, and

involved the original jurisdiction of the court to issue the various writs of *habeas corpus*, *mandamus*, *injunction*, *quo warranto* and *certiorari*. It would seem, therefore, that the jurisdiction of the court and its limitations in nearly all matters of great public interest and concern had been already judicially determined. The highest authorities that can be consulted on the question of the court's jurisdiction in this case are these various decisions of the court. The precise subject-matter of this case was not in any of these cases, but the analogies are sufficiently close to make them of the highest authority in this case, and some of them are clearly in point. We start upon this discussion with the benefit of these decisions, which renders the question far less difficult."

Upon the question of jurisdiction, the able judge cited voluminous authorities, among which were the following cases: *State ex rel. Attorney-General vs. Messmore*, in *quo warranto*, 14 Wisconsin, 115; *State ex rel. Attorney-General vs. M., L. S. and W. R. Co.*, in *quo warranto*, 45 Wisconsin, 579; *State ex rel. Attorney-General vs. O'Neill*, 24 Wisconsin, 152; *Attorney-General ex rel. Bashford vs. Barstow*, 4 Wisconsin, 567.

Upon the question of the constitutionality of the apportionment act, the honorable judge cited, among others, the following decisions: *Opinion of Judges*, 6 Cush., 575-578; *Warren vs. Charleston*, 2 Gray, 84; *Kinney vs. Syracuse*, 30 Barb., 349; *People ex rel. Attorney-General vs. Holihan*, 29 Mich., 116; *People ex rel. Attorney-General vs. Bradley*, 36 Mich., 447, and *State ex rel. Gardner vs. Newark*, 40 N. J. Law, 297.

In commenting upon the violation of the constitution, the court says:

"But, again, this apportionment act violates and destroys one of the highest and most sacred rights and privileges of the people of this state, guaranteed to them by the ordinance of 1787, and the constitution, and that is 'equal representation in the legislature.' This, also, is a matter of the highest public interest and concern, to give this court jurisdiction in this case. If the remedy for these great public wrongs cannot be found in this court, it exists nowhere. It would be idle and useless to recommit such an apportionment to the voluntary action of the body that made it. But it is sufficient that these questions are judicial and not legislative. The legislature that passed the act is not assailed by this proceeding, nor is the constitutional province of that equal and co-ordinate department of the government invaded. The law itself is the only object of judicial inquiry, and its constitutionality is the only question to be decided.

"The particulars in which the constitution has been violated by this act will be more fully considered by my brethren. It is proper to say that perfect exactness in the apportionment according to the number of inhabitants is neither required or possible. But there should be as close an approximation to exactness as possible, and this is the utmost limit for the exercise of legislative

discretion. If, as in this case, there is such a wide and bold departure from this constitutional rule that it cannot possibly be justified by the exercise of any judgment or discretion, and that evinces an intention on the part of the legislature to utterly ignore and disregard the rule of the constitution in order to promote some other object than a constitutional apportionment, then the conclusion is inevitable that the legislature did not use any judgment or discretion whatever. The above disparity in the number of inhabitants in the legislative districts is so great that it cannot be overlooked as mere careless discrepancies or slight errors in calculation. The differences are too material, great and glaring, and deprive too many of the people of the state of all representation in the legislature, to be allowed to pass as mere errors of judgment. They bear upon their face the intrinsic evidence that no judgment or discretion was exercised, and that they were made intentionally and willfully for some improper purpose or for some private end foreign to constitutional duty and obligation. It is not an 'apportionment' in any sense of the word. It is a direct and palpable violation of the constitution. The breaking up of the lines and boundaries of counties by the new assembly districts must have been intentional. It was not necessary in a single instance, and there is no possible margin for the exercise of any legislative discretion. This is a most important restriction on the power of the legislature to make an apportionment. The people have a commendable pride in their own counties, and have more or less a common feeling and interests, and participate together in all their county affairs. They have a right to be represented by their own members of the legislature, and the members themselves can better represent them and promote and protect their interests. They know each other, and have closer relations with each other. These considerations, though common, must not be underrated or overlooked. When these restrictions were under discussion in the constitutional convention, they were supported and adopted upon the express ground that they would prevent the legislature from gerrymandering the state. These restrictions were regarded by the very able members of the convention as absolutely necessary to secure to the people that sacred right of a free people—of equal representation in the legislature. The right of the people to make their own laws through their own representatives, so fundamental in and essential to a free government, the convention sought to guard by these restrictions. That most dangerous doctrine, that these and other restrictions upon the power of the legislature are merely declaratory, and not mandatory, should not be encouraged even to the extent of discussing the question. The convention, in making a constitution, had a higher duty to perform than to give the legislature advice. Judge Cooley, in his great work on Constitutional Limitations, says: 'The courts tread upon very dangerous ground when they venture to apply the rules which distinguish between directory and mandatory statutes to the provisions of the constitution.'

In concluding, the worthy judge said: "The motion in the nature of a demurrer is overruled and the defendant has leave to answer within twenty days. The decision of the court is unanimous. The Chief Justice and Justice Pinney will file separate opinions."

Justice Pinney, in reviewing the case in its various features, said:

"This suit is in substance and form the suit of the State of Wisconsin, as a political body, on the information or relation of the attorney-general, the proper law officer of the state, made upon complaint to him by a private citizen. It is not essential to the jurisdiction of the court that beyond the attorney-general there should be any private relator; and the connection of a private relator with the suit is that only of being liable for costs in case it turns out that it was wrongly instituted or is improperly prosecuted. When a suit immediately concerns the crown or government alone, the attorney-general or solicitor-general proceeds purely by way of information. When it does not immediately concern the rights of the crown or government, its officers depend on the relation of some person whose name is inserted in the information, and who is termed the relator. And as the suit, though in the name of the attorney-general or solicitor-general, is then carried on under the direction of the relator, he is considered as answerable to the court and to the parties for the propriety of the suit and the conduct of it; and he may be responsible for costs if the suit should appear to have been improperly instituted or in any stage of it to be improperly conducted. Still, however, a relator in such cases is by no means indispensable, and the attorney-general, may, if he pleases, proceed in the suit without one. Sometimes it happens that the relator has an interest in the matter in dispute, in connection with the crown or government, of an injury to which he has a right to complain. In such a case his personal complaint is joined to and incorporated with the information given to the court by the officer of the crown or government, and then they form together an information or bill, and are so termed. Story Eq. Pl., 8, *ut supra*; Mitf. Eq. Pl., 117, 118; Attorney-General *vs.* Vivian, 1 Russ., 236, 237. If it appeared that the relator had no interest, the bill was dismissed, but the information was retained.

"The controversy of this case is with the secretary of state, and not with the Chapter 482 which he intends to execute. The proceeding is against him, not against the act nor against the legislature. No one contends, so far as I am aware, that the court, by any process, direct or indirect, can exercise any appellate or supervisory power by way of review of the acts of the legislature, or that the court may in any way or manner sit in judgment upon any of its acts relating to matters of legislative discretion, or within its political power, or in respect to which its power is not restricted or limited by the constitution. The position asserted by the court is that in any controversy of a judicial

nature, properly brought before the court, in which the validity of an act of the legislature is challenged on the ground that it is in conflict with the constitution, the court has the constitutional and rightful authority to decide whether the act is void or not for that reason, and that its decision on that question is final, and conclusive in all courts and places, and against all persons, whether acting in an official capacity or otherwise. It is to be presumed that no intelligent lawyer is to be found at this day who will assert the contrary, nor was this position really questioned at the argument. The respondent relies upon Chapter 482 as his authority for the course which he gives out that he intends and threatens to pursue in the matter of notifying the approaching election. In this manner the validity of the act is, in a legal sense, brought into question collaterally or incidentally, though the *res* or subject-matter of the information is the alleged meditated and threatened illegal and unauthorized course of action of the respondent. This, and this only, is the subject of the suit, and not Chapter 482, although in a practical point of view the decision will result in holding the act either valid or void. Coming before the court as it does, in the manner and for the purpose stated, the question arises in the determination of a judicial controversy existing with the respondent as to his proposed conduct, and it is clear that the court must have the power to decide upon the validity of the act in order to decide the case before it.

"In the organization of the government into three departments, each measurably independent of the other—the executive, judicial and legislative—the political power of the state was vested in the executive and legislative departments and the judicial power in the courts. The political organization, called the 'state,' is created for the protection and enforcement of the rights and liberties of the people. Its sovereignty or power of rightful control is for the protection of personal and of political rights as well. Prominent among these rights and liberties is the right of citizens to participate in the election; to have their proper voice and influence and just representation in the representative branch of the government as members and as possessors of the sovereignty vested in the people outside of the constitution and not delegated by it. It is this sovereignty, these rights, these privileges and liberties of the people, which this court, by virtue of its prerogative jurisdiction has an undoubted right to protect and enforce, as against unconstitutional and illegal attack from all sources whatever. Chief-Justice Ryan, in *re* Ida Louisa Pierce, 44 Wis., 431-433, speaking of the original jurisdiction of the court and the purposes for which it exists, uses the following pertinent language on this subject: 'The words, "liberties of the people," in a judicial sense, mean the aggregate political rights and franchises of the people of the state-at-large. . . . The liberties of the people here and elsewhere are not only essen-

tially subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the courts, not only unimpaired by them, but are absolutely dependent upon them. The supremacy of original judicial processes enters into the liberties of the people, and is essential to them. Order is essential to all liberty and judicial supremacy is essential to order.'

"The rule is general with reference to the enactment of all legislative bodies that the courts cannot inquire into the motives of the legislators in passing them, except as they may be disclosed on the face of the acts or inferable from their operation, considered with reference to the condition of the country or existing legislation. The motives of the legislators, considered as the purposes they had in view, will always be presumed to be to accomplish that which follows as the natural and reasonable effect of their enactment;" and "we must not suppose the legislature to have acted improperly, unadvisedly or from any other than public motives, under any circumstances, when acting within the limits of its authority.

"The rules of apportionment and the restrictions upon the power of the legislature are very simple and brief. (1) By Section 3 the apportionment is required to be 'according to the number of inhabitants, excluding,' etc. (2) By Section 4, the members of the assembly shall be chosen annually (*a*) by single districts (*b*) such districts to be bounded by county, precinct, ward or town lines; (*c*) to consist of contiguous territory; and (*d*) to be in as compact form as practicable. (3) The senators shall be chosen (*a*) by single districts (*b*) of convenient (*c*) contiguous territory; and (*d*) no assembly district shall be divided in the formation of senate districts. Looking at the scope of these limitations, it is obvious that it was intended to secure in the future that which had been adopted and secured and enjoyed almost from the origin of popular representative government in this country to the time the constitution was adopted, 'proportionate representation,' and 'apportionment as nearly equal as practicable among the several counties for the election of members' of the legislature, as it had existed in Wisconsin since 1836.

"The provision of Sec. 3 for an apportionment 'according to the number of inhabitants' is the exact equivalent of the provisions of the ordinance of 1787, of a 'proportionate representation of the people in the legislature,' and it is an incident not without its value that the first apportionment act passed under the constitution at the session of 1851, was vetoed by Governor Dewey on the ground of a very considerable disproportion in the number of inhabitants in senate and assembly districts as constituted by it; that it was unconstitutional as not being 'according to the number of inhabitants;' and the veto was sustained, with only twelve votes in the assembly against it (Assembly Journal, 1851, pp. 810-812); but the disproportion was far less significant than in the act of 1891.

“In the act under consideration there are twenty instances in which counties have been divided in the formation of assembly districts, in violation of the constitutional rule preserving the territorial integrity of counties in the apportionment of the state into assembly districts; and by no possible construction of the act can it be brought into harmony with the provisions of the constitution. Both the provisions of the constitution and those of the act are too plain for misconstruction, and the repugnance of the act to the constitution is clear and irreconcilable. The rule in respect to contemporaneous construction is inapplicable, for no amount of usage will suffice to dispense with or overcome a plain statutory provision, much less a plain provision of the constitution. Inasmuch as the several provisions of an act of apportionment are so largely dependent upon each other, and as such an act must be regarded as an entirety, and this one with the objectionable districts would form no just approximation or relation to an act of apportionment of the state, there is no alternative but to hold that the act in question is void, and that the senate and assembly districts described in it have no legal existence. The respondent has therefore no lawful authority for giving a notice of election such as it is alleged he proposes to issue, and the court cannot but so declare, be the consequences what they may.

“There is, no doubt, a wide distinction between the exercise of a fair, just and necessary discretion within the rules of constitutional apportionment, and a gross departure and manifest abandonment and defiance of them; between discretion within certain limits, and for certain ends, and an open, obvious and palpable violation of them. It is plain that by disregarding them, namely that which require apportionment to be ‘according to inhabitants’ and those which requires assembly districts to ‘be in as compact form as practicable’ and that senate districts be formed of ‘convenient contiguous territory’ the right of representation of local constituencies may be grossly violated, and particularly in the form of senate districts, inasmuch as no assembly district can be divided for that purpose; but whether this court can declare an act of apportionment void in such cases is a question not material to the decision of this case, and which will require further discussion and consideration, and need not be now determined.

“The apportionment of the state into senate and assembly districts according to inhabitants is a task, no doubt, of difficulty and delicacy; and while a liberal margin is necessarily allowable for the exercise of a wise and just discretion, so that the apportionment will be practicably just and proportionate—the end designed to be attained by the constitutional limitations on the power of the legislature—yet the task is not so intrinsically difficult but that a fair and just result may be readily reached in accord with these limitations, against which no well-grounded complaint can be made.”

Judge Winslow concurred in the view expressed by Mr. Justice Pinney. Chief-Justice Lyon filed an able opinion in which he substantiated the views of his associates.

THE SECOND GERRYMANDERING CASE.

After the rendition of the judgment of the supreme court in the prior case, the legislature, at its special session held in July, 1892, re-apportioned the state into senate and assembly districts, but not in accordance with the constitution.

An action was therefore commenced in the name of the state against Thomas J. Cunningham, secretary of state, in the supreme court, for the purpose of perpetually enjoining and restraining the defendant as said secretary and his successors in office from publishing a copy of the notices of election of members of the newly constituted senate and assembly districts, in a newspaper published at Madison, describing the various legislative districts in such notice under the act of July 2, 1892, and also from filing the certificates of nomination and nomination papers, and from certifying to the several county clerks in the state the names and description of the persons nominated for such legislative offices, as specified in such certificates of nomination, and for other relief. George G. Green appeared as attorney for the plaintiff and George W. Bird, of counsel, together with John C. Spooner. William F. Vilas appeared as attorney for the defendant.

The supreme court, in its decision in this case, made the following findings:

(1.) The supreme court, under Sec. 3, Art. VII., of the constitution was empowered and had the right to issue its writ of injunction independent of the volition of the attorney-general; and his refusal to bring suit or consent thereto did not prevent the court from taking jurisdiction upon the relation of a private citizen in the name of the state.

(2.) The validity of the apportionment act is a judicial and not a political question.

(3.) Under the constitution of Sec. 3, Art. IV., an apportionment must be made "according to the number of inhabitants" as shown by the last previous federal or state census.

(4.) The question being as to the validity of an apportionment act, the language of the constitution securing equality was plain and not ambiguous.

(5.) Under Sec. 3, Art. IV., of the constitution, the districts must be nearly equal in population as other constitutional requirements will permit.

(6.) The requirements of said section of the constitution that assembly districts shall "be in as compact form as a practicable" being of lesser importance, may, to some extent, yield in aid of securing a nearer approach to equality of representation.

(7.) "The unnecessary inequalities under the apportionment act of 1892—such, for example, as the formation of six assembly districts, each containing one or more counties, with an aggregate population less than four times the unit of representation, when such counties might have been grouped into four districts; a difference of over 7,000 in population between assembly districts in a county, when they might have been formed with a difference not exceeding 1,000, and with a gain in compactness; and the formation of one senate district from two assembly districts with a population of 30,732, and of another senate district from four assembly districts with a population of 65,952—are held to render the act invalid."

Judge Winslow filed a dissenting opinion.

CLOSING EVENTS OF 1892.

The state Democratic convention, early in the fall of 1892, nominated the following state ticket: For governor, George W. Peck; lieutenant-governor, Charles Jonas; secretary of state, Thomas J. Cunningham; state treasurer, John Hunner; attorney-general, James L. O'Connor; state superintendent, Oliver E. Wells; railroad commissioner, Thomas Thompson; commissioner of insurance, Wilbur M. Root.

The state Republican convention placed in nomination the following gentlemen: For governor, John C. Spooner; lieutenant-governor, John C. Koch; secretary of state, Robert W. Jackson; state treasurer, Atley Peterson; attorney-general, James O'Neill; state superintendent, Willard H. Chandler; railroad commissioner, John D. Bullock; commissioner of insurance, James E. Heg.

The whole Democratic ticket was elected by large pluralities, Governor Peck's plurality being 7,707.

Wisconsin's representatives in the fifty-third congress were: H. A. Cooper, Charles Barwig, Joseph W. Babcock, John L. Mitchell, George H. Brickner, Owen A. Wells, George B. Shaw, Lyman E. Barnes, Thomas Lynch and Nils P. Haugen.

EVENTS OF 1893.

The forty-first session of the legislature convened January 11, 1893, and adjourned April 21, 1893, after a session of one hundred days.

The senate was organized with Lieutenant-Governor Charles Jonas in the chair as president, Samuel J. Shafer, chief clerk, and John B. Becker, sergeant-at-arms. The assembly was organized with Edward Keogh, speaker, George W. Porth, chief clerk, and Theodore Knapstein, sergeant-at-arms.

On January 12, Governor Peck delivered before the legislature his second message. In his opening address, among other things, he said:

"We have been secure, happy and peaceful in the enjoyment of the products of our labor. While in other portions of the Union conflicts of the most serious character have arisen between employers and their workmen, deference to the plain provisions of the constitution and the laws have enabled Wisconsin not only to avoid all serious results from such difficulties, but to save expense and the too frequent exasperation attending needless use of state troops.

"The reports of the state officers, boards and institutions of the state, required by law to be made, will be presented to you in full. From a careful examination of these reports, it appears that the affairs of the state have been conducted economically and well. It is not my purpose to present to you any extended detailed statement, but to depart somewhat from the usual method. I urge upon you the advisability of your careful examination into all these reports, assuring you on behalf of those in authority in the several departments of their desire to have you scrutinize with care the present manner of conducting the business of the state. They invite criticism and suggestion from you, looking to a more economical and satisfactory administration.

"I feel it a privilege to be able to extend to the people of Wisconsin congratulations that the highest court in the state has affirmed the decision of the circuit court against former state treasurers who have misappropriated the interest on state funds to private uses. The aggregate of the judgments will be a large sum of money, but the recovery of the money is a trifling matter compared with the principle established, which is a great victory for the doctrine that public office is a trust that should be honestly administered."

STATE FINANCES.

In speaking of the finances of the state since the commencement of the governor's first administration, he said :

"On January 5, 1891, there was a balance on hand in the general fund of \$23,599.32, with warrants already drawn aggregating \$36,096.87 ; actually showing \$12,497.55 more money spent than there was in the general fund. Against this showing there is a surplus in the general fund to-day.

"On January 1, 1893, \$312,939.79 was the magnificent sum to the credit of the general fund of the state, with no unpaid warrants outstanding. Of this surplus but \$98,466.10 came from the direct war tax refunded to the state in 1891, by the United States government. There is, therefore, an actual balance to the credit of careful and wise economy of \$226,971.24.

"In addition to this, by an improvement in methods, the interest on state funds deposited in banks has, during the past two years, added \$53,410.11 to the income of the state, without cost or the loss of a dollar, as a result of such method of temporary loans.

"Six of the counties in the state now pay the amount of state taxes charged to them on or before the second Monday in July, while all the other counties pay on or before the first Monday in February. This tends to make confusion, and causes much annoyance, and I would recommend that the law be so amended that all such taxes shall be payable at the same time."

The message also treated of the beneficial results of the Australian ballot system. The salary of the state superintendent he recommended to be increased in proportion to the amount of work performed by that official. The loaning of the trust funds, the protection of public lands, the public health, the co-employe law, the contingent fund, educational affairs, the national guard, war records and public roads, received due consideration in this terse message.

The governor, in concluding his message, said:

"In concluding this brief and somewhat circumscribed review of state affairs, I have endeavored to confine myself to subjects that, to me, seem to press most prominently for legislative attention. There is still one topic to be considered that overshadows all others in the minds of the tax-payers, that is, adherence to the strictest economy in all public expenditures, however small, consistent with efficient service and wise conduct of state affairs. The showing made by the economies of the past two years, though so large that it will, no doubt, prove a surprise to many people, is by no means complete. There are opportunities still for the legislature to dispense with needless officials and to still more restrict expenses in certain branches of state government, with the assurance that the result will follow, as it has in the past, that money will be saved and the service improved at the same time. No detail of this subject is so small as to be unworthy of your most serious attention. Extravagance in the conduct of public business results in needless burdens upon the people, and, what is worse, breeds official neglect and corruption.

"Knowing that one of the most valuable aids to the last legislature in the consideration of appropriations was its joint committee on retrenchment and reform, I recommend that this legislature appoint such a committee, to whom shall be referred all bills for the expenditure of money.

"Believing that the legislature in its wisdom will be impressed with the high and patriotic importance of discouraging all tendencies to loose and lavish public expenditures as a first essential of good government, I commend to you these suggestions regarding the public business of the state."

THE STATE TREASURY CASES.

Agreeable to the promises made by the Democracy during the campaign of 1890, and the subsequent instructions given to the attorney-general, actions were commenced against Edward C. McFetridge and Henry B. Harshaw and

their sureties. These cases were tried before Judge A. W. Newman, in the circuit court of Dane county.

The first action of this nature was the State *vs.* Edward C. McFetridge, which action was brought upon the official bond of the defendant as state treasurer, during the term commencing the first Monday in January, 1885, and ending on the first Monday in January, 1887, to which office he was elected in November, 1884. This action was also brought against all of the surviving sureties upon such bond, eleven in number. Three of the sureties had died previous to the commencement of the action. The bond was in the sum of \$500,000, the material conditions of which are as follows:

“Now, therefore, if the said Edward C. McFetridge shall faithfully discharge the duties of the said office of state treasurer, and also his duties as a member of the board of commissioners of the public lands, and in the investment of the funds arising therefrom, and if all persons appointed or employed by him in his said office shall faithfully perform their duties and trusts therein, and if the said Edward C. McFetridge shall deliver over to his successor in office, or to any other person authorized by law to receive the same, all moneys, books, records, papers, and other articles and effects belonging to his said office, then this obligation to be void, otherwise to be and remain in full force and effect; and the said bond and obligation hereby entered into is hereby deemed to extend to the faithful execution of the duties of the said office of treasurer until his successor shall be elected and duly qualified.”

The complaint alleged that during the term of office of Edward C. McFetridge, he, the principal in said bond, loaned to or deposited with certain banks and banking firms, large sums of public funds, which came into his hands as such treasurer, and received from such banks, as consideration for such loans or deposits and as interest thereon, large sums of money; that the failure of said treasurer to account for or pay over such interest money to the persons entitled thereto, or to his successor in office, was the alleged breach of the condition of the bond.

The principal defendant, Edward C. McFetridge, it was charged, as a further breach of the bond, failed to perform his duties as one of the commissioners of the public lands in the investment of trust funds in the treasury.

The defendants Edward C. McFetridge and James A. McFetridge answered separately. The other defendants answered jointly. Each answer substantially admitted that the treasurer deposited the public funds in various banks, and that the treasurer received some pecuniary gain, compensation or percentage from some of said banks, in consideration of the benefits accruing to them from such deposits, and that such deposits were authorized by law.

The trial of the action before Judge Newman, in the circuit court of Dane county, resulted in the findings of fact to the effect that during the official term

of the defendant Edward C. McFetridge, the principal in the bond in suit, "loaned to and placed and kept on deposit with the various banks, banking associations and firms, from time to time, a large portion of the funds and public money of the state, which came to his hands, as state treasurer, with the agreement or understanding that such banks 'should pay as a compensation for such loans or deposits a percentage or interest upon the average amount of such loans or deposits, at certain rates for certain fixed periods, at certain definite times;' that said Edward C. McFetridge, during his said term, received of such banks, associations and firms, \$44,217.83 as interest upon the funds and public money in his hands belonging to the state, thus deposited, which sum he failed to account for as public money of the state or to pay the same over to his successor in office.

"As conclusion of law the court found that the money thus received by the treasurer as interest on the public funds thus loaned or deposited became accessory to and a part of those funds; that such funds, thus increased by the interest paid thereon, belonged to the state, and not to the treasurer; and that Treasurer McFetridge having failed to charge the same to himself in his account with the state, or to pay the same over to his successor in office or other person lawfully entitled thereto, is, and the sureties in his official bond are, liable in this action for the amount thus paid the treasurer as interest and unaccounted for, together with interest thereon from the first Monday in January, 1887, at which date he surrendered his office to his successor."

The following opinion in this case, and in the case of *State vs. Harshaw*, which was tried with it, was filed by Judge A. W. Newman, of the Sixth judicial circuit, before whom those cases were tried:

"There are two actions against the former state treasurers and their sureties to recover money which the treasurers received from certain banks, for the use of public money deposited with them, and which they have failed to deliver to their successors in office. The two cases depend mainly on similar facts, and the questions of law are very much the same, so they were tried, and are decided together for convenience.

"Mr. McFetridge was treasurer for five years, from 1882 to 1887; Mr. Harshaw from 1887 to 1891, four years. During these terms of office, the law fixed the salary of the office at \$5,000 per year, and at the same time declared that that sum 'shall be in full for all services rendered by him in his official capacity.' This sum is equal to the largest salary paid to any officer in the state. It is equal to the salary paid to the governor and to the justices of the supreme court. The duties of the office of the state treasurer require from him little besides good bookkeeping and suitable care to keep the public money safely. He is not in any important sense the state financier. The general management of the finances of the state is confided to three commissioners, of whom

the treasurer is one. These defendants, during their respective terms, kept large sums of the public money deposited in banks, and received from the banks, for the use of it, large sums of money, several times larger than the salary allowed to the office by law. This interest money they did not account for to the state nor deliver to their successors in office, but kept as their own. The evidence tends to show that earlier treasurers had earlier done the same, but with much less of system and smaller profit. It is to recover these interest moneys that these actions are brought.

“It may be assumed, for the purpose of the decision, that these interest moneys belong to whatever party shall be found to have been the owner of the fund which earned them. This is the general rule of law, and no circumstances seem to make this case exceptional. Indeed, it is understood that there was no dissent from this proposition on the argument. Interest upon a fund is accessory to the fund and becomes a part of it. The fund, as so increased by interest, belongs to the owner of the original fund.

“In this action it is claimed for the state that the principal fund, which earned this interest, was the money of the state. On the ground that the interest was an accretion to that fund, the state claims to recover it in this action. For the defendants it is denied that the principal fund was the money of the state; but, on the contrary, it is claimed that it was the treasurer's own money, and for that reason he has the right to retain the interest which it earned. So the issue is, practically, whose money was it that earned the interest? The decision will be a necessary consequence from the answer to this question.

“It seems to be fair to assume that money which is received into the state treasury is the state's money, until in some way it is satisfactorily shown or demonstrated that it is not the state's money. The argument by which this is said to be demonstrated is this: The treasurer gives a bond, with sureties, for the faithful discharge of the duties of his office. Upon this bond he and his sureties are liable to the state in the amount of the penalty of his bond, to account for and pay over all the moneys which shall come to his hands by virtue of his office, absolutely and in every event. That in no event whatever can he be excused from such payment. Hence, it is inferred that he at once, upon the execution of his official bond, becomes an absolute debtor to the state in the amount of the penalty of his bond. From the fact that he is so an absolute debtor, it is again inferred that moneys which are received into the state treasury become the treasurer's own money, and that his bond stands to the state in place of the money.

“The whole argument rests upon the premises that the treasurer is liable in every event. If in any circumstances of loss he is not liable, the argument fails. No case has been found where it has been held that the treasurer is liable when the money has been lost without his fault, by act of God or of the

public enemy. The only case where the question was involved is *U. S. vs. Thomas*, 15 Wall., 337. In that case it is held that for such a loss he is not liable. In that event he is excused for losing the public money. It would be no excuse for not paying over that he had lost his own money by whatever means. This makes the responsibility of the custodian of public funds the same as the common-law responsibility of the common carrier. He also is excused for loss by the act of God or of the public enemy. It has not been claimed that the common carrier, by reason of his strict responsibility, becomes the owner of the goods he carries.

“ This is an open question in this state. It is to be decided according to what shall appear to be the better reason. It does not seem that public policy shall require a state treasurer who keeps the public funds faithfully in the place designated by law, shall be held liable for public money lost without his fault, by the act of God or the public enemy ; for example, by an earthquake which should engulf the capitol, or by an invading army which should capture it. But there are many decided cases in which the judges assume and say that the treasurer is an absolute debtor, and, as a corollary, that the money is his own. This conclusion does not seem to be a necessary inference from the premises, and is denied in some of the cases where the absolute liability is assumed, as in *Hennepin Co. vs. Jones*, 18 Minn., 199; but these cases are mostly, if not all, involving the liability of town, county, or local treasurers, or collectors of public money, and for that reason are not strictly in point in this case, for ordinarily the statutes relating to the management and preservation of the public funds by the state treasurers and the local treasurers are different. Usually, in the case of the local treasurers, nothing is designated with respect to the mode or place of keeping the funds, so that if he accounts fairly, and meets all obligations as presented, there is usually no occasion or disposition to inquire further as to the disposition or management of the funds ; while, in the case of the state treasurers, the statutes are more explicit. It is contemplated that all public funds of the state shall remain specifically in the vaults of the treasury, so that they can be counted quarter-yearly.

“ So the state treasurer does not stand on the same footing as the local treasurer. In the case of the local treasurer, inasmuch as the law does not direct the mode and place of keeping the funds, the treasurer, it is assumed, may keep them where and very much as he pleases. It is very much the same as if the funds were his own. But, in the case of the state treasurer, the statutes provide industriously for the safe-keeping of the funds in a designated place, where they are to some extent under the supervision of other officers than himself.

“ The recent case of *Comm. vs. Godshaw*, 17 S. W. Rep., 737, decided by the court of appeals of Kentucky, goes upon this distinction. This

case holds that a local collector, called 'the trustee of the jury fund,' whose duty it was to collect fines and forfeitures and other sources of revenue, to be applied to the payment of the jurors, was the owner of the money he collected, upon the ground that no law directed a place for depositing or mode of keeping it. It was held that the interest paid to him by a bank where he deposited the funds could not be recovered from him by the state; but the court say that this would not be so if the law prescribed a mode of keeping or a place of depositing it. The court say: 'Nothing is prescribed as to the mode of keeping it or the place of depositing it.' Money paid into the treasury becomes the money of the state because it is required to be paid into the treasury as such; and, the law requiring the money to be paid into certain banks, when the treasurer does this, and the money is lost, he is not accountable unless by his neglect.' The court cites *Perley vs. Muskegon Co.*, 32 Mich., 132, as an authority to the same effect. So, if it shall be found, on an examination of the statutes, that by law the state treasurer is required to keep the state's moneys in the vaults which the state has provided for that purpose at the capitol, where it can be counted periodically, and has forbidden him to lend it, then these cases are authority that the money is not the treasurer's own money, but that it is the state's own money; and that the treasurer's relation to it is strictly that of a bailee; and that if he obeys the laws relating to its custody, and it becomes lost without his fault, he is not liable.

"The condition of the treasurer's bond is for 'the faithful discharge of the duties of his office.' The general duties of his office are defined by Section 152 of the Revised Statutes: 'The treasurer shall keep his office at the capitol, shall receive and have charge of all moneys paid into the state treasury, and shall pay out the same as directed by law.' The language is plain and unambiguous. It does not admit of misinterpretation. *Ogden vs. Glidden*, 9 Wis., 47. It is to be understood according to the common and approved usage of the language. Sec. 4971, R. S. 'He shall have charge of the moneys' seems equivalent to saying, 'He shall have custody of the moneys.' The governor and attorney-general are required, at least once in each quarter year, to examine and see that all the money appearing by the books of the secretary and state treasurer as belonging to the several funds is in the vaults of the treasury. If it is not found to be there it must be put there within ten days, or the attorney-general must bring an action to recover it. Sec. 159. This also is plain and unambiguous. It is objected that the word 'treasury' may be ambiguous; that it does not always mean the place where the money is kept, but that it sometimes signifies merely the custody of the officer. But the phrase 'vaults of the treasury' is not obnoxious to that objection. It is required that they examine and see that 'all the money' which ought to be there is there in the vaults of the treasury. Sometimes the term 'money' is ambiguous. In

some connections it is held to include some things which strictly are not money; but as used in this statute, it will hardly be claimed that its meaning is doubtful. It will not be held that in this statute the word 'money' includes promissory notes, checks, or certificates of deposit, or perhaps anything which is not understood to be money. These are only evidences of debt. It makes no difference that they are issued by a bank.

"In law there can be no difference between a loan to a bank and a loan to anyone else. There is no law which presumes one borrower without security is safer than another. *Cedar Co. vs. Jenal*, 14 Neb., 254; *Wayne Co. vs. Bressler*, 32 Neb., 818; *Perley vs. Muskegon Co.*, 32 Mich., 132. The law makes the depositing of public moneys by any of the officers named in Sec. 4418, which includes the state treasurer, 'for his own gain, profit or advantage, without special authority,' *prima facie* evidence that such officers have embezzled the money. Sec. 4419. This is a clear intimation, at least, that it was not intended that the state treasurer should make profit for himself by the use of public money. Sec. 4419 also provides that 'every public officer shall promptly pay over, as required by law, the same moneys received and held by him by virtue of his office, and the whole thereof.' It is objected that this statute is ambiguous; that the phrase, 'the same moneys,' may, and probably does, mean 'the same amount of moneys.' But it will be seen that all that is significant in the idea that it is the same amount of moneys which is to be paid remains in the statute if the word 'same' is entirely omitted from it. It will still direct that he 'shall pay over the same moneys received and held by virtue of his office, and the whole thereof.' To say that he shall pay over all—the whole amount of—moneys received and held by him is very much the same as to say that he shall pay over the same amount of moneys received by him. The vice of the proposed interpretation is that it gives no force to the word 'same.'

"A statute ought, upon the whole, to be so constructed that, if possible, no clause, sentence or word shall be superfluous, insignificant or void. Every clause and word of a statute shall be presumed to have been intended to have some force and effect. *Harrington vs. Smith*, 28 Wis., 43, 67. This provision is part of a penal statute, and, perhaps, on the familiar rule, is to be strictly construed. Yet the intention of the legislature must govern in the construction of penal as well as other statutes, and they are not to be construed so strictly as to defeat the obvious intention of the legislature. *U. S. vs. Lacher*, 134 U. S., 624. It seems to be written in these statutes, with sufficient clearness to be understood by the common mind, that the state treasurer is to receive all the money paid into the state treasury, and to take care of it; that he is to keep it specifically 'in the vaults of the treasury' provided by the state in connection with his office in the capitol; that the money is to be

counted in the vaults of the treasury by the governor and attorney-general quarter-yearly; that he is to pay out the same money received by him, but only upon the warrant of the secretary of state. His whole dealing with it is official, specific, and not at all as though he were the owner. It is all inconsistent with the idea that the legislature contemplated that, as against the state, it was the state treasurer's money. In contemplation of law, the treasurer is simply the custodian of the state's money. It is strictly a bailment. *Comm. vs. Godshaw*, 17 S. W. Rep., 737; *Perley vs. Muskegon Co.*, 32 Mich., 132; *U. S. vs. Thomas*, 15 Wall., 337. No decision to the contrary is known where there were statutes directing the mode of keeping the funds.

"But it is objected that the state cannot recover this interest because it must trace its title to it, if at all, through a series of unlawful transactions. If it is established that the principal fund which earned the interest was the property of the state, this objection does not seem to be insuperable. The depositing of the money in banks by the treasurer for his own gain was forbidden and unlawful. On its civil side at least the unlawful act was a tort—a conversion of the state's money. The conversion did not displace the state's title. The fund was still the state's money. The accessory followed its principal; the accretion was the state's money. *United States vs. Mosby*, 133 U. S., 276-286. But the treasurer can trace title to the interest only through his own wrongful act. This he cannot be allowed to do. That would be a violation of that most ancient and widely applied maxim of the law, 'No man shall profit by his own wrong.' The defendant has not even plausible claim of legal title to this interest. It would, indeed, be a startling legal paradox if the treasurer, being forbidden by law to deposit the public funds for his own gain, could yet do the very thing forbidden, and get away with his gains according to law. This interest was also received into the state treasury. It was paid to the treasurer without restriction. There was no way for the banks to pay the money into the treasury but to put it into the hands of the treasurer. Any subtle distinction between paying to the treasurer and paying into the treasury is specious and illusive. It is not certain that any of this money came into the vaults of the treasury. It is paid to the treasurer. It is then, in legal contemplation, in the treasury. *People vs. McKinney*, 10 Mich., 54. It is then the treasurer's duty to put it into the vaults. Whether he do so does not affect the ownership of the money. It is the treasurer's duty to deliver to his successor in office all moneys, books, records, papers, furniture and other effects belonging to or preserved in his office. Section 157, Subdivision 6. These interest moneys belong to his office. He has not faithfully discharged the duties of his office until he has delivered them to his successor in office.

"It is not considered that a long-continued practice of state treasurers to deposit public money in banks for their own gain is such a practical construc-

tion of the statute by officers charged with the execution of the law as to be of any controlling influence. It is only in case of real doubt that construction is allowable. Whether the law contemplated that the treasurer might deposit public moneys in banks for his own gain is not perceived to have been doubtful since Chapter 340, Laws of 1876, came in force, however it may have been before. Nor is it considered that the delay of the state to claim this money acts in any way as a bar to its right or a cloud upon its good faith. The law is the standard of the treasurer's duty, and the measure of his right. It all the while warned him that this was not his money.

"Judgment should be for the state for the amount of moneys detained by the treasurers, with interest from the time when it should have been paid to their successors."

Judgment was accordingly entered for the state against all the defendants for \$44,217.83, and interest thereon from the first Monday in January, 1887, being \$15,906.14, making a total of \$60,123.97, and for costs.

The defendants, and each of them, joined in an appeal to the supreme court from the judgment.

"Joshua Stark, attorney, and David S. Ordway, of counsel for the appellants, contended, *inter alia*, that the finding of the trial court, that the defendant McFetridge loaned public moneys to banks was not warranted. The deposits were not loans. There is a well recognized distinction between a general deposit in the bank subject to check and a loan. Lewin Trusts, 295; Estate of Law, 14 L. R. A., 103, and cases cited in opinion and note; People *ex rel.* Nash *vs.* Faulkner, 107 N. Y., 489; Barney *vs.* Saunders, 16 How., 545-6; Payne *vs.* Gardner, 29 N. Y., 167. The payments of money to defendant McFetridge, by reason or on account of such deposits, were gratuitous and voluntary, and were made to him individually and for his own personal use, and not to him officially for the use of the state. At no time could an action have been maintained by him for the recovery of interest, so-called, or other compensation from the banks: (1) For want of a contract in that behalf; and, (2) because any contract for the payment of interest to him individually, or to him as state treasurer, would have been illegal, contrary to public policy, and therefore void. Ring *vs.* Devlin, 68 Wis., 384-89. No action could have been maintained by the state against the banks for the recovery of interest upon such deposits: (1) For want of any agreement in that behalf between the banks and the state; (2) because any such agreement, if it had been made by the treasurer on behalf of the state, would have been a violation of law and therefore void, and the state, in order to maintain an action upon it, must ratify it, and this could only be done by legislative act. State *vs.* Keim, 8 Neb., 63; State *vs.* Delafield, 8 Paige, 527-542; State *vs.* Buttles, 3 Ohio St., 309. It is equally clear that this action against the treasurer to recover moneys

obtained as the fruit of a criminal violation of law cannot be maintained without ratification of this unlawful act. The only remedy of the state, if any, against the banks without such ratification would be, not upon contract, but by bill in equity to reach the funds converted by deposit, and damages for their conversion. First Nat. Bank *vs.* Gandy, 11 Neb., 431; Union Stock Yards Bank *vs.* Gillespie, 137 U. S., 411; Perley *vs.* Muskegon Co., 32 Mich., 132. Such right of action ceased when the entire amount of the funds deposited was duly applied by the treasurer to the public use, or turned over to his successor in office. State *vs.* Mills, 55 Wis., 229; State *vs.* Baetz, 44 *id.*, 624.

"The 'moneys belonging to the treasurer's office,' referred to in the bond, are those moneys only which the treasurer was by statute required to receive and have in charge and pay out according to law. They did not include the moneys voluntarily paid by the banks to the treasurer individually. The liability of a surety is restricted to the express terms and the necessary import of his undertaking.

"David S. Ordway, as attorney for the sureties, also contended, *inter alia*, that there was no law or statute, at the date of the bond upon which this suit is brought, requiring, or even by implication authorizing, the loan or deposit by the treasurer of public funds, or the receipt by him of interest or gratuity for the use of such moneys. Without such statute it was not, and could not be, an official duty resting upon the treasurer to accumulate or pay into the treasury either interest or compensation for such use of the public funds. It follows that the sureties cannot be held liable in this action, because it is only the official acts of the treasurer which the sureties have by their contract become responsible for."

The attorney-general and R. M. Bashford appeared for the respondent, together with William F. Vilas, of counsel.

Chief-Justice Lyon, in rendering his opinion in this most noted case, after making a general statement of its status, among other things, said: "It is assumed for the purposes of the case that, if the legal title to the public funds which lawfully came to the hands of Treasurer McFetridge was vested in him, there can be no recovery by the state, either against him or the sureties in his official bond, for any profit he may have made by the use of such funds. The question is whether the state is the owner of the public funds in the hands of its treasurer, or whether the legal title thereto is in the treasurer, must be determined by the statutes prescribing the rights, duties and liabilities of the treasurer. These statutes will be referred to and considered as briefly as possible.

"Sec. 152, R. S., is as follows: 'The treasurer shall keep his office at the capitol, shall receive and have charge of all money paid into the state treasury, and shall pay out the same as directed by law.' Sec. 153 requires

him to give a bond, with sureties, conditioned (among other things) for the faithful discharge of the duties of his office, and that he shall deliver to his successor in office, or other person authorized to receive the same, all moneys, property, etc., 'belonging to his said office.' Sec. 154 requires the governor to exact an additional bond of the treasurer in several contingencies, one of which is 'whenever the funds in the treasury shall exceed the amount of the treasurer's bond.' Sec. 157, Subd. 1, makes it the duty of the treasurer to keep a cash book, and to enter therein 'a detailed account of all money received by him and disbursed,' which book he is required to deposit weekly with the secretary of state. Subd. 2 makes it the duty of the treasurer 'to pay out of the state treasury' on demand, the amounts specified in proper warrants drawn by the secretary of state, and provides that 'he shall pay no money out of the treasury' except in pursuance of some law authorizing him to do so. Subd. 7 requires him to report quarter-yearly to the governor 'the total amount of the funds in the treasury, specifying in what kinds of currency they consist, and the amount of each kind,' etc. Subd. 8 requires him also to report to the governor, at stated times; 'a full and detailed statement of all moneys received into and paid out of the treasury' during the times specified in the statute. Sec. 159 is as follows: 'The governor and attorney-general shall, at least once in each quarter year, and at such other times as the governor may elect, examine and see that all the money appearing by the books of the secretary of state and state treasurer as belonging to the several funds is in the vaults of the treasury, and in case of a deficiency shall require the treasurer to make up such deficiency immediately; and if such treasurer shall refuse or neglect for ten days thereafter to have the full sum belonging to said funds in the treasury the attorney-general shall institute proceedings to recover the same.' Sec. 4419, the provisions of which doubtless extend to and include the state treasurer, makes it *prima facie* evidence of the embezzlement thereof if the treasurer loans or deposits the public funds in his hands 'for his own gain, profit or advantage, without special authority.' This section also contains the following provision: 'Every public officer shall promptly pay over, as required by law, the same moneys received and held by him by virtue of his office, and the whole thereof.'

"The above statutes were all in force when, and for a long time before, the bond in suit was executed. From beginning to end they were entirely inconsistent with the theory that the legislature intended by the enactment of any of them to vest the state treasurer with the legal ownership of the public moneys which come to his hands, thus making him merely the debtor of the state in respect thereto. If such were his relation to the state, it would be difficult to show that such funds were not subject to be seized for his debts, or, in case of the death of the treasurer in office, that the same would not go to

his administrator as part and parcel of his estate, the state being, perhaps, a preferred creditor. It is inconceivable that any legislature could intend such results, and there is nothing in any statute that forces the conclusion that they did so. A close analysis of the above statutes, or any extended discussion of them, is quite unnecessary, for a perusal of them is sufficient to carry conviction to the mind that the legislature never intended to divest the state of its title to the public funds in the hands of its treasurer, and the consequent control over those funds which results from ownership thereof. We must therefore negative the first proposition above stated, and hold that the state was the owner of the public funds which came to the hands of Treasurer McFetridge. Some of the above statutes are hereinafter referred to on another branch of the case, and a construction given them; but such construction does not diminish their persuasive force as showing that the state is the owner of such funds.

“ Having determined that the fund thus deposited in banks by Treasurer McFetridge belonged to the state, we assume the accuracy of the rule held by the cases in the second class above mentioned, and under the rule of the cases in the fourth class, which we approve, we hold Treasurer McFetridge and his sureties liable in this action for the interest in question.

“ Upon due consideration our conclusions upon the whole case are (and the court so holds) that the funds which Treasurer McFetridge deposited with banks were the property of the state; that in making such deposits as treasurer and stipulating for and receiving interest thereon, or receiving interest thereon without such stipulation, he did not violate any law of the state; that such interest so paid to him, being an accretion or increment to the fund, increasing it by the amount of interest thus paid thereon, belongs to the state; that Treasurer McFetridge received such interest by virtue of his office of state treasurer, and the same belonged to his said office; that his failure to account therefor to the state, or to deliver the same to his successor in office, as required by law, is a breach of the conditions of his official bond, and that this action can be maintained on such bond, against him and his sureties therein, to recover the interest thus received by him and unaccounted for.

“ In determining this case the court has adopted many of the views of the learned circuit judge, but withholds its approval of others. Inasmuch as we arrive at the same conclusion reached by him, although by different processes of reasoning, it is unnecessary further to discuss the propositions in his very able opinion which we are not prepared to adopt.”

THE SECOND TREASURY CASE.

The next treasury case argued in the supreme court was the State *vs.* Harshaw, appellant, and State, respondent *vs.* Sawyer *et al.*, appellants. In this case Charles W. Felker and J. V. Quarles appeared for the appellants, and the

attorney-general and R. M. Bashford, with William F. Vilas of counsel, appeared for the state. The opinion of Chief-Justice Lyon, which was filed January 10, 1893, is as follows :

“ There are two appeals in this action—one by the defendant, Henry B. Harshaw, and the other by all the remaining defendants. Such appeals are from the judgment of the circuit court, in favor of the state and against all the defendants.

“ The defendant Harshaw was treasurer for the term commencing on the first Monday in January, 1891. The defendants, Sawyer, Hay, McMillen, Porter and Hooper, together with Charles B. Clark, now deceased, are the sureties in his official bond as such treasurer. The action is to recover interest paid by banks on deposits therein of the public funds made by Treasurer Harshaw, in his name of office. It is like the case of *State vs. McFetridge*, *ante*, p. 473, except that, instead of receiving the interest on such deposits himself, Treasurer Harshaw and his sureties, or some of them, secured the services of the defendant, Schreiber, to collect and receive it. Schreiber received over \$62,000 of such interest, and deposited the same in the defendant, The National Bank of Oshkosh, of which he was cashier, in the name of the defendant S. M. Hay, trustee. Hay is a surety in such bond, and the president of the defendant bank. The money still remains there on deposit. The action is in equity, for an accounting of such interest, and to reach such deposit in the defendant bank.

“ The court held the defendant Harshaw and his sureties liable for the amount of such interest, with interest thereon from the close of his official term, with costs. It also held defendant Schreiber and the bank liable for the amount thus deposited, but not for interest thereon or costs. Judgment was entered for the state, accordingly, which provided that, when the amount of such deposit should be paid, the same should be applied upon the judgment against Treasurer Harshaw and his sureties.

“ In respect to the liability of the defendants, Harshaw and his sureties, the case is ruled by the *McFetridge* case. There can be no doubt that the state is entitled to recover the interest realized on its funds, and deposited in the defendant bank by Schreiber.

“ By the Court.—The judgment of the circuit court is affirmed on both appeals.”

Justice Pinney did not sit in either of the treasury cases, as he had acted as counsel for *McFetridge et al.*, in the original action tried before Judge Newman.

TABLE OF JUDGMENTS ENTERED VS. STATE TREASURERS AND PAYMENTS THEREON.

No.	Name.	Judgment For	Amount Paid.	Date of Judgment.
1	McFetridge,	\$75,119.49	\$72,419.64	April 27, 1893.
2	McFetridge,	43,292.31	15,000.00	April 27, 1893.
3	McFetridge,	60,412.66	65,267.42	February 23, 1892.
1	Harshaw,	64,437.79	67,616.48	January 24, 1893.
2	Harshaw,	68,078.99	73,082.41	February 23, 1892.
1	Guenther,	60,211.55	50,000.00	June 28, 1893.
2	Guenther,	71,015.72	30,000.00	June 28, 1893.
		<hr/>	<hr/>	
		\$442,568.42	\$373,385.95	

The actions brought against Richard Guenther, one of the ex-treasurers, was not appealed to the supreme court. The balance of the judgments will be paid during the first half of the year of 1894.

THE GREAT FINANCIAL DEPRESSION.

It is the history of every civilized country, that at least once in every twenty years a financial crisis or a pronounced monetary stringency exists, arising usually from a multiplicity of causes. In the year 1873, the great financial depression, which swept away so many large business houses and manufacturing concerns throughout the United States and Canada, extended over a period of two years.

On April 1, 1893, the people throughout the whole country, were prosperous and happy; not a cloud was visible in the horizon to warn the people of the terrible financial calamity which was so soon to befall them. During the latter part of April, numerous small depositors drew their savings from various banks, and, later on, larger depositors did the same, until, throughout the union, there was a quiet run upon all of the banks, and, in some instances, panics were created, which caused a general run upon some designated bank, eventually causing its suspension.

The beautiful and thriving city of Milwaukee was one of the first cities in the west to suffer irreparable loss from bank failures. On May 13, 1893, the depositors made a general run upon the Plankinton bank, such as never before was known in the history of that city. Thousands of depositors besieged the bank for more than two days. The Plankinton block, on Grand avenue, at times resembled a hive of bees during swarming season. The bank officials took precautionary measures, and reinforced the bank's reserves with about \$80,000 in gold, which they brought from Chicago, thus tiding over the great run, and avoiding immediate suspension. Each depositor who presented checks, drafts or certificates, were immediately paid. Notwithstanding the tiding over of its temporary embarrassment, the great banking house soon failed, on account of its previous bad management.

Following closely upon this great and disastrous failure, came the suspension of the Commercial bank, the Milwaukee Fire and Marine Insurance bank, familiarly known as the "Mitchell bank," the South Side Savings bank, and the Milwaukee National bank.

The failure of these banks was precipitated by the withdrawal of deposits, yet the direct and fundamental cause of each failure, or suspension, was the extremely bad management of the respective banking concerns, and in some instances, by the fraudulent and criminal management of the bank's finances by its officials.

From April 20th, to October 1st, more than one hundred and fifty national banks throughout the United States had, besides numerous private concerns, suspended, thus entailing upon the depositors the loss of millions of dollars, and almost paralyzing the entire financial and commercial interests of a great nation.

The general impeding of so large a number of our manufactories and other industries, caused by this great financial stringency, occasioned, during the early winter of 1893, much distress, especially among those who depended upon their daily labor to support themselves and families. So great was the suffering for the necessities of life in the iron regions of northern Wisconsin that Governor Peck, in November, issued a proclamation, calling upon the generosity of the people throughout the state to contribute to the needy and destitute.

The governor and his staff visited that portion of the state, where so many miners were in a semi-starving condition, investigated and ascertained the true condition of affairs, and appointed relief committees for the distribution of the numerous carloads of clothing and provisions promptly sent by the people of the state, who liberally responded to the governor's call for aid. The railroad companies were not behindhand in generosity, as they carried carloads of goods, provisions, etc., free of charge.





FRONTENAC ON LAKE PEPIN, MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

CHAPTER LXIII.

HISTORY OF WISCONSIN RAILROADS.

THE CHICAGO AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY.

PRIOR to the Black Hawk war, the territory now constituting the state of Wisconsin was sparsely settled, there being only a few mining camps in the southwestern part, and a few military posts, the former the outgrowth of settlements made by the early Jesuits. The Indian title to the southern portion of the territory having been extinguished by the treaty of 1833, the advance guards of the early pioneers arrived in 1835, and settled where Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee and Sheboygan now are. The next year, 1836, the regular settlement of the country commenced, and, it is truthfully said, that no part of the United States was ever settled more rapidly, after its commencement. In these days, railroads were in their infancy, even in the eastern states.

Eastern Wisconsin was easily reached by Lake Michigan, while the rich and fertile prairies and the valuable timber in the central and western portions of the territory were so inaccessible, that it was at first suggested that part of this territory could be reached by canal. Consequently, a valuable land grant was given by congress, for the purpose of constructing the Milwaukee and Rock river canal, with the view of uniting Lake Michigan with the Rock river. On January 5, 1838, the house of representatives passed an act incorporating the Milwaukee and Rock river canal. The company constructed a dam across the Milwaukee river, which was within the present city limits, and also constructed about two miles of the canal, then the scheme was abandoned. Upon the abandonment of the water communication, the attention of the community was turned to the construction of the railroads, as the most feasible means of communicating with the commercial world. No general railroad law was enacted, either by the territory or state, prior to 1872. Up to this time, all companies organized for the construction of railroads were incorporated by special charter.

One of the most extensive and best equipped railroad organizations in the northwest is the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company, which has its origin as follows:

The territorial legislature, in 1848, granted a charter to the Madison and Beloit Railroad Company, with authority to construct a road from Beloit to Madison. In 1850, the state legislature granted authority to the company to extend the road to the Wisconsin river and LaCrosse, and to a point on the Mississippi river, thence to St. Paul, and also from Janesville to Fond du Lac. Under the authority of the legislature its name was changed to the Rock

River Valley Union Railroad Company. In 1851, the line from Janesville, northward, not being pushed to the satisfaction of the people, its representatives secured from the legislature a charter to the Illinois and Wisconsin Railroad Company, with authority to consolidate with any railroad in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin legislature, in 1855, authorized the consolidation of the Illinois and Wisconsin Company with the Rock River Valley Union Railroad Company. The new organization was now called the Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac Railroad Company.

Previous to the consolidation, the Rock River Valley Union Railroad Company had failed and passed into the hands of its bondholders, who foreclosed and took consolidated stock for their bonds. The only one seriously affected by this failure was T. F. Strong, Sr., of Fond du Lac. The old management, under A. Hyatt Smith and John B. Macy, was superseded, and William B. Ogden made president. Enterprising railroad magnates, interested in reaching the fertile fields of the Rock river valley, and the inexhaustible timber of northern Wisconsin and Michigan, had constructed from Chicago on the wide (six feet) gauge, a road seventy miles northward to Sharon on the Wisconsin state line. The gauge of the road was changed to the standard four feet eight and one-half inches in width, and the work upon the line pushed northward, reaching Janesville, in 1855, and Fond du Lac, in 1859. The Rock River Valley Union Railroad Company had built about thirty miles of road from Fond du Lac southward towards La Crosse Junction. This was before the consolidation took place. The old, partially graded line on a direct route between Janesville and Madison was abandoned.

In 1852, a new charter was granted to the Beloit and Madison Railway Company, for the purpose of building a road from Beloit via Janesville to Madison. It appears that when its charter was subsequently amended, Janesville as an intermediate point was left out. This branch was pushed through from Beloit, reaching the city of Madison, in 1864. Kenosha and its principal citizens were the main subscribers to its capital stock. The company having failed to pay interest upon the bonds which were secured by mortgage, the road was sold upon foreclosure to the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company, in 1863, and is now operated as the Kenosha division.

The Galena and Chicago Union Railway Company built a branch of the Galena line from Belvidere to Beloit, previous to 1854. During that year it leased the Beloit and Madison road and operated it from 1856 in connection with the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad Company, reaching the city of Janesville, by way of Hanover Junction, eight miles west of Janesville.

In 1855, the Galena and Chicago Union, and the Chicago and St. Paul Companies, were, by legislative enactments, consolidated under the name of the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company.

The Green Bay, Milwaukee and Chicago Railroad Company was chartered in 1851, for the purpose of constructing a road from Milwaukee to the Illinois state line, there to connect with the road from Chicago, called the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad Company. Both of these roads were completed in 1855, and were operated in connection until 1853, at which time they were consolidated as the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad Company. This road became the property of the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company, on May 2, 1866, by perpetual lease, and is now operated as one of its Chicago divisions.

The North-Western Union Railway Company was organized under the general railroad law of the state, in 1872, with C. J. L. Meyer, of Fond du Lac, as its president, and James Coleman as secretary. The company was organized for the purpose of constructing a direct line from Milwaukee to Fond du Lac, which was completed during the years 1872-1873. The Chicago and North-Western Railway Company was principally interested in its construction, in order to shorten its line from Chicago to Green Bay. This line was also partially constructed by aid from the various towns and cities along the line from Fond du Lac to Milwaukee.

In 1852, the Sheboygan and Mississippi Railroad Company was incorporated for the purpose of building a road from Sheboygan to the Mississippi river. It was completed from Sheboygan to Plymouth in 1858, reaching Glenbeulah in 1860, Fond du Lac in 1868, and Princeton in 1872. The extension from Fond du Lac to Princeton was sold by virtue of a decree of foreclosure, and the corporate name changed to Sheboygan and Fond du Lac Railroad Company. This line is seventy-eight miles in length, and passes through a fertile agricultural country. The cities of Sheboygan, Fond du Lac, Ripon, Princeton, and the counties and towns along the route, aided in its construction to the extent of \$250,000. This line has been owned and operated by the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company for many years, and is now known as the Sheboygan and Western division.

The Milwaukee, Manitowoc and Green Bay Railroad Company was chartered in 1870, to build a road from Milwaukee to Green Bay, via Manitowoc. Its line from Milwaukee to Manitowoc was completed in 1873, at which time the corporate name was changed to Milwaukee, Lake Shore and Western Railroad Company. In December, 1875, the road was sold under a decree of foreclosure, and its name changed to Milwaukee, Lake Shore and Western Railway Company. This line has always been owned by the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company, although operated by separate management, until September 1, 1893, at which time its management was placed directly under the control of the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company.

In 1866, the Appleton and New London Railroad Company was incorporated to build a road from Appleton to New London, and from thence to Lake Superior. Its charter was afterwards amended, authorizing it to extend its road to Manitowoc. This line was sold to the Lake Shore and Western Railroad Company, which company extended it to New London, on the Wolf river, where it connects with the Green Bay and Minnesota road. This was also a branch of the Milwaukee, Lake Shore and Western, which is now one of the arteries of the great Chicago and North-Western Railway system.

The Baraboo Air Line Railroad Company was incorporated in 1870, for the purpose of constructing a road from Madison, Columbus or Waterloo, *via* Baraboo, to La Crosse, or any point on the Mississippi. This line was organized in the interest of the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company, with which it consolidated, and the work of building a connecting line between Madison and Winona Junction was vigorously pushed forward. Lodi was reached in 1870, Baraboo in 1871, and Winona Junction in 1874. Some portions of this road were very expensive in construction. The ridges between Elroy and Sparta were tunneled with much difficulty and at great cost. The company in 1874 reported an expenditure for its three tunnels of \$476,743.32, while the one hundred and twenty-nine and one-tenth miles between Madison and Winona Junction necessitated the expenditure of \$5,342,169.96.

In 1867, the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company bought the principal interest in the Winona and St. Peter Railway, from D. N. Barney & Co., a line being built westerly from Winona, in Minnesota, and of which one hundred and five miles had been constructed. It also bought of the same parties their interest in the La Crosse, Trempealeau and Prescott Railway, a line being built from Winona Junction, three miles east of La Crosse, to Winona, Minnesota. This last line was put in operation in 1870, and is twenty-nine miles long. With the completion of its Madison branch to Winona Junction, in 1873, it had in operation from Chicago, *via* Madison and Winona, to Lake Kampesha, Minnesota, a distance of six hundred and twenty-three miles.

In the year of 1856 congress granted to the state of Wisconsin a large and valuable tract of land, to aid in the construction of railroads. The Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac Railroad Company claimed that the grant was obtained through its efforts, and that therefore it should have the so-called northwestern grant. The contest made at the adjourned session of the legislature of 1856 resulted in the grant being conferred upon the Wisconsin and Superior Railroad Company, a corporation chartered for the express purpose. The general impression was, at this time, that the new company was organized in the interest of the Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac Company, as it consolidated with that company in the spring of the same year, and thus obtained, or shared in, the grant of 3,840 acres per mile along its entire line, from Fond

du Lac, northerly, to the Michigan line. The consolidation extended its road to Oshkosh in 1859, to Appleton in 1861, and, in 1862, to Fort Howard, thus forming a line two hundred and forty-two miles long. The line from Fort Howard to Escanaba, Michigan, one hundred and fourteen miles long, was opened in December, 1872, and made a connection with the Peninsula Railroad of Michigan. The consolidation now became a part of the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company, extending from Escanaba to the iron mines, and thence to Lake Superior at Negaunee.

EARLY ENGINES AND ENGINEERS.

Benjamin Garvin*, the veteran engineer, who ran the first locomotive over the Green Mountains in Vermont, from Windsor to Northfield, in 1848, to Montpelier, in 1849, and to Burlington and Rouse's Point, in 1850, and who is now one of Fond du Lac's good citizens, was twice sent to Erie, Pennsylvania, early in 1854, and once to Dunkirk, New York, by the Illinois and Wisconsin Railroad Company, returning in the spring of the same year, with three six-foot gauge engines. The Erie engines were loaded on flat cars at Erie, Pennsylvania, run to Toledo, there unloaded and sent across the river on a scow, reloaded on cars and sent to Chicago, where they were again unloaded, near the Michigan Southern depot, loaded on a scow and run up the river to where the old North-Western depot and shops were located, on Kinzie street. The first engine brought to Chicago by Ben Garvin was called the "Chicago." This was unloaded at Chicago, May 5, 1854. On May 25th, he unloaded a locomotive, called the "Keystone," and on June 6th, the one called the "Erie."

That part of the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company's road now known as the Wisconsin division, was commenced at Fond du Lac on July 10, 1851, and at Chicago somewhat later. The road was built on the six-foot gauge, and completed from Fond du Lac to Chester, in October, 1852, and from Chester to La Crosse Junction, during the winter of 1855-56, reaching the latter place on March 6, 1856. The La Crosse road had already passed that point several days previous. The southern terminus of the road was built from Chicago to Woodstock, on the six-foot gauge plan, and from thence to Elk Grove, which was completed in 1853, and to Woodstock in the fall of 1854 and spring of 1855.

The gauge of the road was changed from the six-foot to standard from Chicago to Woodstock in 1855; from Woodstock to Janesville the road had been built on the standard gauge plan; from La Crosse Junction to Fond du Lac

*Ben Garvin, was born at Chichester, New Hampshire, October 2, 1823, and was considered one of the best engineers and mechanics in the United States. Mr. Garvin was in the employ of the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company, and its various predecessors, from 1854 up to 1872.

the gauge was changed May 19, 1856, to the standard gauge. The first engine on the standard gauge at the southern terminus was the "Woodstock," a Hinckley engine.

The first locomotive placed on the northern terminus of the road, at Fond du Lac, was the "Winnebago," a fourteen-ton Hinckley engine, which was hauled over from Sheboygan, via the old plank road, arriving at Fond du Lac on Sunday afternoon, September 12, 1852, where she was viewed by thousands of curious people. This little engine met with some adversities while being toted over from Sheboygan, besides causing considerable damage to the road and bridges en route. At one point on the road she was stuck in the mud for several days, but was gotten out after much hard work and considerable profanity. The toll adjusted and paid to the plank road company was \$1,200. It must have been an unique sight to have seen this little iron giant hauled through a comparative wilderness, by more than twenty yoke of oxen, accompanied by numerous teamsters, and several overseers, and viewed by many spectators, consisting of early settlers and awe-struck Indians.

The first engineer of the "Winnebago" was one Wood, who arrived with it at Fond du Lac. Its next engineer was Philander Steenberg, who now resides at Fond du Lac, and is as hale and hearty as in those pioneer days. The "Winnebago" was rebuilt standard gauge in 1856, under the supervision of Mr. Garvin, at the Fond du Lac shops.

The second engine to arrive at Fond du Lac from Sheboygan, over this same route, was the "Fountain City," a twenty-seven-ton engine, which arrived in the fall of 1854. The first engineer of the "Fountain City" was Dan Richardson, who is known as "Happy Dan," and who, for many years, resided on his farm in the town of Fond du Lac, but recently removed to Louisiana.

The third engine, which was operated for a short time on the northern end of the road, was the "Rock River," which was brought from Chicago in the spring of 1856, by way of La Crosse Junction. This celebrated engine was placed on the road at Minnesota Junction by Engineer Ben Garvin, on May 5, 1856, and run to Fond du Lac on May 19th. This was the same engine run by Philander Steenberg between Chicago and Woodstock in the early days.

The "Winnebago," after many years of usefulness, was relegated to the scrap pile about 1869, while the "Fountain City" and "Rock River" were sold to the New York and Erie Railway in 1856.

The first passenger train from Fond du Lac to La Crosse Junction, making a through line from Milwaukee, was run on March 6, 1856. The first through train from Chicago to Fond du Lac was in the fall of 1859, and the first

train from Fond du Lac to Chicago was run about the same time. The first train from Oshkosh to Chicago was on October 17, 1859. The first train which run into the city of Oshkosh was on the 31st day of July, 1858, with Ben Garvin at the throttle.

THE FIRST GREAT DISASTER.

On November 1, 1859, an excursion train started from Oshkosh, and at Fond du Lac was made up with the regular passenger train for Chicago. This was a free excursion, celebrating the completion of the road through to Oshkosh. The engine "Perry H. Smith," was run by one George McNamara. The train was made up of eleven coaches, with Arthur A. Hobart, conductor, and contained about sixteen hundred people. At Watertown additional excursionists were taken aboard. When the train, which was running at about twelve miles per hour, reached Belleville, now called Johnson's Creek, the engine struck an ox, which at the crossing had become frightened, ran along the track, and became entangled in the cattle-guards of a culvert, and the engine was thrown from the track, and several passenger coaches telescoped. The scene was one of indescribable confusion and excitement. There were at least two hundred persons in the four demolished cars. Fourteen persons were killed, or died soon after from injuries, while many were seriously injured.

T. F. Strong, Jr., who was on the train, was at once sent by his father, the assistant superintendent of the railroad company, to Watertown for assistance. The young man, without permission, appropriated a horse and buggy that he found tied near a farm house, and hastened with it to Watertown, which was about eight miles from the wreck. Fortunately upon his arrival he found a gravel-train nearly unloaded. Making his errand known, the flat-cars were soon laden with beds, liquors, bandages, physicians and everything that could be of service on such an occasion. Within a short time the relief train was at the wreck, and conveyed the dead and dying to Watertown.

Among those killed were Major J. Thomas, United States marshal, who was thrown into a mudhole head foremost and drowned. T. L. Gillet, one of the promoters of the road, was crushed, torn and disemboweled; Jerome Mason, the express agent and telegraph operator, was thrown across the stove and so shockingly burned that he was only recognized by his boots; John Boardman and Isadore Snow, two carpenters, were instantly killed; Edward H. Sickles, a bookbinder, was badly crushed, and died shortly afterwards; Van Buren Smead, of the *Democratic Press*, had his skull fractured and died November 29th. All of these were Fond du Lac people. The balance of the killed were four from Oshkosh and three from Watertown and other places.

Among those seriously injured were Judge Robert Flint, Mrs. R. M. Lewis, Mrs. James Kinney, Mrs. John Radford, Edward Beeson, J. Q. Griffith, James W. Partridge, and A. D. Bonesteel, all of Fond du Lac. Many others were cut and bruised.

The able but eccentric Dr. D. A. Raymond, of Fond du Lac, and one of the passengers, had a presentiment that an accident would happen, and in consequence took with him a case of surgical instruments and lint. Dr. T. S. Wright did the same.

Among the prominent passengers aboard the unfortunate train, were Perry H. Smith, the vice-president of the road, T. F. Strong, Sr., the assistant superintendent, Robert Drummond and Edward S. Bragg.

It is a strange incident, but nevertheless true, that the mate of the ox that caused this wreck, the following year, nearly wrecked a twin engine and a train at the same point. The engine "Perry H. Smith" was so unfortunate that engineers on the road became superstitious, and refused to run her, thus necessitating her transfer.

The Fond du Lac *Commonwealth* of November 2, 1859, in describing the disaster, said:

"The smash-up took place in the woods, on low, marshy ground, there being a deep ditch on each side filled with water. The engine and cars that left the track were plunged into the water, mud and soft ground, and not less than three cars were utterly demolished—a mass of splinters above the body of the car, and the strong frames driven deep into the earth. There were seven cars, filled to a jam, that did not get thrown from the track or any person injured on them save those who were standing on the platform. In one minute after the crash, we never saw a cooler set of men, or a band of more heroic women. They leaped to the work of saving others with remarkable effectiveness, and it seemed but a few moments before all were dragged from the ruins, the dead decently cared for, and the wounded made far more comfortable than one would conceive possible in such a location. The cushioned seats of cars, laid upon doors, made passable beds, while the ladies' skirts were freely stripped to make bandages for the wounded."

The most excited man among the passengers was big-hearted Perry H. Smith, while the coolest on board was the little lawyer, who afterwards won fame as one of the generals of the famous Iron Brigade—Edward S. Bragg.

The Chicago and North-Western Railway Company now owns and operates 1,337.84 miles of main line in Wisconsin, besides several hundred miles of branch and leased lines. The chairman of the Board of this most prosperous and enterprising company is Albert Keep, of Chicago; Marvin Hughitt, of Chicago is the president; M. L. Sykes, of New York City, is the secretary and treasurer; and Wm. A. Thrall, of Chicago, general passenger and ticket agent—all men of exceptional ability.

THE NORTH-WEST LINE

MILEAGE

Chicago & North-Western Railway	Miles. 5,061.53
Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railway	1,481.61
Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley Railroad	1,300.53
Sioux City & Pacific Railroad	107.42
Total	7,951.09



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MILEAGE	
Chicago & North-Western Railway	Miles 5,061.53
Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railway	1,461.63
Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley Railroad	1,309.51
Sioux City & Pacific Railroad	107.42
Total	7,939.09



CHICAGO, MILWAUKEE AND ST. PAUL RAILWAY COMPANY.

Central, southern and western Wisconsin have been, from immense prairies, vast forests and countless mines, transformed into beautiful agricultural districts, manufacturing, commercial and mining centers, through the influence of that great developer of civilization of the northwest, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, and the companies upon which this great corporation was founded.

The territorial government of 1841 chartered the Milwaukee and Waukesha Railroad Company from Milwaukee to Waukesha. On November 23rd of this year, the charter members of the company met at the city hall at Milwaukee and elected Dr. L. W. Weeks president and Alexander W. Randall, afterwards governor, secretary. On the first Monday of February, 1848, subscription books were opened, and by April 5, 1849, capital stock had been subscribed in the sum of \$100,000, and five per cent. thereon paid, as required by the charter, before perfecting its organization.

Previous to March, 1848, an act had been passed amending the charter and authorizing the company to extend its road from Waukesha to Madison, and from thence to the Mississippi river. In 1850, the name of the corporation was changed to the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad Company. In these days, it will be remembered, that neither in Milwaukee nor within the state were there any capitalists, therefore the project of building a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river required the efforts of active, energetic men of more than ordinary ability. The city of Milwaukee, through its representatives, seeing the necessity of the construction of a road to the Mississippi, was induced to give its credit for that purpose, and in consequence, during the month of February, 1851, the road was completed to Waukesha, a distance of twenty miles, while through the year the road was completed to Eagle, a distance of thirty-four miles from Milwaukee. In the fall of 1852, the road was completed to Milton, in Rock county. This company not having the authority to build to Janesville, a company was organized and a charter granted to the Southern Wisconsin Railroad Company for that purpose, and the eight miles of road constructed from Milton to Janesville, connecting Milwaukee with Janesville in January, 1853.

During the year of 1853, the main line was extended to Stoughton and early in 1854 it reached Madison, and two years later, in 1856, the line was completed through to Prairie du Chien. A subsequent charter authorized the construction of a road from Milton *via* Janesville to the Mississippi river. The road already built from Milton to Janesville was purchased and at once extended to Monroe. At this time the Milwaukee and Mississippi Company had constructed two hundred and thirty-four miles of railroad. In 1860, the

company, being in default on account of its interest, which necessitated a foreclosure, the purchasers under the foreclosure formed a new company, the Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien Railroad Company, which took all of the rights and property of its predecessor.

We quote the following from John W. Cary's "Organization and History of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company:":

"The Milwaukee, Fond du Lac and Green Bay Railroad Company was chartered in the winter of 1853. In the spring of that year the company was organized and active operations commenced—James Kneeland, president. The city of Milwaukee was induced to loan its credit to the company, to the extent of \$200,000 in city bonds. Depot grounds were secured in Milwaukee, and considerable grading was accomplished between Milwaukee and Richfield, when the company became embarrassed, and in January, 1854, it was consolidated with the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad Company. This last named company was chartered in 1852, to construct a railroad from La Crosse to Milwaukee. Byron Kilbourn, Moses M. Strong and Timothy Burns were prominent among the projectors. The company was organized during the same year in which the charter was obtained. The first meeting of the commissioners was held at La Crosse, and the first board of directors was chosen at the city of Madison, in August of the same year. Byron Kilbourn was elected president, and Edwin H. Goodrich, secretary. After its consolidation with M., F. & G. B., the La Crosse company took possession of the partially graded line, and the work was vigorously pressed forward. The road was completed to Horicon, fifty miles from Milwaukee, in December, 1855, and to Portage, ninety-five miles, in December, 1856.

"The Milwaukee and Watertown railroad was chartered in 1851, and soon after organized and commenced the construction of a road from a point thirteen miles west of Milwaukee, on the Milwaukee and Mississippi road, through Oconomowoc to Watertown. Its charter also provided that the line might be extended by way of Portage to La Crosse. In 1856, the road was completed to Watertown. The line of road projected by this company was parallel to, and, on an average, not more than twelve miles distant from, the line of the La Crosse company; thus, to a great extent, occupying the same territory, and this fact gave rise to bitter hostility between the companies to each other's projects. A portion of the land-grant, made by congress June 3, 1856, was to aid the construction of a railroad from Madison or Columbus, by way of Portage City, to the St. Croix river or lake, between townships twenty-five or thirty-one, and thence to the west end of Lake Superior, and to Bayfield. The legislature was assembled in September of that year to dispose of this grant. The La Crosse and Watertown companies, together with a new company, formed in Madison, were eager competitors for this portion of the

grant. After a long contest, it was finally settled by consolidating the two first named companies, under the name of the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad Company, and authorizing it to construct the lines of road named in the grant, in addition to the lines originally provided for in the respective charters of the two companies. This portion of the land-grant was then conferred upon the consolidated company; but not until the hands of the governor, and many of the members of the legislature, as legislative investigation subsequently demonstrated, had been shamefully soiled with railroad bonds taken as "pecuniary compliments"—for their support of the bill. The La Crosse Company, during 1857-58, completed its main line to La Crosse, the Watertown line from Watertown to Columbus, and partially graded the line from Madison to Portage. Neither it, nor its successors, ever received any part of the lands of the land-grant.

"The Milwaukee and Horicon Road was chartered in 1852, and although built by a separate company, was, in effect, a branch of the La Crosse and Milwaukee Company. It was constructed between the years 1855 and 1858, commencing at Horicon, on the La Crosse and Milwaukee Road and extending north through Waupun and Ripon to Berlin, on Fox river, a distance of about forty-two miles.

"In 1877, the La Crosse Company sold to the Madison, Fond du Lac and Michigan Company that portion of its road acquired by consolidation with the Milwaukee and Watertown Company, which was afterwards consolidated with the Watertown and Madison Company, and the name changed to the Milwaukee and Western Railroad Company. The line of this company comprised about eighty miles of road, extending from Brookfield Junction, thirteen miles west of Milwaukee, through Watertown to Columbus, with a branch from Watertown, by way of Waterloo, to Sun Prairie, twelve miles east of Madison.

"In 1858 and 1859, the La Crosse and Horicon companies defaulted in the payment of the interest of their bonded debts, and several suits were instituted to foreclose the different trust deeds given to secure their bonds, together with other suits commenced to enforce the payment of their floating debts. This led to protracted litigation, extending through several years, both in the state and federal courts, which was finally settled in 1868 by the decision of the supreme court of the United States. Decrees of foreclosure and sale were obtained in 1862, and in the spring of 1863 both roads were sold and purchased for associations of the bond-holders."

The organization of this company was based upon and grew out of the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad Company, and its associate lines, by virtue of the foreclosure of mortgages given by that company, which foreclosures were thoroughly contested in the United States courts and by the supreme

court. On May 5, 1863, articles of association were filed in the office of the secretary of state of Wisconsin, and the corporation organized under the laws of the state by the name of Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company. On the same day William W. Pratt and William H. White conveyed to the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company all of that portion of the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad from Madison by way of Portage City to La Crosse, together with all of the engines, rolling-stock and other equipments of every kind and description, and delivered said deeds so executed to the newly organized company.

As early as 1865, when Alexander Mitchell, of Milwaukee, was president and S. S. Merrill general manager of the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, the company operated six hundred and eighty-six miles of road in Wisconsin, and in all fourteen hundred miles. Its lines extended from Milwaukee to St. Paul and Minneapolis, and to Algona, in Iowa, and over the Western Union to Savannah and Rock Island, in the state of Illinois.

It is said by no less authority than John W. Cary, in his history of this corporation, that in the early days of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad Company they adopted and executed plans for raising funds, by procuring farmers to subscribe to the capital stock of the company and mortgaging their farms as security for their notes given for such subscriptions. The well-named, plausible and designing gentleman, Deacon Clinton, was early engaged on that branch of business on the Mississippi road, and afterwards employed as a special director of the La Crosse road, and devoted his whole time to procuring subscriptions from the farmers on this plan. We quote from Mr. Cary's "Organization and History of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company:"

"In all over eleven hundred thousand dollars of this class of subscriptions were obtained for the La Crosse Company.

"The *modus operandi* was for the farmer to subscribe to the stock, give his note for the amount of his subscription, payable to the order of the company, secured by a mortgage on his farm, bearing from eight to ten per cent. interest. The company then attached to said note and mortgage its bond guaranteeing the payment of the note and mortgage, principal and interest, and in and by the terms of the bond the note and mortgage were assigned to the holder, and such note, mortgage and bond were sold in the market together as one security, and not separately, the note not indorsed. An agreement was also given to the farmer by which the company agreed to pay the interest on the note until it became due, in consideration of which the farmer made an assignment of his prospective dividends on the stock so subscribed for sufficient to pay said interest.

"It is needless to say that this stock proved worthless and that the farmers were compelled to pay their mortgages and in very many cases lost their farms."

The Oshkosh and Mississippi Railroad Company was chartered in 1866, for the purpose of constructing a road from the city of Oshkosh to the Mississippi river. The road was constructed to Ripon in 1872, with the purpose of connecting Oshkosh with the Milwaukee and St. Paul road. It is twenty miles in length and now operated by the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company.

The Western Union Railroad Company, in 1871 and '72, built a road from Milwaukee to the state line, between Wisconsin and Illinois, to connect with a road constructed from Chicago to the Wisconsin state line. This line was built in the interest of the Milwaukee and St. Paul Company, to afford a connection between its Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa systems and the eastern trunk lines centering in Chicago.

Upon the 1st day of April, 1872, Sherburn S. Merrill, John W. Cary, Hans Crocker, Sanford B. Perry, E. S. Wadsworth and Anthony G. Van Schaick, under the general railroad law of Illinois, organized the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, and filed the articles of association in the office of the secretary of state on that day. While the consolidation of the company known as the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company was in fact previously consolidated, yet the name was not changed by vote of the stockholders until February 7th, and the certificate filed with the secretary of state of Wisconsin, until February 11, 1874.

On June 30, 1892, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company's total of main lines in Wisconsin was 1,374.66, while the total of its respective lines and branches in the various states were 5,721.40.

The president of this company is Roswell Miller, of Chicago. Frank S. Bond, of New York City, is the vice-president; P. M. Meyers, of Milwaukee, the treasurer; and George H. Heafford, of Chicago, the general passenger and ticket agent.

THE WISCONSIN CENTRAL RAILROAD COMPANY.

Of all the railroads constructed in the state during the past quarter of a century, none has been more conducive to the general welfare of the state than the Wisconsin Central Railroad. This road passes through a section of our state hitherto unsettled, and opened up for settlement an immense region of heavily timbered land and productive mines, thus greatly contributing to the growth and prosperity of the state.

In 1870, the Milwaukee and Northern Railway Company was incorporated to build a road from Milwaukee to some point on the Fox river, below Lake

Winnebago, and from thence to Lake Superior, with various branches. Its road was completed between Milwaukee and Menasha, a distance of one hundred and two miles, in 1873, with a branch from Hilbert to Green Bay, a distance of twenty-seven miles. During the same year of its completion it leased its line to the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company.

During the year of 1864, congress made a grant of land to the state of Wisconsin, to aid in the construction of a railroad from Berlin, Doty's Island, Fond du Lac or Portage, by way of Stevens Point, to Bayfield or Superior, giving under the terms of the grant the odd sections within ten miles on each side of the line, with an indemnity limit of twenty miles on each side. The legislature, during its session in 1865, failed to dispose of this land grant, but the next legislature provided for the organization of two companies, one to construct a railroad from Portage City *via* Berlin to Stevens Point, and the other from Menasha to the same point, and then jointly to Bayfield and Lake Superior. The first company was called the Winnebago and Lake Superior Railroad Company, and the latter the Portage and Superior Railroad Company. In 1869, an act was passed by the legislature consolidating the two companies, under the name of the Portage, Winnebago and Superior Railroad Company. In 1871, the name of the company was, by legislative enactment, changed to the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company.

Upon the organization of the Winnebago and Lake Superior Company, under George Reed, its president, the work of constructing the line between Menasha and Stevens Point was rapidly pushed forward. In 1871, the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company consolidated with the Manitowoc and Mississippi Railroad Company. The articles of consolidation provided that Gardner Colby, a director of the last-named company, should be the president, and that George Reed, a director of the former company, should be vice-president of the new organization. It was further provided in the articles of incorporation that Gardner Colby, George Reed and Elijah B. Phillips should be and remain its executive committee.

The Phillips and Colby Construction Company was incorporated in 1871, by which articles of incorporation E. B. Phillips, C. L. Colby, Henry Pratt and others associated for the purpose of building railroads, and all things pertaining to such construction and operation. This construction company contracted with the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company to build its line of road from Menasha to Lake Superior.

In November, 1873, the Wisconsin Central leased of the Milwaukee and Northern Railroad Company its line of road from Schwartzburg to Menasha, and the branch road to Green Bay, for the period of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, and also acquired under said lease the right of the latter company to use the track of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company,

between Schwartzburg and Milwaukee, together with the depot facilities in the city of Milwaukee. The construction of this important line was commenced in 1871, and finished from Menasha to Stevens Point in November of the same year. From Stevens Point the line was built one hundred miles northward to Worcester, in 1872. During the years 1872 and 1873 the road was built southward from Ashland to Penoka iron ridge, a distance of thirty miles, leaving a gap of forty-two miles between Worcester and Penoka iron ridge, which was closed in June, 1877.

The straight line between Portage City and Stevens Point, the construction of which was authorized by an act of legislature in 1875, was built between October 1, 1875, and October 20, 1876, a distance of seventy-one miles.

During 1882 and 1883, the Milwaukee and Lake Winnebago Railroad Company constructed a railroad extending from Neenah to Schleisingerville, a distance of sixty-three and eighty-five hundredths miles. At the same time the Chicago, Wisconsin and Minnesota Railroad Company constructed a line from Schleisingerville to the Illinois state line, where it connected with the line from Chicago to that point, operated under the same name. The Chicago, Wisconsin and Minnesota Railroad Company and the Milwaukee and Lake Winnebago Railroad Company were constructed in the interest of the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company, and are a part of that company's railroad system in Wisconsin and Illinois.

The Wisconsin Central Railroad Company's lines in Wisconsin are 758.81 miles, including spurs and branches. The Wisconsin Central lines were, for several years prior to October 1, 1893, operated under a lease by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. On or about October 1, 1893, the Wisconsin Central Railroad lines in Wisconsin were, by order of court, severed from the management of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, and placed under the management of the genial and courteous H. F. Whitcomb, as receiver. Mr. H. F. Whitcomb was the general manager of the Milwaukee, Lake Shore and Western Railway Company for many years, and is considered one of the best railroad men in the state.

THE GREEN BAY, WINONA AND ST. PAUL RAILROAD COMPANY.

This company was originally chartered, in 1866, as the Green Bay and Lake Pepin Railroad Company, for the purpose of building a road from the mouth of the Fox river, near Green Bay, to the Mississippi river, opposite Winona. During the year of 1870 preliminary surveys were made, and during the latter part of that year and the succeeding year, 1871, forty miles of road were constructed and put in operation. In 1872, one hundred and fourteen miles were graded and the track laid. In 1873, the balance of the road was

built, sixty-two miles, reaching the river. In 1876, it acquired the right to use what was known as the "Winona cut-off," between Winona and Onalaska, and built a road from the latter point seven miles to La Crosse, thus connecting it with one of the principal cities on the Mississippi river.

This road was commenced under discouraging circumstances, and was only pushed through by the energy of a few men at Green Bay and along its line. The city of La Crosse aided the extension of the road by subscribing seventy-five thousand dollars, which was secured by corporation bonds for that amount.

Samuel Sloan, president of this company, and Theodore Sturgis, its secretary and treasurer, reside in the city of New York, while S. W. Champion, its general manager, J. B. Last, its general passenger and ticket agent, and F. B. Seymour, its superintendent, reside at Green Bay. The total number of miles of main lines owned by this company are 209.30, with 15.50 miles of branch and leased lines.

TABLE OF RAILROADS AND RAILROAD LINES IN WISCONSIN.

(Railroad Lines hereinbefore mentioned are not included.)

NAME OF COMPANY.	MILES OF MAIN LINES.	MILES BRANCH LINES.
Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Ry. Co.....	497.	69.18
Chicago, Burlington & Northern R. R. Company.....	222.43	10.
Chicago, Fairchild and Eau Claire River Ry. Co.....	16.	
Chicago, Madison & Northern R. R. Co.....	91.31	
Chippewa River & Menomonie Ry. Co.....	22.	
Duluth Short Line Ry. Co.....	1.75	
Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic Ry. Co.....	67.86	62.03
Eastern Railway Company of Minnesota.....	22.10	2.61
Goodyear, Neillsville & Northern Ry. Co.....	15.	
Kewaunee, Green Bay & Western R. R. Co.....	32.91	
Kickapoo Valley & Northern Ry. Company.....	34.	
Menomonie R. R. Co.....	5.02	
Milwaukee & Northern Ry. Co.....	255.50	
St. Paul Eastern Grand Trunk Ry. Co.....	60.02	
Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie Ry. Co.....	271.42	
Northern Pacific R. R. Co.....	88.89	
Milwaukee & Superior Ry. Co.....	11.60	
Milwaukee, Bay View & Chicago R. R. Co.....	12.	
Oshkosh Transportation Co.....	4.10	
Prairie du Chien & McGregor Ry. Company.....	1.75	
Port Edward, Centralia & Northern Ry. Co.....	30.	

TABLE OF RAILROADS AND RAILROAD LINES.—Continued.

NAME OF COMPANY.	MILES OF MAIN LINES.	MILES BRANCH LINES.
Sault Ste. Marie & South-Western Ry. Co.	37.	
St. Cloud, Grantsburg & Ashland Ry. Co.	12.	
Abbottsford & North-Eastern R. R. Co.	15.16	
Packwaukee & Montello R. R. Co.	7.86	
Wisconsin & Chippewa Ry. Co.	5.	
West Range R. R. Co.	7.	





“ Thus she calls him, and she beckons
— From the river, dark and silent,
Flowing calmly far below.”

THE LEGEND
—OF—
LOVERS' LEAP.

BY OTTO SOUBRON.



WHERE the rocks in grandeur tower,
This the tale the wavelets murmur,
This the song the caves re-echo
Of the legend of the river;
Of Weharka and Oyeka;
Of the victory of Love:
'Tis a tale of hate and vengeance,
Full of uncurbed, savage passion;
Full of never-dying love!

* *

The impossible had happened:
Chippewas had come to visit
In the land of the Dakota;
They who had been death-foes ever
Sat in council now together;
Chased and sang and danced together;
Sat and smoked the pipe of peace.
Fair were maidens of Dakota,
Fair were those of Chippewa:
So it happened that the warriors
Billed and coo'd, like gentle wood-doves,
Vanquished by the victor, Love.

Nearer drew the guests' departure,
And the hearts of dusky beauties
Beat and swelled and throbbed and fluttered
At the painful thought of parting.
But the saddest of the maidens
Was Weharka; for Oyeka,
Only son of Chief Etoke,
Stole her heart, and she must leave it—
Leave it with the youth who told her
That his own was ever hers!
Ah, the low notes of his reed-flute,
In the nights so white and silent,
Drew the tear-fount from her eye-lids!
When she sat on high embankment
With her lover, looking downward

To the floods of the broad river
That beneath them sighed and murmured.
In her heart stole secret envy—
Envy of the playful wavelets
That would clasp him, that would kiss him
When herself must dwell afar!
“Let my people go without me,”
Said she to the man thus cherished;
“All the bonds I gladly sever—
Let me stay but in thy presence;
Let me share with thee thy wigwam,
Be thy wife, thy docile slave!”

But with brow of cloudy darkness,
And a voice betok'ning sadness,
Thus responded young Oyeka:
“Oh, my life's bright light, Weharka,
Never canst thou share my wigwam!
Never shall unite in wedlock
Chippewa with the Dakota,
Is the law of Manitou!
All I am and have, Weharka,
I would give to see thee happy,
Shed for thee my own red life-blood.
As my wife here in Dakota
Shame and death would be thy lot!
Therefore, sweet one, thou must leave me,
And forget that e'er I loved thee,
Thee, the prairie's choicest flower!”
Weeping, trembling and despairing,
Clinging to the red man's bosom,
These the words she faintly uttered:
“It will kill me, oh Oyeka!
I shall die, my love, without thee,
Wither like the prairie flower
'Neath the north-wind's icy blast!
Yet my spirit will be near thee,
Haunt thee ever, yes, and claim thee,
Not in life here, but in death!”

*
* *

Then the Chippewas departed,
With her people went Weharka,
Dumb with pain and grief and sadness;
Leave she took of stern Oyeka,
Who, with clasped arms, dark and rigid,
Faced her like a stony idol.

Ah, poor fawn, why thus reproach him?
Stern decree of awful spirits
Makes him seem devoid of feeling,
Bids him hide his pain and love,
Makes him turn to ready hunters,
Urge them to the stirring chase:
Bisons on the plain are grazing,
They have come in countless numbers.
Mount! We are in need of robes.

Mounted on their small, fleet horses,
Spears in well-trained hand, e'er ready,
Darting o'er the sun-lit prairie,
Like the whirlwind ride the men.
There in countless, surging number,
See the shaggy bisons graze!
Ha, beneath black hair outfloating,
How the bright wild eyes are gloating!
Tigers, they, fierce, on the spring!
Nearer to the surging herd there
That but little dreams of danger,
In long line up ride the hunters,
Closing on them in death's circle.
Singling out his chosen victim,
Now the spear strikes fear and terror,
And the slayers thrill with joy!
Shout and shriek and groan are mingled
With the thunder of the hoofs!
Frantic bisons, horses, riders,
All in one dark mass enknotted!
O'er the smoking, dusty prairie,
Onward flies the bloody chase!

* *

Weary of the wild excitement,
On the prairie rest the hunters,
Gathered round the blazing camp-fire,
On the new-won robes reclining.
Passing round the pipe, they glory
In relating long, minutely,
The adventures of the chase.
But Oyeka has not joined them,
Sits aloof in sullen mood;
He no longer shares their pleasures,
Nothing now to him the chase;
For Weharka dwells no longer
In the land of the Dakota.

He will miss her soft voice ever,
Dark and lonely waits his wigwam—
Dead the bright flame of his soul!

Such his melancholy musings,
When a messenger aroused him,
Struck his braves with sudden terror,
Turned all softness quick to stone:
"Woe, Oyeka! Woe, thy father,
Our good chieftain, great Etoka,
Has been slain by an assassin,
Murdered by a Chippewa!"
Slow and heavy rose Oyeka,
Gazed upon the trembling speaker,
Gazed upon the dying embers
With a look of cruel coldness,
With a look of deadly hatred,
To his men then calmly spoke:
"Chief Etoka is no longer;
I will henceforth be your chieftain!
Rise, and raise the cry of war!"
Up they sprang with wild, fierce menace,
Ringing rose the cry of vengeance:
"Death-foes ever were the Chippewas!
Traitors ever were the Chippewas!
Death then to the death-foe ever!"
Ringing rose the shout of war.

* *

Following the course of waters
On the bluffs along the river,
Camped the women of the Chippewas,
Not suspecting that Oshonee,
Only brother of Weharka,
Prompted by long-rankling hatred,
Broke the new-bound tie of friendship,
Slew the chief of the Dakotas;
Turned a traitor to his tribe.
But a few miles from the village,
All impatient, before day-break,
In advance the men had started,
While the women with the children
Unconcerned they left behind them,
Later in the day to follow.

Slanting beams the sun is sending
Through the amber-tinted foliage,

To the spot where joyous children
Sport and pick the falling nuts,
While the ever-busy women
In the merry shout and laughter
Of the young ones gaily join.
Wives and maidens both are happy!
They no longer fear the meshes
Which the women of Dakota
Drew around their wayward lovers,
Wove around their foolish men!
Sad alone seems young Weharka;
For her heart is with Oyeka,
With the son of Chief Etoka,
Who in battle slew her father,
And to whom his son Oshonee,
Her own brother, had sworn death.
Yet Weharka loves Oyeka,
Loves him wildly, loves him madly,
His while living, his in death.

*
* *

Did you hear? The piercing war-cry
Checks the laughter of the women,
Stops the children's noisy sport!
Painted with the War-god's colors,
Red and black, a threatening storm-cloud,
Like a band of awful demons,
On the scared and trembling children;
On the terror-stricken women,
Dark and savage swoop stern warriors,
And Oyeka leads them on!

Listen to the cry of anguish;
To the quick-dealt blows of tomahawks,
As they crash into the skulls!
Now they tear the sleeping infants
From the breasts of frantic mothers,
Dash their brains on tree and rock!
Maiden, are your hands uplifted
To the dark-browed youthful warrior
Who but yesterday has wooed you
With a low voice of devotion,
With a look of untold love?
You appeal in vain, poor maiden;
He who serves the God of Vengeance
In the land of the Dakota
Is not moved by tears of women,

Must renounce the God of Love!
Blind to innocence and beauty,
He must mow, a blood-stained reaper,
In the vale of tears and woe.

There, Weharka, is Oyeka!
Has he come, poor maid, to save thee?
With an eye of fawn-like meekness,
Mutely raised to his, confiding,
Kneeling, see her at his feet!
Pity knows not the young warrior
When he serves the God of Vengeance.
Then prepare thee, oh Weharka,
For Oyeka's eye means death.
Up she springs with sudden terror,
To the precipice she hastens,
Ends her woe in floods below.

*
* *
*

Clear the heavens, bright and moon-lit!
From his tent forth steps Oyeka.
Feathers from the wings of eagles
Crown the brow of the young chieftain,
And a warrior stern proclaim him
On his belt the many scalp-locks.
He has quenched his thirst for vengeance,
He has slain the vile assassin
Of Etoke, his loved father;
He has drunk the traitor's life-blood,
Torn the heart from his false bosom,
In his frenzy, wild, exulting,
Trampled on his reeking heart!

Peace will find his father's spirit
In the unknown land of shadows,
But his own is sick and restless,
And sweet slumber flies his couch.
Dead the faithful, loving maiden,
Lowly in the dust Weharka,
Dead the idol of his soul!
Ah, that last look of Weharka!
Ah, those eyes of fawn-like meekness
Raised to his in mute appeal!
Nevermore can he forget them,
They will haunt him evermore!

In the sighing of the forest,
When the breezes sway the tree-tops,

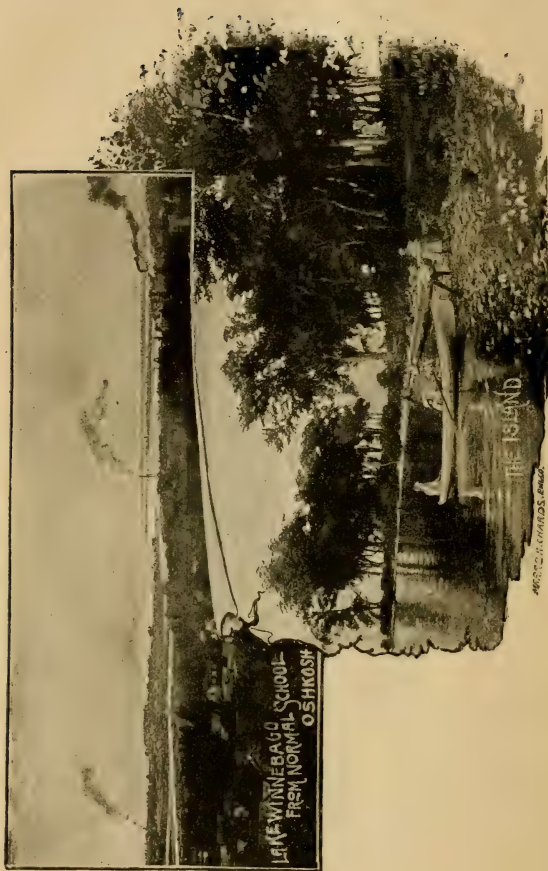
In the murmur of the waters
Sweeping past the rocks beneath him,
In the varied tones of nature
Now he listens for her voice.
In the mists that float and hover
O'er the dark and silent river
Now he sees her phantom form.
Yes, she calls him, calls him ever,
In the nights of gloom and darkness,
In the nights of storm and lightning,
When the thunder's crash re-echoes
From the towering, frowning rocks,
In the nights made fair, resplendent
With the countless starlets twinkling,
In the nights so white and silent,
When the moon sheds liquid silver
O'er the rocks and o'er the river,
Up she drives him from his sleep.

To the precipice he wanders;
There he listens, there he gazes
At the waters deep below.
In his eyes a strange light burning—
There he gazes, there he listens
To her voice so sad and low:

"Come, Oyeka, I await thee,
Leave behind thee grief and sadness,
From all troubles I will free thee,
Come, with me is peace and rest!"
Thus she calls him, and she beckons
From the river, dark and silent,
Flowing calmly far below.
All his heart consumed by yearning,
Deep remorse within him burning,
Long he stood there, long he listened
To the sweet voice of the spirit.
And she wooed him, and she won him,
Not in life here, but in death!

* *

This the simple, plaintive story,
Full of uncurbed, savage passion,
Full of terror, hate and vengeance,
Full of never-dying love!
'Tis the tale the waters murmur,
'Tis the song the rocks re-echo
Of the legend of the lovers,
Of Oyeka and Weharka,
Of the victory of Love!



ARISTO W. CHANDLER, OSHKOSH

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